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A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

BY
THOMAS HENRY DYER, LL.D.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE
END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER LII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE celebrated phrase of Louis XIV., "I am the State," proclaimed the consummation of despotism. He asserted, and it was true, that the people, as a body politic, had been annulled by the Crown. Before a century had elapsed the maxim was reversed. The head of Louis's second successor fell upon the scaffold, and the revolutionary disciples of Rousseau established the principle that the real sovereign is the people itself. Hence it would appear that, for all practical purposes, the causes of the French Revolution may be sought between the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XVI.; or, in other words, that the inquiry may be limited to the nature of the institutions left by the former Monarch, and the causes which gradually led the people to desire their overthrow under the latter. Even within these limits the extent of the subject might demand a volume rather than a chapter. We can pretend only to indicate its principal heads, leaving the historical student to fill up the outline from his own researches and reflections.

Nature of
the French
Revolution.

The French Revolution, though partly induced by the existence of discontent and distress, was in the main a political revolution. What was required was a political transformation which should result in the abolition of the remains of feudalism, an equal and just distribution of the burdens of taxation, and the removal of all barriers to the advancement of the lower and middle classes to the highest offices in the State.

One of the most striking defects in the French social

The nobles.

system under the old *régime* was the anomalous position of the nobility. The vast power of the old nobles in the early days of the French Monarchy caused the Crown to regard them as rivals, and to court against them the aid of the people. This traditional policy even survived the occasion of it, and down to the very eve of the Revolution, Louis XVI. continued to regard the aristocracy as his most dangerous enemies.¹ Louis XI. and his successors had begun to undermine their power, which was terribly shaken by the wars of the League, and finally overthrown by Richelieu. One of the most successful measures adopted by Louis XIV. was, to entice the nobles to reside in Paris by the attractions of that capital, and thus to destroy their influence in their own provinces. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the abandonment of their estates for a town life had become almost general among the nobles; few remained in the provinces who had the means of living with becoming splendour in the capital. The dissipation and extravagance in which they thus became involved leading to their gradual impoverishment, they were compelled to sell their lands bit by bit; so that in the reign of Louis XVI. it was computed that five-eighths of all the land in France was in the hands of *roturiers*,² and for the most part of very small proprietors. Arthur Young, who travelled in France at the outbreak of the Revolution, had often seen a property of ten rods with only a single fruit tree upon it.

The middle class.

As the policy of Richelieu depressed the nobles, so it tended to enrich and elevate the *Tiers état*, or commons. The inhabitants of towns, the commercial and manufacturing classes, made rapid progress. The high roads of the kingdom, pre-

¹ Burke's observation to this effect is quoted with approbation by Tocqueville, *Hist. de l'Ancien Régime*, p. 218.

² According to Arthur Young, only one-third of the land was in the hands of small proprietors; while Leonce de Lavergne (quoted by Taine, *Ancien Régime*, p. 18) says that two-fifths were held by the *Tiers état* and peasantry, the rest, except common lands, by the nobles, clergy, and Crown. The effects of the Revolution seem to have been to leave the peasantry much where they were, but vastly to increase the landed possessions of the *Tiers état*, at the expense, of course, of the higher classes (See Von Sybel, *Gesch. der Revolutionszeit*, vol. i. p. 23 sq. Eng. Trans.). This result might have been expected from the many voluntary and compulsory sales during the Revolution, and especially of the Church lands.

viously infested by brigands, became safe channels for the operations of trade and industry. Abundance everywhere prevailed; the fields were covered with rich crops, the towns were animated with commerce and embellished by the arts. The impulse once given went on increasing. Hence the *Tiers état* which attended the States-General of 1789 bore but little resemblance to their predecessors a century or two before. Wealth had given them weight and importance; education had sharpened their intelligence, opened their eyes to the political and social abuses which prevailed, and inspired them with the desire of obtaining that influence and consideration in the State to which their altered condition justly entitled them.

Richelieu's policy was ultimately followed by effects which he had neither foreseen nor intended. It contributed, in short, to make the Revolution possible. Hence the different views which have been taken by French political writers of Richelieu's character. The advocates of a constitutional monarchy, regarding a substantial aristocracy as the only sure support of a solid liberty, utterly condemn the policy of Richelieu. Montesquieu, in his *Pensées*, calls him one of the worst citizens that France had ever seen; and the same view is adopted by Madame de Stäel, in her *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*. Ultra-democratic writers, on the contrary, look upon the great Cardinal Minister as a deliverer from aristocratic tyranny, in fact, as the founder of the French nation. In their view, a royal despotism is more endurable, and more favourable to the progress of civilization, than the despotism of an aristocracy, because it is less extensively felt, and because it is more amenable to the control of public opinion, and of such protective institutions, however imperfect, as France possessed, for instance, in her Parliaments.

Richelieu's
policy.

But whilst in the eighteenth century the wealth and the political influence of the French nobility were almost annihilated, a titular aristocracy still remained, possessing many of the peculiar and invidious privileges of the feudal times. Although the nobles were no longer obliged to make war at their own expense,¹ although they were now enregimented and received the King's pay, yet they still enjoyed that

Feudal
privileges.

¹ The *ban* and *arrière ban*, a vast and undisciplined mob which the nobles had been accustomed to furnish, was called out for the last time in 1674. Michelet, *Révol. Française*, Introd. p. ci.

immunity from direct taxation which had been accorded to them for their military services. The profession of arms, however, was still considered as a monopoly of the nobility. No man, except of noble birth, could become a military officer. On the very eve of the Revolution, a lieutenant in a marching regiment had to prove a nobility of at least four generations. The nobles also enjoyed a monopoly of the greater civil offices. These exclusive privileges tended to make the *noblesse* a sort of caste. A noble who engaged in trade or commerce forfeited his rights and privileges.¹ As it is computed that there were in France, in 1789, 40,000 noble families, comprising some 200,000 persons,² the invidiousness of these privileges must have been very extensively felt. Of the whole nobility, however, there were not 200 families really belonging to those ancient races which prided themselves, though mostly without foundation, on their Frankish origin, and on holding their estates and dignities by right of conquest. Their titles had been mostly purchased. The practice of selling patents of nobility had been adopted by the French kings at a very early period, though it was not carried to any great extent till the sixteenth century. It was resorted to partly as a means of depressing the order, partly as an expedient to raise money. Charles IX. issued a vast number of these patents, and his successor, Henry III., is said to have created no fewer than a thousand nobles. *Roturiers* were sometimes compelled to buy these patents, which were even issued with the name in blank. Louis XIV. granted 500 letters of nobility in a single year.

State of the
peasants.

The feudal privileges enjoyed by the nobles, or by those who had stepped into their places, were very grievously felt in the rural districts. Even where the land was no longer in the hands of a seigneur, the feudal rights attached to it, or what was called *la servitude de la terre*, still remained in force, though held perhaps, by neighbouring proprietors, almost as poor as the peasant who was subject to them.³ In

¹ Glass-making alone seems to have been excepted. *Granier de Cassagnac*, t. i. p. 141. A noble degraded by commerce might, however, reinstate himself by purchasing *lettres de réhabilitation*.

² *Ibid.* p. 146. Some writers, however, estimate them considerably lower. Taine (*Anc. Régime*, App. note 1) computes them at 26,000 or 28,000 families, and 130,000 or 140,000 individuals.

³ Tocqueville, *Anc. Régime*, liv. ii. ch. i.

some instances these rights had been acquired by the Crown, and the peasant was compelled to labour gratuitously, often at a distance from his home, in making roads, building barracks, and other works of a like description, experiencing, at the same time, the most brutal and unfeeling treatment. Besides this compulsory task-work, called the *corvée*, the peasant saw his fields exposed, without defence, to the ravages of game; he was obliged to pay heavy market-tolls, to make use of a certain ferry, to have his corn ground at a particular mill, his bread baked at a particular oven. Not the least among these feudal grievances were the *justices seigneuriales*, or private courts of justice attached to certain titles and possessions. The proprietors of these courts, of which there are said to have been more than 2,400, leagued themselves with the Parliaments against the reforms in the administration of justice proposed by the Royal Edict of May 8th, 1788; in the preamble of which it is stated that trifling civil causes had often to undergo six hearings.

Noble proprietors were commonly absentees, and left their estates to be managed by agents, whose only object it was to extort as much as they could from the peasantry. The smaller landowners had not the means of properly cultivating their land, nor of laying anything by, so that a bad year brought actual famine and deaths by thousands. The misery of the agricultural districts at the close of the 17th century, and during the following one, has been fully described by Vauban, St. Simon, and other writers. La Bruyère, writing about 1689, describes the rural population as resembling wild animals in their appearance and way of life. Massillon, Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, tells Cardinal Fleury, in 1740, that the misery of the rural population was frightful, and D'Argenson declares that more Frenchmen died in 1739 and 1740 than in all the wars of Louis XIV.¹ We hear of their being forced to resort to the herbs of the field and the bark of trees to appease the cravings of hunger. Between 1700 and 1715 the population of France is said to have decreased by more than two millions, and from that period to the middle of the century it made no advance.² Among the peasants the desire for land was strong, and at the time of

¹ *Mémoires*, iii. 92.

² Taine, *Anc. Régime*, liv. v. ch. i., where many more details will be found. Cf. Von Sybel, p. 25 sq.

the Revolution about a fifth part of France was in the hands of peasant proprietors.

The nobles had little interest in the land except the title and the feudal privileges, and as Madame de Stäel, an acute observer of her own times, remarks, the different classes in France entertained a mutual antipathy for one another.¹ In no other country were the gentry so estranged from the rest of the nation.²

The *bourgeoisie*, like the peasantry, were oppressed by peculiar burdens originating in the middle ages. The trade of France was monopolized by guilds and corporations, which fettered independent industry by a system of *maîtrises* and *jurandes* (masterships and wardenships), and thus even the *bourgeoisie* had its aristocracy. A stranger, or non-freeman, could not become an apprentice even to the meanest trade, without paying a considerable premium. On the expiration of his apprenticeship, a young man became a *compagnon* and was entitled to wages; but a long interval must still elapse before he could set up for himself as a *maître juré*, or master in his trade; and this again entailed heavy expenses. Even a Paris flower-girl had to pay 200 livres to become a *maîtresse*. On the other hand, the son of a *maître* could avoid these expenses by being apprenticed to his father. Hence trades came to be perpetuated in certain families, and an exclusive system was formed which gave occasion to perpetual disputes. The very beggars had their privileges, and it was only those belonging to a certain order, called *trôniers*, who were entitled to ask alms at the door of a church.

Among other relics of the feudal times, the ecclesiastical system of France was diametrically opposed to the growing spirit of the age. The clergy were a landed aristocracy, and like the nobles, were exempt from direct taxation; or rather, they claimed the privilege of taxing themselves by what were called *dons gratuits*, or voluntary offerings. The collection of tithes brought them into direct collision with that numerous body of small landed proprietors which, as we have already said, had now sprung up in France; and thus the notice of an inquiring age was all the more strongly attracted to the flagrant abuses which prevailed in the Church. The higher

¹ *Considérations*, etc. partie iii. ch. xv.

² The manners of the period are amusingly described in the second book of Taine's *Anc. Régime*.

Class
hatreds.

The
bourgeoisie.

State of the
Church.

ecclesiastical dignities were mostly filled by the younger sons of noble families, and were no longer the rewards of virtue and piety, while the lower clergy who really performed the duties of the Church had in many cases scarcely wherewithal to support a decent existence.

The arbitrary power of the Crown shared the hatred felt by the people for the privileges of the aristocracy, both lay and clerical. The French Government was, indeed, both in theory and practice, a perfect despotism. The King was the only legislative and supreme executive power. As he claimed to be the sole proprietor and absolute lord of all France, he could dispose of the property of his subjects by imposts and confiscations, and of their persons by *lettres de cachet*. Thus in France the social structure had no secure foundation. Had the States-General been regularly convened, the long-standing abuses which we have described would probably have been gradually abolished, instead of remaining to be swept away by a revolution. The only constitutional principle which could be perceived was, as Madame de Staël observes, that the Crown was hereditary. Public opinion, and the passive and unavailing resistance of the Parliaments, were the sole checks upon the exercise of the Royal prerogative. A dangerous result of the all-disposing power of the Crown was that the people looked up to it for everything, even for aid in their private affairs, and attributed to it the most inevitable calamities. If agriculture was in a bad state, it was ascribed to want of succour from the Government; in times of scarcity, which frequently occurred in the eighteenth century, the different districts looked to their *Intendant* for food.¹

The Crown.

Besides the invidious and oppressive privileges of the nobles, the monopolies of guilds and corporations, the abuses in the hierarchy, and the arbitrary power of the Sovereign, the anomalous condition of the French provinces was another source of discontent.² Although Richelieu had consolidated the authority of the Crown throughout France, he had not amalgamated its various provinces; which differed so widely in their systems of law, religion, and finance, that they could hardly be said to form one kingdom. There were Gascons,

State of the Provinces.

¹ Tocqueville, *Anc. Régime*, p. 106 sq.

² For the condition of the Provinces, see W. Walker Stephens, *Life and Writings of Turgot*; Champion, *La France de 1789 d'après les Cahiers*.

Normans, Bretons, Provençals, etc., but a French nation could hardly be said to exist. There was France of the *Langue d'oc*, subject to the Roman law, and France of the *Langue d'oïl*, obeying the common law; France of the *Concordat*, and France of the *Pays d'obédience* more immediately subject to the Papal power; France of the *Pays d'élection* and France of the *Pays d'états*. These anomalies chiefly arose from the gradual manner in which the Monarchy had been developed. Down to the twelfth century the patrimony of the French Crown continued to be only the province of the Isle of France, with Paris for its capital, together with the Orleanais and a few adjacent districts. The King's authority over the rest of France was rather that of a feudal suzerain than of a Sovereign. By marriage, bequest, confiscation, conquest and other means, related in the preceding pages, these slender possessions had been augmented before the reign of Louis XVI. to between thirty and forty provinces; embracing, with the exception of Avignon and the Venaissin, which still belonged to the Pope, the whole of modern France.

Of these provinces, acquired at such different times and in such various ways, many had continued to retain their peculiar laws and privileges. On a general view, the most important distinction between them was that of *Pays d'élection* and *Pays d'états*. The *Pays d'élection* were so called because originally the territorial taxes were assessed by certain magistrates called *élus* (persons chosen or elected), whose fiscal jurisdiction was entitled an *Election*. In early times these magistrates had really been chosen by the communities, a practice which ceased under Charles VII., though the name was still retained. As a general rule, the *Pays d'élection* were the provinces most anciently united to the Crown. The *Pays d'états* derived their name from the *states*, or administrative assemblies, which they had possessed before their union with the French Realm, and were allowed subsequently to retain. The provinces comprised under this name were Rousillon, Brittany, Provence, Languedoc, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Dauphiné, Alsace, the *Trois Evêchés* (Metz, Toul, and Verdun), Flanders, Hainault, Lorraine, and Corsica. In these provinces the administration was vested, nominally, at least—for the authority of the Crown often overrode their ancient constitutions—in the States. The right of sitting in these assemblies, was attached, with re-

*Pays d'état
and Pays
d'élection.*

gard to the clergy, to certain preferments, with regard to the nobles, to certain families, and with regard to the *Tiers état*, or burghesses, to certain offices. Some of these provinces, by virtue of treaties concluded with the Crown, claimed an immunity from various taxes. In such cases the Crown fixed the contribution of each province, and the privilege of the States consisted principally in determining the method in which it should be assessed. The King was said to *demand* a tax of the *Pays d'états*, and to *impose* it on the *Pays d'élection*.

This state of things was attended with great inconvenience and many evils. One of the most striking of these was the enormous difference which prevailed, perhaps in contiguous provinces, in the duties on the same article, and consequently in its price. In some provinces, for instance, as Bretagne and the Artois, there was no *gabelle* or salt tax, while in others it was oppressive. In the free provinces salt was worth only from two to eight livres the quintal, while in those subject to the *grande gabelle* it sold for sixty-two livres. The Crown alone enjoyed the right to sell salt, and in the provinces subject to the *gabelle* its consumption was obligatory; every person above seven years of age was compelled to purchase seven pounds annually at the *Grenier du Roi*.¹ A cask of wine passing from the Orléanais into Normandy increased at least twentyfold in price, while goods from China could be imported at only five times their original cost. The taxes were chiefly assessed on the most necessary articles of life, such as bread, salt, meat, and wine; so that the burden was thrown chiefly on the poor. Salt alone contributed fifty-four million livres to the revenue. The great difference in the duties on the same articles in different provinces made the same precautions necessary to prevent smuggling between them as if they had been foreign countries, and an army of 50,000 men was employed to guard 1,200 leagues of internal barriers. It was estimated that smuggling and the illicit manufacture of salt occasioned annually 4,000 domiciliary visits, 3,400 imprisonments, and 500 convictions, some of which were capital. In years of scarcity these barriers produced the greatest inconvenience and distress by preventing

Inequality
of taxation.

¹ Necker, *Administration des Finances*, t. ii. p. 12 sq. For the financial history, see Stourm, *Les finances de l'Ancien Régime et de la Révolution*.

the ready transit of grain from one district to another. The independent fiscal system of the provinces also rendered possible to persons in authority that speculation to which we have already alluded in the instance in which Louis XV. himself was implicated in 1771, and which was consigned to infamy under the name of the *Pacte de famine*. One province was ignorant of the condition of another; the total amount of direct taxation was known only by the King's council. The *fermiers généraux* or *traitants*, to whom the taxes were farmed, treated France like a conquered country. The galleys, the prisons, the gallows were at their service. No man could tell the amount of their gains. But out of them they had to make large presents to courtiers and mistresses. Even the King himself, when they closed their accounts, condescended to receive from them large sums of gold in velvet purses. And not unfrequently the arm of the law or the strong hand of power compelled them to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth.

These very anomalies, however, created a necessity for a strong central government. It was by this method that Richelieu obviated the inconveniences which it was not in his power to remove. Under his Ministry, all France was divided, for fiscal and administrative purposes, into thirty-two districts called *généralités*, each under the superintendence of an *Intendant*, who was commonly selected from the *maîtres des requêtes* attached to the Royal Council. His functions were to superintend the construction and maintenance of high roads, bridges, etc.; to control hospitals, prisons, and the relief of the poor; to take care that taxes were equitably assessed, and justice impartially administered; to direct the police, with other duties of the like kind. The *Intendants* in central France were dependent on the Controller of Finance, those in the frontier provinces on the Secretary at War. Thus the whole Kingdom was subjected to the surveillance of the King and his Ministers; and the despotism of the Crown was brought home to the very doors of the people. Law bade d'Argenson observe that France was entirely governed by some thirty *Intendants*, the clerks of the provinces, on whom depended their happiness or misery, their sterility or abundance.¹ Thus also a system of

Centraliza-
tion. The
Intendants.

centralization was established which materially contributed to render Paris the centre of France.

All the miseries and abuses we have described had been endured till about the middle of the eighteenth century, when a school of writers sprang up which began to attack them from the administrative point of view.¹

One of the first, and perhaps the most distinguished of this kind of reformers was the Marquis d'Argenson, Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1744, and previously *Intendant* of Hainault. His treatise entitled *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de France*, published in 1740, and consequently several years before the appearance of the *Encyclopédie*, contains many liberal principles. He was for doing away with the invidious fiscal privileges of the nobles, abolishing Protestant disabilities, and making all alike admissible to public office. But his scheme presents no bold and striking outline. The main feature of it was to divide France by degrees into new departments and *arrondissemens*, which were all to be endowed with an administration resembling that of the *Pays d'états*. Thus there was to be a municipal council in each parish; an assembly in each district composed of deputies from the different parishes, and the States of the province or department, formed of deputies from the districts. But these bodies were to be intrusted only with the administration of their local concerns. They were to have no voice in the general affairs of the Kingdom, nor could anything be submitted to them that had not first been sanctioned by the King. In a word, he would have created a multitude of little provincial democracies under a central despotism.

The
Marquis
d'Argenson.

With the administrative reformers arose the *Physiocrats* and the *Economists*. *Physiocracy*, or the government of nature, derived its name from the fundamental tenet of the sect, that the soil alone was the source of all wealth, its cultivators the only productive class, the rest of the world was designated as *classe stérile*. Quesnay, physician to Madame de Pompadour, was the founder of this sect. They denounced such institutions as stood in the way of their theories; but they had no wish to diminish the absolute power of the Crown; on the contrary, they considered it essential to their purposes, and better adapted to them than

Physio-
crats.

¹ Voltaire, *Dict. Philosophique*, article *Blé*.

English liberty. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that some of them felt an extraordinary admiration for China; where an absolute, yet unprejudiced Sovereign cultivated the earth once a year with his own hands, in honour of the useful arts; where all places were obtained by literary competition; where philosophy took the place of religion, and learning was a title to aristocracy.¹ Some of the physiocrats held a sort of socialist doctrine, as Morelly, who, in his *Code de la Nature*, published in 1754, advocated the community of goods. This school made a great parade of analysis and philosophical method, though their main theory was not a very wise one. The earth, as the sole source of all wealth, was to bear the whole burden of taxation; and hence their grand aim was to augment the net product of the land, in other words, the income of the landed proprietor; and bread was to be made dear in order that agriculture might flourish! It was to ridicule this school that Voltaire wrote his *Homme aux 40 écus*.

Econom-
ists.

Side by side with this school grew up another, that of the *Economists*, whose attention was directed to commerce. Opposed on other points to the views of the *Physiocrats*, they held one doctrine in common with them—the removal of all restrictions. The mottoes common to both schools were *laissez faire, laissez passer*. The Marquis of Mirabeau, father of the orator, belonged to the Economists, and was among the first advocates of free trade, especially in corn. In a passage of his *Ami des Hommes*,² he asks: “In order to maintain abundance in a Kingdom, what should be done?—Nothing.” Thus he opened the road, though often erroneously and inadequately, which was afterwards improved and completed by Adam Smith. Turgot, whose constant aim was the good of the people, was the most eminent member of this school. The views of Turgot embraced the abolition of *corvées* and *jurandes*, the suppression of provincial barriers and custom-houses, the establishment of free trade in corn, and the compelling the nobles and clergy to contribute to the taxes. It was Turgot who first asserted, in his article *Fondation* in the *Encyclopédie*, that church lands were national property.

¹ Tocqueville, *Anc. Régime*, p. 249.

² Tom. iii. *Commerce étranger*, p. 40.

It was not, however, such gradual and incomplete reforms, even if these could have been carried without some convulsion, that could satisfy the present temper of the French nation. Instead of lopping off a few abuses of the ancient *régime*, a spirit was abroad which was to overthrow both the throne and the altar, and to shake society to its foundations. This spirit had been engendered by the literature and pseudo-philosophy of the eighteenth century. The material progress of the middle-classes, accompanied with a corresponding advance in their manners and education, had produced an apt and ready audience for its doctrines. Into the effects of this new philosophy we must now inquire.

The new
philosophy.

The French literature of the seventeenth century, formed under the auspices of Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV., had been developed in the spirit of the anti-reformation, and rested on classical antiquity, the Roman Catholic religion, and absolute Monarchy. It had been encouraged by Richelieu and his successors as a means of extending their own as well as the national glory; nor can it be denied that it had a vast effect in promoting French influence abroad. Richelieu, however, seems to have felt some apprehension of the consequences it might one day produce at home. In a remarkable passage of his *Testament Politique*, he almost foretells the spirit of the eighteenth century, and betrays his anxiety to prevent the diffusion of knowledge; unconscious that its floodgates, when once opened, cannot again be closed.¹ Already before the end of the seventeenth century symptoms had begun to appear of a change in the literary taste of the nation. The French writers of the eighteenth century sought their inspiration not in classical, but in modern literature, especially the English. After this school, they began to occupy themselves with questions of politics and religion; to discuss the elementary principles of society; and to investigate the grounds of religious belief. Thus the age of Bossuet and Pascal was succeeded by that of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopædists.

Infidelity had, indeed, taken root in France before the close of Louis XIV.'s reign, under the auspices of the profligate.

¹ "Si les lettres étoient profanées à toutes sortes d'esprits, on verrait plus de gens capables de former des doutes que de les résoudre, et beaucoup seraient plus propres à s'opposer aux vérités qu'à les défendre." Ch. ii. § 10.

gate Duc de Vendôme and his brother; and it was in this school that the Duc de Chartres, afterwards the Regent Orleans, imbibed his principles of atheism and immorality. There can be little doubt that disgust at the bigotry, superstition, and hypocrisy which marked the later years of Louis XIV., contributed to produce this reaction. Infidelity, however, would not probably have spread itself among the great mass of the nation, but for the writers who subsequently sprung up. Fontenelle was their precursor, whose long life, extending from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, rendered him the connecting link between the literature of the two periods. Not that Fontenelle can be exactly styled an infidel author. He was, as Villemain remarks, but the discreet echo of the bolder thinkers, such as Bayle and others, who wrote in Holland. Yet his writings are marked by a certain want of orthodoxy, a disposition to question received opinions, and to treat grave subjects in that tone of *badinage* which became characteristic of the eighteenth century. Such especially is the style of his *Histoire des Oracles*, whilst his *Dialogues of the Dead* betray a genius kindred with that of Lucian.

Montes-
quieu.

Lord Bolingbroke, and the Club of the Entre-sol, which he founded during his banishment in France, tended greatly to promote the liberalism and infidelity of the eighteenth century, and to give them a literary and philosophical turn. Among the most remarkable members of the Club of the Entre-sol, was the Abbé de St. Pierre, whose works, says Villemain, present the programme of a social revolution so bold and complete as to astonish even J. J. Rousseau. But Montesquieu must perhaps be regarded as the first writer whose works had any direct influence upon the French Revolution. After travelling over great part of Europe Montesquieu took up his abode in England, in 1729. Here he applied himself to the study of our Constitution, for which he imbibed a great admiration, as appears from his panegyric on it in the eleventh book of his *Esprit des Lois*, published about twenty years afterwards. At first, however, this, his greatest work, was not understood by his countrymen. They were hardly yet ripe for serious political studies, and Montesquieu's first work, the *Lettres Persanes*, seems to have given them a wrong idea of his genius. In the disguise of Eastern masquerade Montesquieu in that work aimed some blows at

French customs and institutions; and hence, while uttering in the *Esprit des Loix* his earnest convictions, he was still regarded by many of his countrymen only as a concealed satirist. His book was much better received in England, and it was only by Frenchmen of the next generation that it began to be duly understood and appreciated.

Montesquieu must be regarded as the father of that school of reformers, including Necker, Lally Tollendal, Mounier, and others, who at the outbreak of the French Revolution wished to establish in France a Constitution on the English model. There was no analogy whatever between the France of 1789 and England at any period of its history. The want of an aristocracy influential through its dignities and wealth, yet without particular privileges, except that of an hereditary peerage, and identified in its private interests with the great mass of the people, would alone have rendered English institutions impossible in France. The democratic inclinations of the French, their military habits, their large standing army, all tended the same way. The principles of Montesquieu obtained however, at length, a sort of triumph in the Charter of 1814; which appears to have been founded on the scheme of a Constitution modelled on that of England, and submitted by Lally Tollendal to the Constituent Assembly.

Voltaire, the son of a notary of the name of Arouet, also acquired much of his philosophy in England, and had a far greater influence than Montesquieu on the French Revolution. Not, however, from any love of constitutional liberty. Voltaire throughout his life posed as an aristocrat and a royalist, and mixed in the highest circles of Paris. Unfortunately, however, his talent for satire produced effects calculated to remind him unpleasantly of his plebeian origin. He offended a young nobleman, the Chevalier de Rohan, who caused him to be horse-whipped, and in reply to a demand for satisfaction, obtained a *lettre de cachet* which consigned him to the Bastille, whence he was released only to be banished into England. Here was enough to have cured most men of a love of aristocracy and despotism. Not so with Voltaire. On his return we find him throwing himself at the feet of Madame de Pompadour, nay, of Madame du Barri; courting Louis XV. by every means in his power; degrading his fine genius by representing that profligate Monarch under the character

Voltaire.

of Trajan in a little piece entitled *Le Temple de Gloire*,¹ which he wrote for the theatre of Versailles; and when repulsed with the most marked disdain by Louis, still retaining all the devotion of loyalty. He showed the same complacency towards foreign potentates. Failing to attract the notice of his own Court, he became the guest and literary satellite of Frederick II. of Prussia; and though ultimately treated with the grossest indignity by that Monarch, condescended to congratulate him on his victory at Rossbach. He approved of Catharine II.'s arbitrary designs against the national existence of Poland and Turkey.²

How, then, did Voltaire contribute to the Revolution? Principally by his attacks on the established religion. Between the Church, almost invariably the upholder of the existing state of things, and a tyranny which founds itself on Divine right, the connection is so close that one cannot be shaken without endangering the other. The sceptical nature of Voltaire's writings had, moreover, a natural tendency to sap belief in all fixed principles whatsoever. The overthrow of the Church, the absorption of ecclesiastical property, the proclamation of the Age of Reason, are among the most marked and striking features of the French Revolution; and they must be ascribed in the main to the teaching of Voltaire.

His English studies.

Voltaire's scepticism, if not imbibed, was at least confirmed, by his residence in England. His study of the English deistical writers, as Shaftesbury, Toland, and others, and his friendship and intercourse with Lord Bolingbroke, gave it a body and a method. From the study of Locke's metaphysical works he imbibed the theory of Sensation; a doctrine which was afterwards developed in France by Condillac in his *Traité des Sensations*, and laid the foundation of the materialism of the French Encyclopædists. Voltaire's residence in England, during which he obtained a very considerable mastery of our language, imbued him with much admiration for our literature and customs. Hence he contributed to spread in France what has been called the *Anglo-mania*; which, by promoting travelling in England, the studying of the English language, the reading of English newspapers, and even the affecting of English tastes and

¹ See Marmontel, *Mémoires*.

² See his letters of January 1st and November 2nd, 1772; *Villemain, Œuvres*, t. ix. p. 356.

manners, undoubtedly became a strong predisposing cause of the Revolution.¹

It was natural that on his return to France Voltaire should be struck with the different state of things that he found there. Having studied in England the philosophy of Newton, he drew up his *Système du Monde* to explain it to his countrymen; but the chancellor d'Aguesseau refused his *visa* to the publication. Still worse was the fate of Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques sur les Anglais*, which he published soon after his return to France, and which contained much praise of our customs and institutions. The Parliament of Paris ordered them to be burnt by the common hangman, and deprived the publisher of his *maîtrise*. Voltaire afterwards recast them in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*.

Such treatment was not likely to increase Voltaire's respect for the Church. And, indeed, there was much in its practice that might serve to explain, and to a certain extent to justify, the hostility of an observant philosopher. The higher clergy were often open profligates and atheists; while that portion, including the Jansenists, which pretended to devotion, exhibited little more than a superstition united with a persecuting spirit. In February, 1762, in pursuance of a sentence of the Parliament of Toulouse, Rochette, a Protestant pastor, was hanged for having exercised his ministry in Languedoc. Soon after, Calas, another Protestant of Toulouse, was broken on the wheel on the false accusation of having killed his son in order to prevent his turning Catholic. Voltaire protected Calas's widow and children; and by bold and persevering efforts vindicated the memory of Calas, by procuring a reversal of his sentence. At a later period he interfered, but with less success, for another victim of clerical fury. In 1766 two young officers, La Barre and D'Etallonde, were prosecuted by the Bishop of Amiens for mutilating a crucifix erected on a bridge at Abbeville. D'Etallonde escaped by flight; La Barre was convicted on very vague testimony, and sentenced by the Jansenist Court of Abbeville to have his hand and tongue amputated, and to be burnt alive. The Parliament of Paris, on appeal, confirmed the sentence in spite of all Voltaire's efforts; according, however, to the criminal the favour of being beheaded instead of being burnt.²

The French
Church.

¹ Marmontel, *Mémoires*, t. iv. p. 37 sq.

² See Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xvi. p. 140 sq.

Popularity
of Voltaire.

Voltaire's wit, vivacity, and admirable style made him the most popular of authors. No writer, perhaps, has exercised a greater and more general influence on his age. It was not in France alone that he was regarded as the Apostle of Reason, and the harbinger of a new era. Many of the sovereigns and statesmen of Europe, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Catharine II. of Russia, Joseph II. of Austria, were among his admirers and correspondents. He even exchanged compliments with Pope Benedict XIV. about his tragedy of *Mahomet*; and Cardinal Quirini amused himself with translating the *Henriade* into Latin verse. It was through Voltaire's inspiration that D'Aranda in Spain, Pombal in Portugal, were led to expel the Jesuits. Pombal caused the works of Voltaire and Diderot to be translated into the Portuguese language. Thus through the medium of England, the spirit of the Reformation, degenerating into scepticism, reoperated through the genius of Voltaire upon the most bigoted nations of Europe.

The Ency-
clopædists.

The philosophical school known as the Encyclopædists, who outran their master Voltaire, were the contemporaries of his later years. Holbach, a rich German baron, was their Mæcenas. Holbach had himself some literary pretensions, and was the author of the *Système de la Nature*, the most complete code of atheism that had yet appeared. Holbach gave the philosophers two dinners a week for a period of forty years; whence the Abbé Galliani called him the *Maître d'Hôtel de la Philosophie*. His table was frequented by Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvétius, Grimm, Raynal, and other *beaux esprits* of the day. Most of these were contributors to the famous *Encyclopédie*, whence the school derived their name. This storehouse of knowledge, projected by Diderot in 1750, was the first work of the kind, and was intended also to be a vehicle for the propagation of liberal opinions. Diderot's chief assistant was D'Alembert, a man of great mathematical attainments.

Jean
Jacques
Rousseau.

Among the guests at Holbach's table by far the most remarkable was Jean Jacques Rousseau, who did not, however, long remain a member of that brilliant society.

The consciousness of brilliant intellect led Rousseau to regard with disgust the cynical materialism of the Encyclopædists. Should the only being which could observe and understand the phenomena of nature, study other beings and

their relations, be sensible of order, beauty, virtue, and from contemplating the works of the creation could rise to the Creator, love what was good and act accordingly, be nothing but a brute!¹ The man who could feel and reason thus had in him the seeds at least of nobleness and virtue, though partly from his peculiar temperament, partly from the circumstances of his life, they produced only abortive fruits. Endowed with an exquisite sensibility, bordering on insanity, Jean Jacques had some real, and many imaginary, grievances to allege against society. From childhood his life had been an almost constant struggle with adversity; and when a little prosperity at length dawned upon him he found himself, from innate shyness and early habits, incapable of playing a becoming part in society, and thus his irritable pride sustained a thousand wounds. So constituted, it is not surprising that he should have conceived a deadly hatred against the whole social system. His thoughts reverted to man in his unsophisticated state and to an ideal primitive society, which existed only in his own imagination. Of this imaginary world, and of the actual world with which it was contrasted, he wrote with an eloquence and purity of style never excelled in French prose. He appealed to the feeling rather than, like Voltaire and the Encyclopædists, to the reason, and in times of ferment sentiment touches the heart, which argument leaves unmoved. When he reasoned, indeed, as he generally started from false premisses, he fell into contradictions and absurdities, though the flaws were concealed by a show of rigorous logical deduction highly captivating to his French readers.

Rousseau's
views of
society.

The *Social Contract*, Rousseau's most practical work, and on which his fame as a political philosopher must rest, was, perhaps, partly founded on hints derived from the Republican Constitution of his native city. It contains much that might be practicable under certain conditions of society, and was so regarded not only by the French democrats, but also by the Corsicans and the Poles, who made Rousseau their legislator, and asked for a constitution at his hands. The assumption of an original contract as the basis of civil society had been made by less eccentric philosophers than Rousseau; it had been solemnly asserted by the practical English statesmen of

Sovereignty
of the
people.

¹ See the *Confession de foi d'un vicaire Savoyard*.

1688. Although a fiction, it afforded at least convenient grounds for inquiring into first principles. Even the chief characteristic doctrine of the *Social Contract*, the sovereignty of the people, had been promulgated by the Dutch in their Declaration of Independence, and had been maintained by Locke in his *Treatise on Government*; nor in so far that the last appeal in all questions affecting the vital interests of a nation should be to the people itself, will any enlightened mind be disposed to contest the doctrine. But the difference between Locke and Rousseau is this, that while both thought that the sovereign power resides inalienably in the people, Locke allows that it may be delegated; while Rousseau holds that the sovereign, that is, the people, can only be represented by himself.¹ Even this might not be impracticable in a small State, and was, indeed, actually done at Athens; but Rousseau is forced to admit its unsuitableness for a large one;² and hence his theory sinks at once from the rank of absolute to that of only relative truth. As a legitimate deduction from these views, Rousseau condemned representative government altogether. He recognized not such bodies as Parliaments and National Assemblies; for as the people cannot delegate the sovereignty, so neither can they delegate the legislative power, the highest function of the sovereign. Hence Rousseau was no admirer of the English Constitution. He even ridicules the English for thinking themselves free; a condition which, according to him, they enjoy only during the short period employed in electing members of Parliament.³

No writer had a greater influence on the Revolution. Before it broke out, Marat was accustomed to read and com-

¹ "Je dis donc, que la souveraineté, n'étant que l'exercice de la volonté générale, ne peut jamais s'aliéner, et que le souverain, qui est un être collectif, ne peut être représenté que par lui-même."—*Contr. Soc.* liv. ii. chap. i.

² *Ibid.* liv. iii. chap. xv. Rousseau, however, had a plan for obviating this difficulty, which he intrusted to the Count d'Antraigues, afterwards a deputy in the Constituent Assembly, who, by the advice of a friend, destroyed the MS. as dangerous to royal authority. See *Œuvres de Rousseau*, t. v. p. 269 (ed. 1823).

³ *Contrat Soc.* liv. iii. chap. xv. Subsequently, however, he somewhat modified these views. Thus, in the *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de la Pologne*, chap. vii., he admits representative government. Cf. *Lettres de la Montagne*. But he thought that the English system required annual parliaments and universal suffrage.

ment on the *Contrat Social* in the streets amid the applause of an enthusiastic audience. Professors of jurisprudence put it into the hands of their pupils as a manual.¹ The majority of the first National Assembly were Rousseau's disciples, as appears from their voting him a statue, as the author of the *Contrat Social*, the elementary book of public liberty and the science of government; and from their giving a pension of 1,200 francs to his widow. They seemed to have borrowed from Rousseau the idea of giving the King the title of "King of the French," instead of "King of France."² But the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the Constituent Assembly is perhaps the strongest instance of his influence. In the third Article his dogma of the sovereignty of the people is laid down in its full extent. As the Revolution pursued its headlong course, Rousseau's authority grew all the stronger. The first Declaration of Rights only proclaimed that men are equal *in rights*; the second (June 24th, 1793) asserted that they are equal *by nature*. Thus the natural was sophistically confounded with the social state, the savage with the civilized man; and the people, instead of being instructed in their duties, were taught to believe themselves entitled to rights utterly incompatible with their social condition.

Rousseau's
influence
on the
Revolution.

As Voltaire was the laughing philosopher, the Democritus of the Revolution, so Rousseau was its Heraclitus. Uniting an ardent imagination with extraordinary dialectic subtlety, he was enabled to support his extravagant hypotheses with a display of reasoning which to some minds made them appear truths. He would perhaps have been filled with regret could he have foreseen their consequences, for he had the greatest aversion to violence.

A morbid sensibility, like that of Rousseau, is, however, so far from being incompatible with the most atrocious cruelty that their union forms one of the strongest and most striking features of the French Revolution. Michelet has remarked that many of the terrorists "were men of an exalted and morbid sensibility;"³ and he goes on to observe that artists and women were particularly subject to it. The perpetrators of the September massacres were occasionally seized with a

Rousseau's
sensibility
and good-
ness.

¹ Taine, *Anc. Régime*, p. 415.

² See *Contrat Soc.* liv. i. chap. ix.

³ *Hist. de la Révol. Franç.* liv. ii. chap. ii.

fit of frantic joy when one of their intended victims was acquitted, and, by "a strange reaction of sensibility," would shed tears and throw themselves into the arms of those whom a moment before they were about to slay. The same sort of "sensibility" appears to have characterized Danton. It has been remarked that the novels and other publications of the bloodiest period of the Revolution are full of the word *sensibility*. Fabre d'Eglantine even talked about "the sensibility of Marat."

Censorship
of the
Press.

In the absence of all public debate, literature was, under the old *régime*, the only channel of political discussion. The growing audacity of its tone had not escaped the attention of the Government. A Royal Declaration of 1757, in the very zenith of Voltaire's ascendant, condemns *to death* those who should write or print or disseminate anything hostile to religion or the established Government.¹ The censorship of the Press, however, which was in the hands of the clergy, was on the whole exercised with tolerable leniency, though often capriciously. Thus Rousseau's prize essay was left unnoticed, while his harmless *Emile* was condemned to be burnt by the executioner. In like manner the Sorbonne refused their *imprimatur* to Marmontel's innocuous *Bélisaire*, and extracted from it thirty-two propositions, which they published with their anathema as heretical, under the title of *Indiculus*; to which Turgot subjoined the epithet *ridiculus*. One of the propositions denounced was: "It is not by the light of the flaming pile that souls are to be enlightened;" whence Turgot drew the legitimate conclusion that, in the opinion of the Sorbonne, souls were to be so enlightened! Such were the clerical censors of those days.

Spread of
philoso-
phical
views.

A recent French writer somewhat paradoxically maintains that the restrictions on literature were really effective, and that the *philosophers* had thus little or no influence in producing the Revolution. In corroboration of this view he asserts, on the authority of the Introduction to the *Moniteur*, that their works were to be found only in the libraries of the educated and rich.² But what more could be required? It is notorious that the Revolution was begun by the higher classes. Thus Marmontel tells us that among the nobles, a

¹ Tocqueville, *Anc. Régime*, p. 100.

² Granier de Cassagnac, *Hist. des Causes de la Révol. Fr.* t. i. p. 51 sq.

considerable number of enthusiasts (*têtes exaltées*), some from a spirit of liberty, others from calculating and ambitious views, were inclined towards the popular party.¹ Madame de Staël says that not only all the men, but also all the women, who had any influence upon opinion among the higher classes, were warm in favour of the national cause; that fashion, all powerful in France, ran in this direction; and that this state of things was the result of the whole century.²

The privileged classes adopted the same language as the *Tiers état*, and were disciples of the same philosophers. As early as 1762, women of fashion had taken from Rousseau the ominous name of *citoyenne*, as a pet appellation.³ In like manner, among the clergy, the most pronounced scepticism was found in the hierarchy. We need hardly advert to the rapidity with which, in a country like France, opinion spreads from class to class. This circumstance had not escaped the notice of Voltaire,⁴ who had remarked the rapid diffusion of the new principles. A traveller who had been long absent from France being asked on his return at the opening of Louis XVI.'s reign what change he observed in the nation? replied: "None, except that what used to be the talk of the drawing-rooms is now repeated in the streets."⁵

The persecution which authors experienced from the Censorship was more vexatious than terrible, and calculated rather to excite than to deter. Hume even expressed to Diderot his opinion that French intolerance was more favourable to intellectual progress than the unlimited liberty of the Press enjoyed in England.⁶ However this may be, it is certain that the progress of public opinion in France had led acute observers to predict a revolution even so early as the middle of the eighteenth century. Lord Chesterfield, in a letter dated April 13th, 1752, adverting to the quarrel between Louis XV. and the Parliament of Paris, observes:

Prophecies
of a Revolu-
tion.

¹ *Mémoires*, t. iv. p. 104.

² *Considérations sur la Révol. Fr. Œuvres*, t. xii. p. 179.

³ Taine, *Anc. Régime*, liv. iv. ch. ii. s. v. See the whole section.

⁴ "La lumière s'est tellement répandue *de proche en proche*, qu'on éclatera à la première occasion," etc.—*Lettre à M. Chauvelin*, Avr. 22, 1764.

⁵ De Barante, *Lit. Française au 18^{ème} Siècle*, 312.

⁶ Tocqueville, *Anc. Régime*, p. 233.

"This I see, that before the end of this century, the trade of both king and priest will not be half so good a one as it has been."¹

Degrada-
tion of the
Monarchy.

While such was the progress of public opinion, the Monarchy had been gradually sinking into unpopularity and contempt. The French people, till towards the close of Louis XIV.'s reign, had loved their kings with an affection bordering on idolatry. They looked up to them as their protectors against the aristocracy, and as the promoters of national glory, both in arms and letters. But this popularity began to wane with Louis XIV.'s good fortune, and the approach of that misery which his ambition had occasioned. The Regency of the Duke of Orleans was calculated to bring all government into contempt. Yet the loyalty of the French seemed to revive a little in the first part of Louis XV.'s reign, till his vices entirely extinguished it. The masses ordered by private individuals for the King's safety form a kind of barometer of his popularity. During his illness at Metz in 1744, they amounted to 6,000; after Damiens' attempt on his life in 1757 to 600; at his last illness in 1774 to 3.² Frequent scarcities constantly recalled the *Pacte de Famine*, till at length it resounded as the death-knell of the French Monarchy, when on the 6th of October, 1789, the populace led the Royal Family captive to Paris, with shouts that they were bringing the baker, his wife, and the little apprentice! Thus Louis XVI. inherited a Crown sullied by the vices of his predecessors, and became the innocent victim of faults that were not his own. The feebleness of his character, nay, even his very virtues, assisted the Revolution. Had he possessed more energy and decision, had he felt less reluctance to shed the blood of his subjects, he might probably have averted the excesses which marked his own end and that of the Monarchy. "It is frightful to think," says Mounier, "that with a less benevolent soul, another Prince might perhaps have found means to maintain his power."³

¹ See to the same effect another letter of December 25th, 1753. The French Revolution was also foretold by Leibnitz in his *New Essay on the Human Understanding*, B. iv. ch. xvi.; by Voltaire, in the letter to M. Chauvelin, already quoted; and by Rousseau in his *Emile*, t. ii. p. 99 (ed. Geneva, 1780).

² Taine, p. 413.

³ *Recherches sur les Causes, etc.*

The aid which, against his better judgment, Louis XVI. was induced to lend to the American rebellion, must be reckoned among the causes of his fall; not only by aggravating the financial distress, but also, and more materially, from the support which the doctrines of the revolutionary philosophers derived from the establishment of the American Republic. While, as De Tocqueville remarks,¹ the American rebellion was only a new and astonishing fact to the rest of Europe, to the French people it rendered more possible things which they had meditated on already. The Americans seemed only to be executing what the French writers had conceived, and to be giving to their dreams all the substance of reality. The aid which the French Government lent to rebels appeared a sanction of revolt. Lafayette and other Frenchmen, who had taken a personal share in the American struggle, were among the foremost to promote the Revolution in France, and the enthusiastic feeling which the declaration of American Independence excited among the French, was perhaps heightened by the circumstance that it had been achieved at the expense of a rival nation. During the first tumults in Paris, the name of Washington was the principal watchword in the different sections.

Effect
of the
American
revolt.

Louis XVI. himself, in his speech on opening the States-General in 1789, attributed the financial pressure to the American war. Its cost was estimated at 1,194 million livres, or about 48 millions sterling; and so bad was the state of credit in France, that this money was borrowed at an average of about 10 per cent. We cannot, however, regard the disordered state of the finances as much more than the *occasion* of the Revolution, by necessitating the convocation of the States-General. It was none of the essential *causes* of the outbreak. Preceding monarchs had triumphed over greater financial embarrassments; and had everything else in the State been sound, even a national bankruptcy might have been surmounted. In fact, though the *deficit* set the Revolution in motion, it occupied but little attention after the movement was once begun. The importance of the *deficit* as a revolutionary motive, arose not so much from its amount, as from the temper of the nation. The wide-spread discontent among the middle and lower classes forbade the imposition

The deficit.

¹ *Anc. Régime*, p. 223.

of any new taxes, while the higher orders were not inclined to relinquish their fiscal privileges.

The centralization of all France in Paris contributed much to the origin as well as to the peculiar character of the Revolution. The destruction of Reveillon's paper manufactory by the populace, during the election of deputies to the States, though too much stress has perhaps been laid upon it as a political movement, showed at least what extensive elements of discontent and danger were lurking in Paris. No sooner was the National Assembly opened than the Parisian electors, having formed themselves into a permanent and illegal committee, began to dictate to it. The deputies were bullied and insulted by the mob that filled the tribunes; who, as Arthur Young tells us, interrupted the debates by clapping their hands, and other noisy expressions of approbation. When the party of the Gironde at length began to feel the intolerable tyranny of the mob which they had themselves used to promote their ends, they sought to protect themselves, and to secure the freedom of debate, by moving for a guard to be composed of provincials.

Such was the self-constituted sovereign people of the Revolution. How unlike the sovereign dreamt of by the Genevese philosopher! Nay, how unlike the great mass of the French nation, who were desirous only of a moderate social reform. "The labourer in the fields," says Marmontel,¹ "the artizan in the towns, the honest burgess engrossed by his trade, demanded only to be relieved, and had they been left alone, would have sent to the Assembly deputies as peaceable as themselves. But in the towns, and especially in Paris, there exists a class of men, who, though distinguished by their education, belong by birth to the people, make common cause with them, and, when their rights are in question, take up their interests, lend them their intelligence, and infect them with their passions. It was among this class that an innovating, bold, and contentious spirit had long been forming itself, and was every day acquiring more strength and influence."

But, while the ascendancy of the Parisian rabble effected the speedy downfall of the Monarchy, it was also the principal cause of the failure of the Republic. The throne was no

Conduct
of the
Deputies.

Sovereignty
of the mob.

The
influence
of Paris.

¹ *Mémoires*, t. iv. p. 37 sq.

sooner overturned than its overthrowers, instead of consolidating the new State, began among themselves a deadly struggle for power, a struggle which ended in the supremacy for the military power.

The character of the national representatives was another cause of the failure of the Revolution. From the want of all public life in France, they had no political experience. Their knowledge of politics rested entirely on theory and speculation; and thus, as De Tocqueville observes,¹ they carried their literary habits into their proceedings. Hence a love of general theories, complete systems of legislation, exact but impracticable symmetry in the laws; a contempt for existing facts, and a taste for what was original, ingenious, and new; a desire to reconstruct the State after a uniform plan, instead of trying to amend the parts of it. To this political ignorance, or worse still, illusory knowledge, must be ascribed some of the greatest evils of the Revolution. Vague and undefined notions of liberty and equality produced the worst and most ridiculous excesses. As it was impossible to establish an equality by raising up the lower orders, it was determined to pull down the higher ones, and thus to reduce everything to a uniform low level.

Want of
political
experience.

Resemblances between the French and English Revolutions have been ingeniously pointed out, which at first sight seem striking enough. In both countries an unpopular queen; the Long Parliament in England, and the self-constituted National Assembly in France; the flight of Louis to Varennes, and of Charles to the Isle of Wight; the trial and execution of both those monarchs; the government by the Parliament, and the government by the Convention; Cromwell and Bonaparte, who expel these assemblies and rule by the sword; the setting aside of the heirs of these usurpers, and the restoration of the legitimate Kings. These resemblances, however, lie only on the surface. A deeper examination will discover that no two events of the same kind can be more opposite in their essential character than the French and English Revolutions. While the object of the one was to destroy, that of the other was to restore. In the Petition of Right, the English Parliament protested against certain of the King's acts which were the acknowledged prerogative of the French Monarch; such

French and
English
Revolu-
tions.

¹ *Anc. Régime*, p. 224 sq.

as the levying of taxes by his own authority, imprisoning his subjects and confiscating their property arbitrarily and without legal trial, billeting soldiers and mariners upon householders, etc. Against these abuses they appeal to the rights and liberties which they have *inherited* according to the laws and statutes of the realm.¹ In France very different developments took place. After a long and splendid career in arts and arms, the most polished nation in Europe found it necessary to assume the position of Man just emerged from his primeval forests, and like the original societies imagined by Rousseau and other speculative politicians, to settle the elementary conditions of its civil state. Everything that had gone before was swept away, and a constitution was built up on paper from first principles as deduced from the supposed natural rights of Man. Another striking difference is, that while in England the quarrel was in great part founded on religious disputes, in France religion was discarded altogether.

Charles I.
and Louis
XVI.

As the whole method and character of the two revolutions was diametrically opposed, so also was the conduct of the two Kings. Charles I. had violated the Constitution by a series of high-handed acts; Louis XVI., though bound by no law but his own will, assembled the *Etats généraux*, which had not been summoned for nearly two centuries; during the abeyance of the English Parliament, the Star Chamber had proceeded in the most absolute and illegal manner, while the French King, instead of increasing, considerably mitigated the arbitrary powers, such as *lettres de cachet*, etc., which were at his disposal; Charles took up arms against his subjects; Louis could not be persuaded to shed the blood of his people, even in the most urgent cases of self-defence.

Effects of
the French
Revolution.

In judging the French Revolution from its effects, which, however, may still be said to be in progress, we must on the whole pronounce it to have been beneficial. It delivered France from an arbitrary and unbounded royal prerogative, from an intolerant Church and a tyrannical feudal nobility; it established the peasantry on a stable basis; and it welded the previously ill-cemented provinces into one compact and powerful body; in short, into the present French nation. It may be remarked that the excesses of the French democrats

¹ The characters of the French and English Revolutions are very justly discriminated in Massey's *Reign of George III.* vol. iv. ch. 33.

were not imitated in those countries where their principles had produced a revolution, Neither massacres, nor incendiarism, nor sacrilege, nor proscriptions took place in the Netherlands, on the banks of the Rhine, in Switzerland, and Italy. It may, too, be observed as a singular fact that in foreign countries their principles found readier acceptance among the higher classes of society than among the lower and more uneducated. In Germany the peasants of Suabia and the Palatinate were the chief opponents of the French Revolution, while the Princes and States of the Empire made but a feeble resistance, and ultimately took advantage of it to forward their own selfish interests. It was to the peasants of Northern Italy that the allies were considerably indebted for their rapid triumphs in 1799; it was the *lazzaroni* and peasants of Naples who defended the capital against the French, re-established the King, and drove the French from Rome. The same class of people in Piedmont displayed the greatest devotion to their Sovereign, and often proved a serious impediment to the progress of the French arms.

CHAPTER LIII

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION

The Royal
session,
1789.

THE first acts of the French *tiers état*, or Commons, after constituting themselves a National Assembly, were to declare the legislative power indivisible, and to annul all the existing taxes, on the ground that only those are lawful which have received the formal consent of the nation; but to obviate a dissolution of the Assembly, they decreed the continuance of the present taxes so long as their session should last. These vigorous proceedings filled the Court with dismay. To avert the danger, recourse was had to one of those false steps which ultimately caused the ruin of the Monarchy. It was resolved that the King, in a royal session, should endeavour to restore a good understanding between the different orders, and reduce their proceedings to some regularity. It was thought that, as in the ancient days of the Monarchy, the Assembly might be overawed by the King's presence, and by a few words delivered in the accustomed tone of absolute authority. Such a step was in obvious contradiction to the very nature of the Assembly; for, if the King's voice was to prevail, to what purpose had he summoned the representatives of the people?

Necker must share the blame of this measure, though not of the manner in which it was executed. That Minister still hoped to carry his favourite project of two Chambers, voting in common on general and financial matters, but separately in things that more particularly concerned the respective orders. His own scheme was not a very liberal one. Everything was to come from the King's concession. Necker drew up a royal address in a tone of mildness and conciliation, in which the vote *per capita* was placed first, and the less

palatable part of the scheme at the end.¹ The Council, however, took the matter out of his hands, and altered his draft of the speech so materially, and, it must be allowed, so injudiciously, that Necker considered himself justified in absenting himself from the royal session.

The royal session, originally fixed for June 22nd, was postponed till the following day; meanwhile the Assembly was adjourned, the hall where they sat was ordered to be closed, and the deputies who presented themselves were brutally repulsed. But the leaders of the *tiers état*, particularly Bailly, assembled the larger part of that order in a neighbouring tennis-court; where the Abbé Sieyès, perceiving their excited state, proposed that they should at once leave Versailles for Paris, and proceed to make decrees in the name of the nation. It was to avert this step that Mounier proposed the celebrated oath that they should not separate till they had established a constitution.²

The tennis-court oath.

On the following day, the tennis-court having been hired by some of the princes in order to prevent these meetings, the deputies repaired to the church of St. Louis. Here, to their great joy, and to the consternation of the Court, they were joined by the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Vienne, the Bishops of Chartres and Rhodéz, and 145 representatives of the clergy, besides all the nobles of Dauphiné; in the states of which province it was customary for the three orders to sit together.

When the Chambers again assembled, on June 23rd, the King undoubtedly made some important concessions, and such as, under other circumstances, might probably have been satisfactory. He abolished the *taille*, vested solely in the States-General the power of levying taxes, submitted the public accounts to their examination, did away with *corvées* and several other vexatious and oppressive grievances. But these concessions were made to spring from the royal grace and favour, and not from constitutional right, thus giving no security for the continuance. The clergy were to have a

The Royal
seance of
June 23.

¹ See for the general course of the French Revolution, Taine, *La Révolution*; Morse Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*; Mignet, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*.

² Such is the real history of this famous oath, according to Mallet du Pan, who appears to have had it from Mounier himself. See *Mém. et Corr. de Mallet du Pan*, t. i. p. 165 note.

special *veto* in all questions of religion. The equality of imposts would be sanctioned only if the clergy and nobles consented to renounce their pecuniary privileges. The admission of *roturiers* to commands in the army was expressly refused. All that the *tiers état* had hitherto done was annulled. Above all, the King willed that the three orders should remain distinct, and deliberate separately; though, if they wished to unite, he would permit it for this session alone, and that only for affairs of a general nature; and he concluded by ordering the members to separate immediately, and to meet next morning, each in the chamber appropriated to his order. This, as a modern historian remarks, was again to hand over France to the privileged classes.¹ The speech was delivered in a tone of absolute authority, neither suitable to the present posture of affairs, nor to the natural temper of the King.²

The nobles and part of the clergy followed the King when he retired. But the Commons, by the mouth of Mirabeau, when summoned to leave the hall by M. de Brézé, the master of the ceremonies, refused to do so, unless expelled by military force; and they proceeded to confirm their previous resolutions, which the King had annulled, and to declare the persons of the deputies inviolable; thus showing their determination to maintain the sovereignty which they had usurped. In short, the attempted *coup d'état* had failed; while the applause with which Necker was everywhere greeted afforded a striking proof of the popular feeling. On the very same evening the King felt himself compelled to request that Minister to retain his portfolio; thus virtually condemning his own speech.

On the day after the royal session the majority of the clergy, composed of *curés*, who, from their constant intercourse with the people, were disposed to take the popular side, joined the Commons; and, on June 26th, the Bishops of Orange and Autun, and the Archbishop of Paris, did the same. The Bishop of Autun, Talleyrand Périgord, here gave the first proof of that unerring sagacity which, through all the eventful changes of the Revolution, enabled him to distinguish the winning side. The conduct of the Archbishop

¹ Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, i. 67 (Eng. transl.).

² The King's speech will be found in Toulangeon, *Hist. de France depuis la Révol.* t. i.; *Pièces justific.* p. 77; and in the *Hist. Parl.* t. ii.

of Paris was the result of popular violence. A mob had stormed his palace, and, with threats of assassination, extorted his promise to join the Commons. The secession of the clergy was immediately followed by that of forty-seven of the nobles, chiefly the friends of Necker, and including the Duke of Orleans. The Court, alarmed by reports that extensive massacres were planning, that 100,000 rebels were in full march, and others of the like kind,¹ now deemed it prudent to yield to the popular wish. The King addressed letters to the clergy and nobles, who remained out, requesting them to join the Commons without delay; these were backed by others from d'Artois, stating that the King's life was in danger; and under these representations the union of the whole Assembly was effected, June 27th, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the *tiers état*.

One of the worst symptoms for the royal cause was the disaffection of the soldiery. There had been great abuses in the administration of the army. While forty-six million livres were allotted in the budget to the officers, only forty-four million were distributed among the men. The Comte de St. Germain, appointed Minister of War in 1775, had contributed to the disaffection of the troops by reforms and innovations in discipline, and especially by the introduction of corporal punishment. The army, corrupted by a long peace, had become almost a body of citizens, and had extensively imbibed the prevailing democratic opinions. This was more particularly the case with the *Gardes Françaises*, who, being quartered in Paris, mixed freely with the people. This regiment, when called out to defend the archbishop's palace, had refused to fire upon the mob. Their colonel, M. de Châtelet, had imprisoned in the Abbaye eleven of his men, who had taken an oath not to obey any order at variance with the resolutions of the Assembly, but they were delivered and fêted by the people; while the dragoons sent to disperse the mob had fraternized with them.²

State of
the army.

The Court, however, had not yet abandoned the project of carrying matters with a high hand. Large bodies of troops, consisting chiefly of German and Swiss regiments, who could be best relied on, were assembled in the neighbourhood of

Idea of a
coup d'état.

¹ Ferrières, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 65 sq. (Coll. Berville et Barrière).

² *Ibid.* t. i. p. 70 sqq.

Paris, and Marshal Broglie was summoned to Versailles to take the command of them. All this was done with too much display, if the intention was to act; and with too little, if the object was only to overawe and intimidate. The King was to appear in the Assembly, and compel it to accept the Declaration of June 23rd, of which 4,000 copies had been printed for circulation in the provinces; and the Assembly was then to be dissolved. The King suffered these preparations to be made, though it lay not in his character ever to employ them. When his advisers, comprising the more resolute or violent party of the Court, including the Queen, d'Artois, the Polignacs, the Baron de Breteuil, and others, thought themselves sufficiently strong, they persuaded him to dismiss Necker and three other Ministers, July 11th; another false step, which may be said to have put the seal to the Revolution.

State of
Paris.

At this time the aspect of Paris was alarming. Thousands of starving people had crowded thither from the provinces. The bakers' doors were besieged; bread was upwards of four sous a pound, then a famine price, and very bad; a sort of camp of 20,000 mendicants had been formed at Montmartre. Thus all the materials for sedition and violence were collected, and the Palais Royal, belonging to the Duke of Orleans, was a centre for setting them in motion. No police officer could enter its privileged precincts, and, by the connivance of the Duke, its garden and coffee-houses became the resort of all the agitators and demagogues of Paris. The Café Foy, especially, was converted into a sort of revolutionary club, whose leading members were Camille Desmoulins and Lous-talot, two advocates who had abandoned the profession of the law for the more profitable one of journalists, and a democratic nobleman of herculean proportions and stentorian voice, the Marquis de St. Huruge. At night the garden was filled with a promiscuous crowd; little groups were formed, in which calumnious denunciations were made, and the most violent resolutions adopted.

The news of Necker's dismissal reached Paris the following day (Sunday, July 12th) about four o'clock in the afternoon. The people immediately crowded to the Palais Royal. Camille Desmoulins appeared at a window of the Café Foy with a pistol in his hand, and exhorted the people to resistance. He then descended into the garden, plucked a leaf, and placed it

in his hat by way of a green cockade, the colour of Necker's livery, an example which was immediately imitated by the mob. Busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans were seized at a sculptor's on the Boulevard du Temple, and paraded through the streets by the rabble, some thousands of whom were armed with pikes, sabres, and other weapons. The theatres were compelled to close their doors, and several houses and shops were plundered. The mob, on entering the Place Louis XV., now Place de la Concorde, were charged and dispersed by a cavalry regiment, the *Royal Allemand*, commanded by the Prince de Lambesc, and some blood was shed. The person who carried the bust of Necker was shot, and a Savoyard, who bore that of the Duke of Orleans was wounded. The Guards sided with the people.

The riots were continued on the following day. The populace crowded to the Hôtel de Ville to demand arms and ammunition, which were distributed to them by a member of the Electoral Committee. Parties, headed by some of the Guards, broke open the prisons, liberated the prisoners confined for debt, plundered the Convent St. Lazare of grain, and the *Garde Meuble* of arms. But the most important event of July 13th was the creation of a civic militia of 48,000 men, by the self-constituted Permanent Committee of the Electors of Paris. These Electors, for the most part wealthy burgesses, had resolved, in spite of the prohibition of the Government, to remain assembled, in order to complete their instructions to the Deputies. After the *coup d'état* of June 23rd, they met at a *traiteur's*, and resolved to support the Assembly. Thuriot, one of the most active of their number, advised them to go to the Hôtel de Ville and demand the Salle St. Jean for their permanent sittings, which was abandoned to them. The institution of the Civic Guard proclaimed the assumption of the sovereignty by the people. It consisted of citizens of some substance, and its creation had been suggested by the numerous acts of violence which had taken place.

Next day, July 14th, the insurrection assumed a still more violent character. A vast crowd repaired to the Hôtel des Invalides, which they entered without resistance, although six battalions of Swiss and 800 horse were encamped in the immediate neighbourhood. Here the people seized 28,000 muskets and several cannon. Arms and ammunition had also

The
National
Guard.

The taking
of the
Bastille,
July 14.

been procured at the Hôtel de Ville. Shouts of "*To the Bastille!*" were now raised, and the armed multitude directed themselves upon that fortress. Its garrison consisted of only eighty-two *Invalides*, and thirty-two Swiss, and these were destitute of provisions for a siege; but the place was well supplied with cannon and ammunition. The Governor, de Launay, had made preparations for defence, and a determined commander might have held the place against an undisciplined mob till succour should arrive. But De Launay was not a regular soldier. He was weak enough to admit Thuriot, the Elector already mentioned, into the fortress, and to parley with him. Although Thuriot assured the people of the pacific intentions of the Governor, he could not persuade them to desist from the siege. Many of the assailants displayed valour, especially Elie and Hullin, belonging to the Guards, who had joined the mob, and a man named Maillard. The *curé* of St. Estéphe was one of the leaders. After a siege of a few hours, when the garrison had lost only three or four men, and the people nearly two hundred, De Launay, urged by his French troops, offered to capitulate, in spite of the remonstrances of the Swiss commander. The capitulation stipulated that the lives of the garrison should be spared; but when the populace burst into the fortress they slew many of the *Invalides* as well as the Swiss, their fury being especially directed against the officers. De Launay, and his second in command, Major de Losme, were conducted towards the Hôtel de Ville, but were barbarously massacred in the Place de Grève, in spite of the efforts of Elie and Hullin to save them. These murders were immediately followed by that of M. de Flesselles, *Prévôt des Marchands*, or Provost of Paris, who was accused of having misled the people in their search for arms. The bleeding heads of De Launay and the Provost were stuck upon pikes, and paraded through the streets in a sort of triumphal procession of the conquerors of the Bastille, and the bearers of them appear to have been paid by the civic authorities for their revolting services. When the Bastille was invaded, only seven prisoners were found, the greater part confined for forgery, and not a single one for a political offence. The fortress was soon after demolished to the foundations, by order of the National Assembly.

On the day after the capture of the Bastille an elector

proposed Lafayette as commander of the Civic Guard, a nomination which was received with universal approbation. As civic guards had also been instituted in many provincial towns, Lafayette, with a view to unite all the militias of the kingdom, now changed their name to that of "National Guard." And as the metropolitan force had hitherto worn a cockade composed of blue and red, which were the Orleans colours as well as those of the City of Paris, he added the Bourbon white, by way of distinction. Such was the origin of the tricolor, which the new commander-in-chief declared would travel round the world.¹ In like manner Bailly, the astronomer, now President of the National Assembly, was proposed as *Prévôt des Marchands*, in place of the murdered De Flesselles. "No," exclaimed Brissot, "not Provost of the Merchants, but Mayor of Paris;" and the new magistrate and his new title were adopted by acclamation.²

Bailly
Mayor of
Paris.

The Monarchy was evidently in the throes of a crisis. Two courses only were open to the King: either to fly to some other part of the Kingdom and place himself at the head of his troops in defence of his throne, or to accept the Revolution. The former of these steps was advocated by Marie Antoinette and a considerable portion of the Court and Council. But its success would have been very doubtful. The greater part of the army, as well as of the nation, were favourable to the Revolution; above all, Louis XVI. possessed not energy enough to carry out successfully so bold a step. He decided for the other alternative. On July 15th, after learning from the Duc de Liancourt the capture of the Bastille, which it had been endeavoured to conceal from him, he proceeded without state and ceremony, and accompanied only by his two brothers, Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois, to the Assembly; where, addressing the Deputies as the representatives of the nation, and expressing his confidence in their fidelity and affection, he informed them that he had ordered the troops to quit Paris and Versailles, and authorized them to acquaint the authorities of the Capital with what he had done.

Not content with this step, Louis declared his intention of visiting Paris, in order, as he said, to put the seal to the

The King
visits Paris.

¹ Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, i. 89 (Eng. Trans.).

² Ferrières, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 145; Bailly, *Mém.* t. ii. p. 25.

reconciliation between Crown and people. Having first taken the sacrament, and having given his elder brother, the Count of Provence, a paper appointing him Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, in case anything should happen to himself, the King set off for Paris, July 17th, accompanied by 100 members of the National Assembly. He was received at the gates of Paris by Bailly, the new Mayor, and by the National Guard, under arms. In an address, Bailly observed, in presenting the keys of the City: "These, Sire, are the same keys that were offered to Henry IV., the conqueror of his people; to-day it is the people who have reconquered their King." Louis then appeared at a window of the Hôtel de Ville, with the national colours on his breast; he confirmed Bailly and Lafayette in their respective offices; announced his consent to the recall of Necker; and after listening to a few speeches, and expressing his satisfaction at finding himself in the midst of his people, he took his departure amid cries of *Vive le Roi!*

The emigration begins.

These scenes of violence, the inability of the Government to repress them, the manifest ascendancy of the Revolution, induced many of the princes and nobles to emigrate. The King's brother, the Comte d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, the Duc d'Enghien, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Polignac, and his family, and numerous other persons of distinction, left Paris for Turin a few days after the capture of the Bastille. This conduct of the nobles is inexcusable. It was they who had contributed to the Revolution by their privileges, exclusiveness, and introduction of the new philosophy, and now they deserted the throne, as well as their own cause; made by their flight a sort of declaration of war against the nation, and, at the same time, a confession of the hopelessness of resistance. It can hardly be said, however, with Madame de Stäel,¹ that they were in no danger. A list of proscriptions had been formed at the Palais Royal, in which the Queen, the Comte d'Artois, the Duchess of Polignac and others, were marked for death.²

Deaths of Foulon and Berthier.

The King's visit to Paris had no effect in taming the ferocity of the people, which had been whetted by the taste of blood. A few days after, July 22nd, Foulon, an old man of seventy-five, one of the new ministers appointed after Necker's

¹ *Œuvres*, t. xiii. p. 262.

² Ferrières, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 136.

dismissal, and his son-in-law, Berthier de Sauvigny, were hanged at a lamp in the Place de Grève, in spite of all the attempts of Bailly and Lafayette to save them. This crime was committed by assassins hired at a great cost by the revolutionary leaders.¹ Foulon had made himself unpopular by his harshness, and by some contemptuous remarks which he was reported to have made about the people, but which were probably calumnies of the journals. Berthier had been an honest and intelligent administrator, but disliked for his haughtiness. Lafayette, disgusted at brutalities which he could not control, tendered his resignation; but the Sections refused to accept it.

The example of the metropolis was speedily imitated in the provinces. Municipal guards were everywhere instituted under the ostensible pretence of averting plunder and violence; but the men composing them were all hostile to the ancient institutions. Tolls and custom-houses were destroyed, and many unpopular officials and suspected engrossers of corn were hanged. The movement spread to the rural districts of central and southern France, and especially of Brittany; châteaux and convents were destroyed, and in Alsace and Franche-Comté several of the nobles were put to death, in some cases with horrible tortures. It was about this time that the term *aristocrat* began to be used as synonymous with an enemy of the people. At Caen, M. de Belzunce, a major in the army, denounced in the infamous Journal of Marat, was slain by the people for endeavouring to maintain discipline in his regiment.² In the northern parts of France the peasants were less violent, and contented themselves with refusing to pay tithes or to perform any feudal services. Throughout great part of France a vague terror prevailed of an army of brigands said to be paid by the aristocrats to destroy the crops, in order to produce a famine.

The order for Necker's recall overtook him at Basle. He returned to Versailles towards the end of July, presented himself to the National Assembly, then hastened to Paris, where he procured from the Committee of Electors a general amnesty for the enemies of the Revolution; a decree, however, which the Sections immediately compelled the Electors to re-

Massacre
in the
Provinces.

Return of
Necker.

¹ Mirabeau's *Letters*, ap. Von Sybel, i. p. 81.

² Prudhomme, *Hist. Générale*, p. 146; Dumouriez, *Mémoires*.

verse, and which had only the effect of rendering Necker himself suspected. He had not even yet discovered the true character of the Revolution. He was still infatuated enough to think that he could direct a movement to which his own acts had so essentially contributed; and in his overweening confidence he neglected to form a party in the Assembly, and to conciliate its more dangerous leaders.

The
Constituent
Assembly

The National Assembly, or, as it was called from its labours in drawing up a constitution, the CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, contained some of the ablest men in France, and many of its members were undoubtedly animated with a sincere desire to establish, on a lasting basis, the liberty and welfare of the French people. It was divided into three principal parties. On the right of the President sat the Conservatives, or supporters of the ancient *régime*, composed mostly of the prelates and higher nobles. The chief speaker on this side was the Abbé Maury, though Cazalès defended with considerable ability the cause of the nobles. The centre was occupied by the Constitutionalists, who were desirous of establishing a limited monarchy, somewhat after the English model. The most distinguished members of this party were the Count of Clermont Tonnerre, Count Lally Tollendal, Mounier, Malouet, the Duc de la Rochefoucault, the Duc de Liancourt, the Viscount Montmorenci, the Marquis de Montesquieu, and others. From the character of its principles this section was called the *Marais*. The popular, or ultra-democratic party occupied the benches on the left. The principles of this party were neither very defined nor very consistent. They, of course, carried their views further than the Constitutionalists; but none of them were yet Republicans, though some may have desired a change of dynasty. The chief political principle which they held in common was the union of the Monarchy with a single Chamber, or what has been called a Royal Democracy. Among them might be seen the Duke of Orleans, the Marquis Lafayette, Bailly, Mirabeau, Duport, Barnave, the two Lameths, the Abbé Sieyès, Talleyrand, Robespierre, and others. As the Revolution proceeded, many of these men became Republicans, whilst others, on the contrary, joined the Constitutional party.

The Duke
of Orleans.

Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orleans, great-grandson of the Regent, possessed all his ancestor's profligacy and want of principle, without his ability. The chief motives of his

political conduct were hatred of the reigning family, and especially of the Queen, and some vague hopes that their overthrow might enable him to usurp the Crown. But nature had not qualified him for such a part. He was destitute of the qualities which inspire confidence and devotion, and at no time does he appear to have had adherents enough to constitute a party.¹

Robespierre, an advocate of Arras, whose name became at last the epitome of the Revolution, played but a subordinate part in the Constituent Assembly. He was considered a dull man, and his appearance in the tribune was the signal for merriment. When with pain and difficulty he expressed his opinions in dry, inflexible formulas, transports of insulting mirth broke out on all sides. Such was then the man who was afterwards to inspire his audience with very different emotions. But Robespierre was not to be so put down. He continued his efforts with the perseverance which forms so marked a trait in his character; and after the death of Mirabeau he began to be heard with more attention, and even acquired a considerable influence in the Assembly.

Robes-
pierre.

Of all the early leaders of the Revolution Mirabeau was by far the most remarkable. Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau, was the son of the Marquis Mirabeau, to whom we have already alluded as the author of *L'Ami du Peuple*, and was born at Bignon, in March, 1749. The family was originally of Neapolitan extraction, but had been long settled in Provence. The early youth of Count Mirabeau was marked by profligacy, united, however, with brilliant talents, and considerable literary acquirements. After being imprisoned more than once at the instance of his father, after marrying a rich heiress, squandering her fortune, and then deserting her for the wife of the Marquis de Mounier, he was compelled to fly to Holland with her, where their sole support was derived from his pen. Many of his early productions are licentious in the extreme, but were mingled with works on political subjects. Sometimes he was base enough to receive the wages of a hired libellist; sometimes he sold to a new purchaser manuscripts which had been already paid for. His father called him, "My son, the word-merchant." From Holland he

Mirabeau.

¹ Both Madame de Staël, *Considérations, etc.* Partie ii. ch. vi. and her critic, Bailleul, *Examen, etc.* t. i. p. 336, are at one upon this point.

was transferred by a *lettre de cachet* to the dungeons of Vincennes; and after his liberation from that prison he passed some time in England and in Prussia. By temper and inclination an aristocrat, the French Revolution found Mirabeau ready to plunge into all the excesses of democracy in order to retrieve his ruined fortunes. His personal qualities fitted him for the part of a tribune of the people. In person stout and muscular, though somewhat undersized; having a countenance seamed with the small-pox, and of almost repulsive ugliness, but animated with the fire of genius, and capable of striking an adversary with awe, he possessed an eloquence of that fiery and impetuous kind which is irresistible in popular assemblies. His disorderly life had made him reckless; while the debts with which he was overwhelmed rendered him willing to sell, or rather as he himself expressed it, to hire himself, to the Government, or to anyone who would pay an adequate price for his talents and services.¹

Debates
in the
Assembly.

The debates of the Assembly were conducted with that mixture of formality and vivaciousness which is peculiar to the French character. They consisted for the most part of long and laboured harangues, or rather regular treatises, beginning from first principles, prepared and generally-written beforehand. Even the impetuous Mirabeau adopted this method, and his orations were not always composed by himself. The Chamber frequently became the scene of indescribable disorder and tumult. In vain the President endeavoured to restore order by ringing his bell; while the orators, with animated looks, their lips in motion, but quite inaudible, beat the air with their arms, and resembled wrestlers preparing for a contest.

Privileges
abandoned,
August 4.

While such was the character of the Assembly and such the state of France, the châteaux and convents blazing in the provinces, the capital in a state of open revolt, and while no authority appeared either able or willing to put a stop to these excesses, the famous sacrifice of their privileges by the nobles and clergy, on the night of August 4th, has at least as much the appearance of a concession extorted from fear as of a generous and patriotic devotion. The privileged orders were in fact giving up only what they had no longer any hope

¹ For Mirabeau's private character, see Dumont, *Souvenirs de Mirabeau*.

of retaining. The self-sacrifice was initiated by the Vicomte de Noailles, who proposed the abolition of all feudal rights and of the remains of personal servitude. Moved by a sort of contagious enthusiasm, the nobles and landed proprietors now vied with one another in offering up their privileges. In this memorable night were decreed the abolition of serfdom, the power of redeeming seignorial rights, the suppression of seignorial jurisdiction, the abolition of exclusive rights of chase and warren, the abolition of tithe, the equalization of imposts, the admission of all ranks to civil and military offices, the abolition of the sale of charges, the reformation of *jurandes* and *maîtrises*, and the suppression of sinecure pensions. The Assembly, as if overcome with a sense of its own liberality, and desirous of connecting the King with such important reforms, decreed that a medal should be struck in commemoration of them, on which Louis should be designated as the restorer of French liberty. These renunciations were followed on the part of many of the bishops and higher clergy by the resignation of their richest benefices and preferments. Hereditary nobility had already been abolished by a Decree of June 19th. It was, however, observed with dismay that concessions so ample failed to tranquillize the public mind. Acts of atrocious violence were still committed in the provinces; châteaux continued to be burnt; and the people, not content with the enjoyment of their newly-acquired rights, perpetrated frightful devastations on the estates of their former oppressors.

The Assembly having thus cleared the ground, entered on their task of building up a new Constitution. By way of preamble they drew up a Declaration of the Rights of Man, at the end of which they recapitulated all the privileges, distinctions, and monopolies which they had abolished.¹ On the motion of Lafayette, at whose suggestion the Declaration had been made, the right of resistance to oppression was included in it. The constitutional labours of the Assembly will claim our attention again, and it will here suffice to state that the three principal questions first discussed were those of the King's *veto*, of the permanence of the Assembly, and whether it should consist of one or more Chambers. The *veto* gave

The King's
veto.

¹ In Lacretelle, *Hist. de France*, t. vii., and in the *Hist. Parlem.* t. ii.

rise to much angry discussion, both within and without the Assembly. It was warmly debated whether there should be any at all, and, if any, whether it should be absolute or merely suspensive. At this time, however, there was a sort of reaction at the Hôtel de Ville, and the Palais Royal was kept in order. Mirabeau, to the surprise of many, was a warm partisan of the *veto*. He had declared that, without it, he would rather live at Constantinople than in France; that he knew nothing more terrible than the aristocratic sovereignty of 600 persons. Louis himself is said to have preferred a suspensive to an absolute *veto*; and it was at last decreed that the King should have the power of suspending a measure during two legislatures, or, as we should say, two parliaments, each lasting two years. Montesquieu's school, or that which proposed the English Constitution as a model, and consequently advocated two Chambers, mustered very strong in the Committee of Constitution. But the idea of an Upper House was contrary to the current of popular feeling, which disliked the idea of reproducing the English system. It was decided that the Legislature should be permanent. It was also decreed, by acclamation, September 15th, that the King's person was inviolable, the Throne indivisible, the Crown hereditary in the reigning family from male to male in the order of primogeniture.

Plot to
seize the
King.

While the Assembly were still engaged on this subject an event occurred which gave a new turn to the Revolution, and may be accounted the chief cause which ultimately rendered all their labours nugatory. A plot had been formed to bring the King to Paris, and rumours of it had reached the Court. Mirabeau was said, though without any adequate proof being produced, to have been in the secret. It seems, however, more probable that the Duke of Orleans was at the bottom of the plot. The Duke and his partisans hoped at least to alarm the King into flight; perhaps to effect his deposition, or even his murder. Several Royalist deputies had received confidential letters that a decisive blow was meditated, and had attempted, but without effect, to persuade Louis XVI. to transfer the Assembly to Tours. But Lafayette, who virtually held the control of the Revolution,—a vain man, desirous of playing a part, but without settled principles, or even definite aims,—had also conceived the idea of bringing the King to Paris. He had been encouraged in it, if not incited to it by the grenadiers of the National Guard, consisting of

three companies of the *gardes Françaises* enrolled in that force, and receiving pay, who demanded to be led to Versailles. An event which occurred at this time hastened the catastrophe.

The military service of the Palace was performed by the National Guard of Versailles, and the only regular force there was a small body of *gardes du corps*. Under these circumstances it was thought necessary to provide for the security of the King and Royal family. The commanders of the National Guard of Versailles, declining to undertake that they would be capable of resisting some 2,000 well-armed and disciplined men, the municipality of the town were persuaded to demand the aid of a regiment; the King's orders were issued to that effect, and on September 23rd the regiment of Flanders arrived.¹ Efforts were soon made to seduce this regiment from its allegiance; while the Court, by marks of favour, sought to retain its affections. The officers of the *gardes du corps* and those of the National Guard of Versailles invited the newly-arrived officers to a dinner. There was nothing unusual in this; but the Court, by lending the Palace Theatre for the banquet, seemed to make it a kind of political demonstration. The boxes were filled with the ladies and retainers of the Court; the healths of the different members of the Royal family were drunk with enthusiasm, and, it is said, with drawn swords; the toast of "The Nation" was either refused, or, at all events, omitted. As the evening proceeded, the enthusiasm increased, and was wound up to the highest pitch of excitement when the Queen appeared, leading the Dauphin in her hand. The loyal song, *O Richard, ô mon Roi! l'univers t'abandonné*, was sung; the boxes were escaladed, and white cockades and black, the latter the Austrian colour, were distributed by the fair hands of the ladies.

Banquet at
Versailles.

The news of these proceedings, accompanied, of course, with the usual exaggerations, as that the national cockade had been trampled under foot, etc., caused a great sensation at Paris. The excitement was purposely increased by agitators, whose designs were promoted by the scarcity of bread which prevailed at that time. There was never any considerable

The mob at
Versailles,
Oct. 5 and 6.

¹ *Annals of Bertrand de Moleville*, translated by Dallas, vol. ii. ch. xv.; Prudhomme, *Hist. des erreurs, des fautes, et des crimes commis pendant la Révol.* t. iii. p. 164 sq.

stock of flour on hand; and Bailly, as appears from his *Mémoires*, was in a constant state of anxiety as to how the Parisians were to be fed. The municipality advanced large sums to keep down the price; but the consequence of this was that the *banlieue* for ten leagues round came to Paris to supply themselves with bread. The emigration of the rich added to the distress. Thus all the materials of sedition were collected, and needed only the application of a torch to set them in a flame. At daybreak, October 5th, the Place de Grève was suddenly filled with troops of women; one of them, seizing a drum at a neighbouring guard-house, and beating it violently, went through the streets, followed by her companions, shouting *bread! bread!* They were gradually joined by bands of men, some of them in female attire, armed with pikes and clubs. A cry was raised, *To Versailles!* and the grotesque but ferocious army, led by Maillard, one of the heroes of the Bastille, took the road to that place.

It was not till late in the day that Lafayette began his march with a considerable body of the National Guard. He was accompanied by two representatives of the Section of the Carmes, who were to present to the King, on the part of the *Commune* or municipality, the four following demands: That he should intrust the safety of his person to the National Guards of Paris and Versailles; that he should inform the *Commune* respecting the supply of corn; that he should give an unconditional assent to the Declaration of the Rights of Man; and that he should shew proof of his love for the people by taking up his residence at Paris; that is, put himself in the power of the National Guard and their commander.¹

While the insurgents were approaching, St. Priest had in vain advised that their march should be arrested at the bridges over the Seine. When they arrived he urged the King to fly, telling him, what the event proved to be true, that if he was conducted to Paris his Crown was lost. Necker opposed both these counsels. The King's best safeguard, he said, was the affections of the people; and as the other Ministers were divided in opinion, nothing was done.² Meanwhile the women arrived; and a large body of them, headed

The Palace
stormed.

¹ See for these occurrences, Von Sybel, B. ii. ch. 4.

² See McCarthy, *History of the French Revolution*.

by Maillard, penetrated into the Assembly. Outside a disturbance arose between the crowd and the King's Guards, which, however, was appeased by the arrival, about eleven o'clock at night, of Lafayette and his troops. Tranquillity seemed at last to be restored; five of the women had been admitted to an audience of the King, and had retired overwhelmed with a sense of his kindness.¹ Lafayette had retired to rest about an hour after his arrival, and without having taken due precautions for the safety of the Royal family. About five o'clock he was aroused by the report of fresh tumults. Some fighting had taken place between the mob and the troops, and several of the *gardes du corps* had been killed or wounded. The people had penetrated into the Palace through a gate negligently left open; the Queen was barely able to escape, half-dressed, from her chamber to the King's apartments; the guards at her door had sacrificed their lives with heroic devotion, and the mob did not succeed in forcing an entrance. Lafayette persuaded the King to show himself on the balcony of the Palace; he himself led forward the Queen, accompanied by her children, and knelt down and kissed her hand amid the applause of the people. Tumultuous cries now arose of "The King to Paris!" Louis had expressed some hesitation on this point to the deputies of the *Commune*, though he had acceded to their other demands; but after a short interval he reappeared on the balcony and announced his intention of proceeding to the capital.²

The march of the crowd and captive King to Paris was at once horrible and grotesque. The Royal carriage was preceded by a disorderly cavalcade, composed of *gardes du corps* and *gardes Françaises*, who had exchanged parts of their uniform in token of peace and fraternity. Then followed several pieces of cannon, on which rode some of the women, bearing loaves and pieces of meat stuck on pikes and bayonets. The King was accompanied by two bishops of his council, who, as the carriage entered the capital, were saluted with

The King's
march to
Paris.

¹ Letter of Baron Goltz, ap. Von Sybel, i. 129.

² The most striking proof that the Duke of Orleans was plotting against the King's life, is a paper found several years after the Duke's execution, and dated October 6th, 1789, in which he orders his bankers not to pay the sums agreed upon, as Louis was still alive. "Courez vite, mon cher, chez le banquier, qu'il ne délivre pas la somme; l'argent n'est point gagné, le marmot vit encore." Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, vol. i. p. 132 (Eng. trans.).

cries of "All the bishops to the lamp!" Thus were the Royal family conducted to the Tuileries, which had not been inhabited for a century, and contained no proper accommodation for its new inmates.

The
Assembly
at Paris.

The events of October 6th may be said to have decided the fate of the French Monarchy. The King was now virtually a prisoner and a hostage in the hands of the Parisian rabble and its leaders. The Assembly, which soon followed the King to Paris, lost its independence at the same time. It met at first in the apartments of the *archevêché*, on an island of the Seine, between the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, the most disturbed districts of Paris; but early in November it was transferred to the *manège* of the Tuileries, a large building running parallel with the terrace of the Feuillants, the site of which now forms part of the Rue de Rivoli. No distinction of seats was now observed; nobles, priests, and commons all sat *pêle-mêle* together. It was plain that there could be no longer any hope of a stable Constitutional Monarchy; and several moderate men withdrew from the Assembly, as Mounier, then its president, Lally Tollendal, and others. The Duke of Orleans, suspected of being the author of the insurrection, was dismissed to London on pretence of a political mission. He arrived in that capital towards the end of October, and was received, both by Court and people, with marked contempt. He was frightened into accepting this mission by the threats of Lafayette.¹ Mirabeau was furious at his departure, and exclaimed, that he was a poor wretch, and deserved not the trouble that had been taken for him. The Duke returned to France in the summer of 1790, but from this time forward he had lost his popularity.²

The Jacobin
Club.

At this period the reign of the Palais Royal was supplanted by that of the Jacobins. The JACOBIN CLUB was one of the most portentous features of the Revolution, or rather it may be said to have ultimately become the Revolution itself. It originated at Versailles soon after the meeting of the States-General, and was at first called the *Club des Bretons*, from its having been founded by the forty deputies of Bretagne, who met together to concert their attacks upon the Ministry. It was soon joined by the deputies of Dauphiné and Franche-

¹ *Mém. de Lafayette*, ap. Louis Blanc, *Hist. de la Rév.* t. iii.

² Ferrières, *Mém.* t. i. liv. iv. p. 336 sqq. *Tableau hist. de la Révol.* par le Comte d'Escherny, t. i. p. 237.

Comté, and gradually by others ; as the Abbé Sieyès, the two Lameths, Adrien Duport, the Duc d'Aiguillon, M. de Noailles, and others. When the Assembly was transferred to Paris, the Breton Club hired a large apartment in the Rue St. Honoré, belonging to the preaching Dominican Friars, who were commonly called *Jacobins* because their principal house was in the Rue St. Jacques ; and hence the same name was vulgarly given to the club, though they called themselves "the Friends of the Constitution." After a little time, persons who were not deputies were admitted ; the debates were thrown open to the public ; and as no other qualifications were required for membership than a blind submission to the leaders, and a subscription of twenty-four livres a year, it soon numbered 1,200 members, including several foreigners. There was a *bureau* for the president, a tribune, and stalls round the sides of the chamber. The club held its sittings thrice a week, at seven o'clock in the evening ; the order of the day in the Assembly was often debated over night by the Jacobins, and opinions in a certain measure dictated to the deputies. The club disseminated and enforced its principles by means of its *Journal* and *Almanacks*, its hired mob, orators, singers, applauders and hissers in the tribunes of the Assembly. For this last purpose soldiers who had been drummed out of their regiments were principally selected ; and in 1790 they consisted of between 700 and 800 men, under the command of a certain Chevalier de St. Louis, to whom they swore implicit obedience. The Jacobins planted affiliated societies in the provinces, which gradually increased to the enormous number of 2,400. At first the club consisted of well-educated persons ; 400 of them belonged to the Assembly, and may be said to have been the masters of it. The young Duc de Chartres, son of the Duke of Orleans, and afterwards King Louis Philippe, was an active member of the club. By degrees it grew more and more democratic, and became at last a sort of revolutionary Inquisition, and a legion of public accusers. It was known abroad by the name of the *Propaganda*, and was a terror to all Europe.¹ In the spring of 1790 several members of the club who did not approve its growing violence, as Sieyès, Talleyrand, Lafayette,

¹ Ferrières, *Mém.* t. ii. p. 117 sqq. ; Bertrand de Moleville, *Mém.* t. ii. ch. xxxii.

Ræderer, Bailly, Dupont de Nemours, and others, established what they called the *Club of 1789*, with the view of upholding the original principles of the Revolution. They hired for 24,000 livres a splendid apartment in the Palais Royal, in the house afterwards known as the *Trois Frères Provençaux*, where they dined at a louis d'or a head, after groaning in the Assembly over the miseries of the people. Mirabeau and a few other members continued also to belong to the Jacobins. A certain number of literary men were admitted, among whom may be mentioned Condorcet, Chamfort, and Marmontel. This club also had its journal, of which Condorcet was the editor.¹

Journalism.

Journalism was also one of the most potent engines of the Revolution. A flood of journals began to be published contemporaneously with, or soon after, the opening of the States-General, as Mirabeau's *Courrier de Provence*, Gorsas' *Courrier de Versailles*, Brissot's *Patriote Française*, Barère's *Point de jour*, &c. The *Révolutions de Paris*, published in the name of the printer, Prudhomme, but edited by Loustalot, the most popular of all the journals, circulated sometimes 200,000 copies. At a rather later period appeared Marat's atrocious and bloodthirsty *Ami du peuple*, Camille Desmoulins' *Courrier de Brabant*, the wittiest, and Fréron's *Orateur du peuple*, the most violent of all the journals, and ultimately Hébert's *Père Duchesne*, perhaps the most infamous of all. For the most part, the whole stock of knowledge of these journalists had been picked up from Voltaire, Rousseau, and the authors of the *Encyclopédie*; but their ignorance was combined with the most ridiculous vanity. Camille Desmoulins openly proclaimed that he had struck out a new branch of commerce—a manufacture of revolutions. Marat seems to have derived his influence chiefly from his cynicism and bloodthirstiness. He was born at Boudri, near Neufchâtel, in Switzerland, in 1743. As a child he displayed a sort of precocious talent combined with a morose perversity; and in manhood the same disposition was shown by his attacks upon everybody who had gained a reputation. Thus he attempted to upset the philosophy of Newton and disputed his theory of optics, which he appears not to have comprehended, as well as Franklin's theory of electricity; and in a book which he published

Marat.

¹ Barère, *Mém.* t. i. p. 293; Ferrières, *Mém.* t. ii.

in reply to Helvetius, he spoke with the greatest contempt of Locke, Condillac, Malebranche, and Voltaire. He spent some time in England, during part of which he seems to have been employed as an usher at Warrington. In 1775 he published, at Edinburgh, a work in English, entitled the *Chains of Slavery*, which indicated his future course. On his return from England he obtained the place of veterinary surgeon in the stables of the Comte d'Artois, which he abandoned on the breaking out of the Revolution to become an editor. The bitterness of his literary failures seems to have excited the natural envy and malignity of his temper to an excess bordering upon madness. Cowardly as well as cruel, while he hid himself in garrets and cellars, he filled his journal with personal attacks and denunciations, and recommended not only murder but torture.¹

After the removal of the King to Paris the political atmosphere became somewhat calmer, though disturbances sometimes broke out on the old subject of the supply of bread. The populace seemed astonished that the presence of the King had not rendered that article more abundant; and about a fortnight after his arrival, they put to death a baker named François, on the charge of being a forestaller, and paraded his head through the city.

Paris calm.

The Assembly was divided into various committees of war, marine, jurisprudence, etc., of which the committee charged with drawing up the Constitution was alone permanent. Its members were Mirabeau, Target, Duport, Chapelier, Desmeuniers, Talleyrand, Barnave, Lameth, and Sieyès. The Abbé Sieyès was one of the most active members of the committee. It was he who presented the project for dividing France into eighty-three departments. The question of the revenue, the real cause for summoning the States-General, seemed almost neglected. Necker had attempted to negotiate two loans, but they failed; partly because the Assembly reduced the proposed interest too low, and partly from a want of confidence on the part of capitalists. Necker now proposed an extraordinary contribution of a fourth of all incomes, or an income-tax of twenty-five per cent., for one year. He accompanied the project with an earnest appeal to all good citizens to contribute to the necessities of the State. This

Financial measures.

¹ Chevremont, *Marat*.

appeal was cheerfully responded to by people of all ranks. The members of the Assembly deposited at the door their silver shoe-buckles; the King and Queen sent their plate to the Mint; Necker himself placed bank notes for 100,000 francs on the President's bureau; labouring men offered half their earnings, the women their rings and trinkets; even the very children parted with their playthings. Such expedients, however, could afford only a temporary and precarious relief. In this extremity the property of the Church offered a vast and tempting resource. Such property, it was argued, could be seized, or rather resumed, without injustice; it had been erected only for a national purpose, and the State might appropriate it if that purpose could be fulfilled in another way.

The decree for the abolition of tithes had already passed among the offerings made on August 4th, in spite of the arguments of the Abbé Sieyès, who pointed out that tithes, as a charge upon land, had been allowed for in its purchase, and that to abolish them unconditionally was to make a present to the landed proprietors of an annual rent of 120,000,000 francs, or near 5,000,000*l.* sterling. At the same time, Bazot, afterwards a member of the Gironde, had proposed to seize the Church lands and other property. This proposition, which was supported by Mirabeau, was not then attended to, but was renewed a few months later by the Bishop of Autun; and, after violent debates, was finally decreed by a large majority, November 2nd, 1789.

By this confiscation, to which were added the domains of the Crown, except those reserved for the recreation of the King, a large national fund was created. But there was a difficulty in realizing it. A sum of 400,000,000 francs was required for 1790 and the following year; yet it was almost impossible to effect sales to so large an amount, even at great sacrifices. The clergy made a last attempt to save their property by offering a loan of the sum required; but it was refused on the ground that it implied their recognition as proprietors. To meet this difficulty, the Finance Committee resolved, in the spring of 1790, to sell certain portions of the newly-acquired national property to the municipalities of Paris and other towns. These purchases were to be paid for in paper guaranteed by those bodies; such paper to have a legal circulation, and all anterior contracts to be liquidated in it. Such was the origin of the currency called *assignats*.

Abolition
of tithes.

Assignats.

The issue of these notes was at first regulated by the amount of property actually sold; but the subsequent neglect of this precaution naturally produced a rapid fall in the value of the new currency. One of the results of this financial measure was to create a large number of small landed proprietors. Ecclesiastics were now paid by the Government; the incomes of the higher dignitaries of the Church were reduced; while those of the *curés*, or parish priests, were augmented. In February, 1790, monasteries were abolished and monastic vows suppressed.

These attacks upon the Church were accompanied with others upon the Parliament. Alexander de Lameth had proposed and carried a decree, November 3rd, 1789, that the Parliaments should remain in vacation till further orders, and that meanwhile their functions should be discharged by the *Chambres des vacations*. Some of them endeavoured to resist, but were silenced by the Assembly; and from this time they virtually ceased to exist, though not yet legally abolished.

The end of
the Parlia-
ments.

We must here also record the reforms in the municipality of Paris, a body which played a leading part in the Revolution. By an ordinance of Louis XVI., April 13th, 1789, Paris, which had hitherto consisted of twenty-one quarters, was, with a view to the elections for the States-General, divided into sixty *arrondissemens*, or districts; and this division was adopted as the basis of the municipal organization, established spontaneously after the taking of the Bastille. But as several of these districts had promoted disturbances, the Constituent Assembly, in order to break the concert between them, made a new division into forty-eight Sections, by a law of June 27th, 1790. This arrangement, however, ultimately proved no better than the former one. It had been ordained that the Sections should not remain assembled after the elections of deputies were concluded; but this wise provision was rendered nugatory by another, authorizing their assembly on the requisition of any eight of them. To exercise this right, a permanent committee of sixteen persons was established in each Section; and thus were provided forty-eight focuses of perpetual agitation; a circumstance which produced the most fatal effects upon the Revolution.¹

Sections of
Paris.

¹ Mortimer Terneau, *Hist. de la Terreur*, t. i. p. 25 sqq. and note iii.

Plot of the
Marquis de
Favras.

Early in 1790 occurred the obscure plot of the Marquis de Favras, the object of which seems to have been to assassinate Lafayette and Necker, and to carry off the King to Peronne. The plot was to be carried out by means of 1,200 horse, supported by an army of 20,000 Swiss and 12,000 Germans, and by raising several provinces; but it was detected. Favras was tried and condemned by the Châtelet, and hanged, February 19th, 1790, affording the first instance of equality in the mode of punishment. Favras forbore to make any confessions, and the whole matter is involved in mystery.

Mirabeau's
connection
with the
Court.

After the failure of the Orleans conspiracy, and the withdrawal of the Duke to England, Mirabeau, ever needy, finding all resources from that quarter cut off, had determined on selling himself to the Court. Mirabeau's connection with it was effected through his friend, the Count de la Marck, who represented to Count Mercy, the Austrian Ambassador, the friend of Marie Antoinette, and confidential correspondent of her mother, Maria Theresa,¹ the real state of Mirabeau's feelings. The French Queen entertained for Mirabeau the bitterest aversion, as the author of the attack of the 5th of October; but she had long wished to come to an understanding with some of the leaders of the Assembly, and Mercy succeeded in appeasing her resentment. There was to be no question of the restoration of the ancient *Régime*; the safety of the Royal family seems to have been all that was contemplated.² Mirabeau offered to manage the Assembly in the interests of the Court,³ and drew up the scheme of a Ministry, in which he himself was to be included; but his conduct had already begun to be suspected, and a motion was made and carried in the Assembly that no deputy should be capable of holding office.⁴ Mirabeau, nevertheless, continued his connection with the Court, abandoned his former humble lodging, and set up a splendid establishment. His debts, amounting to 208,000 livres, were to be paid; he was to

¹ Their correspondence, published by the Chevalier d'Arneth, throws a good deal of light on the secret history of the French Court a little before the Revolution.

² See Von Sybel, vol. i. p. 212 (Eng. transl.).

³ See *Corresp. entre le Comte de Mirabeau et le Comte de la Marck*, t. i. p. 387. This correspondence affords the most convincing proofs of Mirabeau's corruption.

⁴ *Moniteur*, Séance de Novembre 7ème.

receive a monthly pension of 6,000 livres; and at the end of the session, if he had served the King well, a sum of one million livres. But, to insure his engagement for the payment of his debts, a kind of tutor was to be set over him; and a priest, M. de Fontanges, Archbishop of Tolouse, undertook this strange office!

It was resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille by a grand federative fête in the Champ de Mars, at which deputations from all the departments were to assist; and as the labour of 12,000 workmen sufficed not to prepare in time this vast amphitheatre, they were assisted by citizens of all ranks, ages, and sexes. A few score vagabond foreigners, headed by a half-crazy Prussian baron, styling himself Anacharsis Clootz, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly as "an embassy from all the nations of the universe," to demand places for a large number of foreigners desirous of assisting at the sublime spectacle of the Federation. This demand is said to have inspired the Assembly with profound enthusiasm, though many of the members could not refrain from laughter on perceiving among these ambassadors their discarded domestics, who, in dresses borrowed from the theatres, personated, for twelve francs, Turks, Poles, Arabians, Chinese, and other characters. In the excitement of the moment, the Assembly decreed the abolition of all titles of honour, of armorial bearings, and liveries. A motion that the title of *Seigneur* should be retained by Princes of the Blood Royal was opposed by Lafayette, and lost.

On July 14th the deputies from the departments ranged themselves under their respective banners, as well as the representatives of the army and of the National Guard. The Bishop of Autun officiated in Pontifical robes at an altar in the middle of the arena; at each of its corners stood a hundred priests in their white *aubes*, with three coloured girdles. The King and the President of the Assembly occupied, in front of the altar, thrones which had little to distinguish them from each other. Behind were their respective attendants, the members of the Assembly, and, in a sort of balcony, the Queen and Royal family. Lafayette, as Commandant of the National Guard, first took the oath, next, the President of the Assembly, and then the King. His oath ran: "I, citizen, King of the French, swear to the nation to employ all

Preparations to celebrate the capture of the Bastille, 1790.

Federative fête, July 14th, 1790.

the power delegated to me by the constitutional law of the State to uphold the Constitution, and enforce the execution of the laws." The Queen, lifting up the Dauphin in her arms, pledged his future obedience to the oath. The ceremony, so calculated, by its dramatic effect, to please the French, was concluded with a hymn of thanksgiving and the discharge of artillery.

Practical
anarchy.

But the nation thus newly constituted seemed already hastening to dissolution. All the springs of government appeared relaxed and distorted. Necker, disgusted at seeing his functions assumed by the Assembly, retired into Switzerland (September, 1790). The communication in which he notified his retirement was received with coldness and silence; the deputies, with marked contempt, passed to the order of the day. It was evident that his public career was closed. The words *liberty* and *equality*, ill understood, had turned every head; had penetrated even into the army, and filled it with insubordination. In some regiments the officers had been forced to fly, in others they had been massacred. In August a revolt of the troops stationed at Nanci had assumed a most serious character. General de Bouillé was compelled to march against them from Metz, and the mutiny was not quelled without a sharp engagement and considerable bloodshed.

Civil con-
stitution of
the clergy.

The Church was also in a state of disturbance. Not content with depriving the clergy of their property, the Assembly proceeded to attack their consciences, by decreeing the civil constitution of the clergy, July 12th, 1790, which abolished all the ancient forms and institutions of the Church. The title of *archbishop*, as well as all canonicates, prebends, chapters, priories, abbeys, convents, &c., were suppressed; bishops and *curés* were no longer to be nominated by the King, but to be chosen by the people. To these and other momentous changes in the constitution of the Church, the Pope refused his sanction; but by a decree of November 27th, 1790, the Assembly required the clergy to take an oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the King, and to maintain the Constitution. This oath they were to take within a week, on pain of deprivation. The King, before assenting to this measure, wished to procure the consent of the Pope, but was persuaded not to wait for it, and gave his sanction, December 3rd. Mirabeau, by a violent speech against the clergy, completely destroyed

his good understanding with the King. Louis, whose religious feelings were very strong, was more hurt by these attacks upon the Church than even by those directed against his own prerogative. They induced him to turn his thoughts towards aid from abroad, and shortly afterwards he began to correspond with General De Bouillé, respecting an escape to the frontier.

Of 300 prelates and priests who had seats in the Assembly, those who sat on the right unanimously refused to take the oath, while those who sat on the left anticipated the day appointed for that purpose. Out of 138 archbishops and bishops, only four consented to swear: Talleyrand, Loménie de Brienne (now Archbishop of Sens), the Bishop of Orleans, and the Bishop of Viviers. The oath was also refused by the great majority of the *curés* and vicars, amounting, it is said, to 50,000. Hence arose the distinction of *prêtres sermentés* and *insermentés*, or sworn and non-juring priests. The brief of Pius VI., forbidding the oath, was burnt at the Palais Royal. Many of the deprived ecclesiastics refused to vacate their functions, declared their successors intruders, and the sacraments they administered null, and excommunicated all who recognized and obeyed them.¹

The death of Mirabeau, April 2nd, 1791, deprived the Court of a partisan in the Assembly, though it may well be doubted whether his exertions could have saved the Monarchy. His death was honoured with all the marks of public mourning. The theatres were closed and all the usual entertainments forbidden. His remains were carried to the Pantheon, but were afterwards cast out to make room for those of Marat. After Mirabeau's death, Duport, Barnave, and Lameth reigned supreme in the Assembly, and Robespierre became more prominent.²

Death of
Mirabeau,
April 2nd,
1791.

The King had now begun to fix his hopes on foreign intervention. The injuries inflicted by the decrees of the Assembly on August 4th, 1789, on several Princes of the Empire, through their possessions in Alsace, Franche-Comté, and Lorraine,

Foreign inter-
vention.

¹ Barruel, *Hist. du Clergé pendant la Révol.* t. i. p. 61 sq.; Ferrières, *Mém.* t. ii. liv. viii.; Bertrand de Moleville, *Annales, etc.* t. iii. ch. 35. Sciout, *Histoire de la Constitution Civile du Clergé.*

² *Mémoires de Mirabeau*, t. viii. liv. x.; Lacretelle, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 234. See also Loménie, *Les Mirabeau*; Mezières, *Vie de Mirabeau*; Willert, *Mirabeau*.

might afford a pretext for a rupture between the German Confederation and France. The Palatine House of Deux Ponts, the Houses of Würtemberg, Darmstadt, Baden, Salm Salm, and others had possessions and lordships in those provinces; and were secured in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges by the treaties which placed the provinces under the sovereignty of France. The German prelates, injured by the civil constitution of the clergy, were among the first to complain. By this act the Elector of Mainz was deprived of his metropolitan rights over the bishoprics of Strassburg and Spire; the Elector of Trèves of those over Metz, Toul, Verdun, Nanci, and St. Diez. The Bishops of Strassburg and Basle lost their diocesan rights in Alsace.¹ Some of these princes and nobles had called upon the Emperor and the German body in January, 1790, for protection against the arbitrary acts of the National Assembly. This appeal had been favourably entertained, both by the Emperor Joseph II. and by the King of Prussia; and though the Assembly offered suitable indemnities, they were refused. On the other hand, the Assembly, having annulled seignorial rights and privileges throughout the French dominions, could not consistently make exceptions. The Emperor, besides the alarm which he felt in common with other absolute Sovereigns at the French revolutionary *propaganda*, could not forget that the Queen of France was his sister; and he was also swayed by his Minister, Prince Kaunitz, whose grand stroke of policy—an intimate alliance between Austria and the House of Bourbon—was altogether incompatible with the French Revolution. The Spanish and Italian Bourbons were naturally inclined to support their relative, Louis XVI. In October, 1790, Louis had written to request the King of Spain not to attend to any act done in his name, unless confirmed by letters from himself. The King of Sardinia, connected by intermarriages with the French Bourbons, had also family interests to maintain. Catharine II. of Russia had witnessed, with alarm, the fruits of the philosophy which she had patronized, and was opposed to the new order of things in France. The King of Prussia, governed by the counsels of Hertzberg, the enemy of Austria, though disposed to assist the French King, had at first insisted on the condition that Louis should break with Austria, and conclude

¹ Garden, *Traité*s, t. v. p. 152 sq.

an intimate alliance with the House of Brandenburg, a proposition which was, of course, rejected. But, in April, 1791, Hertzberg retired from the Ministry, leaving the field open to Bischofswerder,¹ the friend of Austria, and the policy which had inspired the Convention of Reichenbach once more prevailed. Thus all the materials existed for an extensive coalition against French democracy.

In this posture of affairs the Comte d'Artois, accompanied by Calonne, who served him as a sort of Minister, and by the Comte de Durfort, who had been despatched from the French Court, had a conference with the Emperor, now Leopold II., at Mantua, in May, 1791, in which it was agreed that, by the following July, Austria should march 35,000 men towards the frontiers of Flanders, the German Circles 15,000 towards Alsace; the Swiss 15,000 towards the Lyonnais; the King of Sardinia, 15,000 towards Dauphiné; while Spain was to hold 20,000 in readiness in Catalonia. But the large force to be thus assembled was intended only as a threatening demonstration, and hostilities were not to be actually commenced without the sanction of a congress.² The flight attempted a few weeks after by Louis XVI. was not at all connected with this conference. Such a project was, indeed, mentioned at Mantua, but it was discouraged by the Emperor, as well as by d'Artois and Calonne. The King's situation was become intolerably irksome. He was, to all intents and purposes, a prisoner at Paris. A trip, which he wished to make to St. Cloud during the Easter of 1791, was denounced at the Jacobin Club as a pretext for flight; and when he attempted to leave the Tuileries, April 18th, the *tocsin* was rung, his carriage was surrounded by the mob, and he was compelled to return to the Palace. On the following day Louis appeared in the Assembly, pointed out how important it was, on constitutional grounds, that his actions should be free; reiterated his assurances of attachment to public liberty and the new Constitution, and insisted on his journey to St. Cloud. But

Conference
at Mantua.

The King
not a free
agent.

¹ Bischofswerder, and his brother mystics, or *illuminati*, exercised a great influence over the weak-minded Frederick William II. by their pretensions to supernatural power. They pretended to evoke Jesus Christ and Moses, to show the shadow of Cæsar upon the wall, etc. Ségur, *Tableau Politique*, etc. t. i. p. 82.

² Bertrand de Moleville, *Annales*, t. iv. ch. 11; Lacretelle, t. viii. p. 239 sqq.

the President was silent on this head, though the Assembly received the King with respect.¹

A few days after thus protesting against the restraint to which he was subjected, the leaders of the Revolution, who appear to have suspected his negotiations abroad, exacted that he should address a circular to his ambassadors at foreign Courts, in which he entirely approved the Revolution, assumed the title of "Restorer of French liberty," and utterly repudiated the notion that he was not free and master of his actions.² The Powers to whom the note was addressed, knew, however, perfectly well that he did not love the Constitution; and, indeed, he immediately despatched secret agents to Cologne and Brussels with letters for the King of Prussia and for Maria Christina, governess of the Austrian Netherlands, in which he notified that any sanction he might give to the decrees of the Assembly was to be reputed null; that his pretended approval of the Constitution was to be interpreted in an opposite sense, and that the more strongly he should seem to adhere to it, the more he should desire to be liberated from the captivity in which he was held.

The flight to
Varennes,
June, 1791.

Louis soon after resolved on his unfortunate flight to the army of the Marquis de Bouillé at Montmédy. He appears to have been urged to it by the Baron de Breteuil, in concert with the Comte de Mercy, at Brussels, who falsely alleged that it was the Emperor's wish.³ Marie Antoinette, as well as De Boillé, strongly opposed the project, but at last reluctantly yielded to the King's representations.⁴

It is unnecessary to describe the details of the flight to Varennes. Suffice it to say, that having, after some hairbreadth escapes, succeeded in quitting Paris in a travelling berlin, June 20th, they reached St. Meneshould in safety. But here the King was recognized by Drouet, the son of the postmaster, who, mounting his horse, pursued the Royal fugitives to Varennes, raised an alarm, and caused them to

¹ *Moniteur*, Séance du 19ème Avril, 1791.

² The Circular, dated April 23rd, 1791, is in the *Hist. Parl.* t. ix.

³ Weber, *Mém.* t. ii. ch. iv. p. 315 sqq.; *Mém.* de Bouillé, ch. x. sq.

⁴ One account of it will be found in Weber's *Mémoires*, t. ii. ch. iv., drawn up by M. de Fontanges, Archbishop of Toulouse, from information furnished by the Queen herself. See also an interesting narrative of it in Croker's *Essays on the French Revolution*, Essay iii. The most authentic account will be found in *The Flight to Varennes and other Essays*, by Oscar Browning.

be captured when they already thought themselves out of danger. In consequence of their being rather later than was expected, the military preparations which had been made for their protection entirely failed. The news of the King's flight filled Paris with consternation. When the news of his arrest arrived, the Assembly despatched Barnave, Latour-Maubourg, and Pétion to conduct him and his family back to Paris. In discharging this office, Pétion¹ displayed a brutality, combined with insufferable conceit; while Barnave, touched by the affliction and bearing of the Royal fugitives, won their confidence and regard by his considerate attention.² Notices had been posted up in Paris that those who applauded the King should be horsewhipped, and threatening punishment on all those who insulted him; hence he was received on entering the capital with a dead silence. The King's brother, the Count of Provence, who had fled at the same time by a different route, escaped safely to Brussels.

The King's
return.

This time the King's intention to fly could not be denied; he had, indeed, himself proclaimed it by sending to the Assembly a manifesto, in which he explained his reasons for it, declared that he did not intend to quit the Kingdom, expressed his desire to restore liberty and establish a Constitution, but annulled all that he had done during the last two years. In judging the conduct of the Assembly at this crisis, we must consider the feelings with which the idea of the King's flight inspired the whole French nation. His intrigues with D'Artois and the Emigrants were more than suspected, and it was thought that he would introduce a vast foreign army and restore the ancient *régime* by force and bloodshed. The leaders of the clubs trembled for their necks; the artisans foresaw the loss of the State wages; the peasantry dreaded the restoration of feudalism; the burghers pictured to themselves the return of the *noblesse*; the army beheld, *in prospectu*, a return to low pay, severe discipline, and com-

Effect of
his flight.

¹ Pétion wrote an account of the journey back, which was found among his papers, and has been published by M. Mortimer Terneau, in his *Hist. de la Terreur*, t. i. note 5.

² That Barnave, however, as commonly related, was induced to change his politics during this journey, by the compassion which he felt for the Queen, is only a little piece of biographical effect. He had been going over several months before. *Lettres de Montmorin*, ap. Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, B. i. S. 258, Anm. (vol. i. p. 301, Eng. tr.).

The King
suspended.

missions monopolized by the nobles; the purchasers of ecclesiastical property saw their new acquisitions slipping from their grasp; while even disinterested patriots revolted at the idea of seeing France trampled on by foreign Powers, and stripped, perhaps, of some of her provinces.¹ The King, after his return, was provisionally suspended from his functions by a decree of the Assembly, June 25th. Guards were placed over him and the Queen; the gardens of the Tuileries assumed the appearance of a camp; sentinels were stationed on the roof of the Palace, and even at the Queen's bedchamber. Three commissioners, Tronchet, d'André, and Duport, were appointed to examine the King and Queen. The Duke of Orleans was talked of for Regent, but he repudiated the idea in a letter addressed to some of the revolutionary journals. Barnave, who had adopted the policy of Mirabeau, namely, to arrest the Revolution, to save the Monarchy, and govern in conjunction with the Queen, suggested to Louis and Marie Antoinette what answers they should give to the questions put to them. While things were in this state, the Marquis de Bouillé addressed a highly injudicious letter to the Assembly, threatening that if the least harm was done to the King or Queen, he would conduct the army to Paris, and that not one stone of that city should be left upon another.

¹ Von Sybel, i. 306 (Eng. tr.).

CHAPTER LIV

HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY

FROM the period of the King's flight to Varennes must be dated the first decided appearance of a Republican party in France. The chief advocates of a Republic were Brissot, Condorcet, and the recently-established club of the *Cordéliers*, so called from its meeting in a former convent of that order. Brissot began to disseminate Republican opinions in his journal, and the arch-democrat, Thomas Paine, who was now at Paris, also endeavoured to excite the populace against the King. The Jacobin Club had not yet gone this length; they were for bringing Louis XVI. to trial and deposing him, but for maintaining the Monarchy. Robespierre, a leading member of the club, who probably disliked to see the initiative taken by Condorcet and Brissot, in an equivocal speech supported the Constitution. Marat was more outspoken. He proposed the appointment of a military tribune, who should make a short end of all traitors, among whom he and his faction included Lafayette, Bailly, Barnave, the Lameths, and other leaders of the Constitutionalists.¹ But for the present the party prevailed who were both for upholding the Monarchy and retaining Louis XVI. The Jacobins resolved to get up a petition to the Assembly, inviting them to suspend their decision till the eighty-three departments should have been consulted, well knowing that, from their numerous affiliations, a vote for the King's deposition would be carried. The leaders of the Constitutionalists now separated from the Jacobins, and, with their party, which included all the members of the Assembly belonging to that club, except

The
Cordéliers.

¹ Von Sybel, i. p. 311 (Eng. tr.).

ten or twelve, established the Club of the *Feuillants*. This name was derived from their occupying an ancient convent of that order, founded by Henry III., an immense building in the Rue St. Honoré, adjoining on one side the *Manège*, where the Assembly sat.

Jacobin
petition.

The Jacobins gave notice to all the patriotic societies that their petition would be signed on the altar of the Federation in the Champ de Mars on July 17th. On the evening of the 16th, the Assembly, by decreeing that the Constitutional Charter, when finished, should be presented to Louis XVI. for acceptance, having implicitly pronounced his re-establishment, Camille Desmoulins and Marat openly incited the populace to acts of violence against the deputies. The Government gave notice that the proposed petition was illegal, and that the signing of it would be prevented by military force. Nevertheless a vast multitude congregated in the Champ de Mars on the 17th: and, as it was a Sunday, the crowd was augmented by many holiday people, women and children. The petition appears to have received many thousand signatures. Meanwhile martial law had been proclaimed; the National Guards arrived, and having been assailed by the mob with volleys of stones, and even with pistol-shots, fired upon the people. Many persons were killed or wounded, and the crowd was dispersed. The leading ultra democrats displayed the most abject cowardice. Marat hid himself in a cellar; Danton withdrew into the country; Robespierre was afraid to sleep at home; Desmoulins suspended the publication of his journal. By this decisive act the Constitutionalists established for awhile their authority; but Lafayette and Bailly lost their popularity, and the Jacobins were not long in regaining their ascendancy.¹

The massa-
cre of the
Champ de
Mars.

Views of
foreign
Courts.

The constitutional party, in absolving the King, appears to have been a good deal influenced by the attitude assumed at this time by foreign States. Several of the European Powers had begun to manifest a lively sympathy for Louis. Gustavus III. of Sweden, then at Aix-la-Chapelle, had made a vigorous declaration against the outrages to which the French King was subjected after his attempted flight, and had directed his Ambassador to break off all intercourse with the Ministers of the Assembly. Eight of the Swiss Cantons had forbidden

¹ Ferrières, *Mém.* t. iii. p. 70 sqq.

their troops in the pay of France to take any oath except to Louis XVI. The King of Spain had addressed a memoir to the Assembly, calling upon it to respect Louis's dignity and liberty. The Emperor Leopold, on learning the capture of the French King, had addressed a circular from Padua to the principal Sovereigns of Europe, calling upon them to demand his liberation, and to declare that they would avenge any further attempt on the freedom, honour, and safety of Louis, his Queen, and the Royal family.¹ Many of the principal Courts declined to receive a French Ambassador so long as the King should be under constraint.²

No Sovereign was more zealous in Louis's cause than Frederick William II. of Prussia. After the French King's arrest, he dispatched Bischofswerder to the Emperor in Italy, and a preliminary treaty between these two Sovereigns was signed, July 25th, to be converted into a defensive alliance so soon as Austria should have concluded a peace with the Turks. The impetuous Gustavus III. was for immediate action. He engaged to land 16,000 men at Ostend, requested George III. to furnish 12,000 Hanoverians, to be paid by the French Princes, and took De Bouillé into his service, who pointed out how easily France might be invaded. The French Constitutionalists exerted themselves to avert an interference that would upset their whole policy. Barnave, Dupont, and the Lameths addressed a letter to the Comte d'Artois, begging him to return when the King should have accepted the Constitution; and it was forwarded to that Prince by Louis' order. The Constitutionalists also assured the Emperor that their object was to save the throne.³

Zeal of
Frederick
William
III. and
Gustavus
III.

¹ It is said that at the date of this circular, a treaty for the partition of France was concluded between the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the King of Spain, and the emigrant French princes. The treaty is in Martens' *Recueil*, t. v. p. 5 (from the *Coll. of State Papers*); but it is very apocryphal; and still more so the pretended accession of Great Britain and Holland in March, 1792. It was probably only a project, afterwards superseded by the Treaty of Vienna. Garden, t. v. p. 160 sq.

² Garden, *ibid.* p. 159. Austria and Prussia, in their joint note to the Danish Court, May 12th, 1792, take credit for having procured the release of Louis in the preceding summer, as well as the establishment of his inviolability, and of a Constitutional Monarchy. *Ibid.* p. 211.

³ Bouillé, *Mém.* ch. xii. p. 274; *Corr. entre Mirabeau et La Marck*, t. iii. p. 163 sqq.

The Decla-
ration of
Pölnitz.

At this juncture the Emperor and the King of Prussia met at Pölnitz, a residence of the Elector of Saxony on the Elbe, principally for the purpose of considering the affairs of Poland, which then occupied the attention of the Eastern Powers; but the state of France was also debated, and d'Artois, attended by Calonne, obtruded himself on the Conference. This Prince, with a view to gain the Emperor, had offered to cede Lorraine; but the scheme which he drew up for the government of France, by which his elder brother, Monsieur, was to be declared Regent, and the King completely set aside, filled Leopold with disgust. He was chiefly actuated by his wishes for the safety of the King and Queen, his relatives, and was inclined to listen to the representations of his sister, Marie Antoinette, who deprecated civil war and an invasion of the Emigrants. She recommended that the King should accept the Constitution, and that the European Powers should combine in demanding that the King should be invested with the authority necessary for the government of France and the safety of Europe.¹ The Emperor and the King of Prussia, in their answer to d'Artois, dated August 27th, declined his plans for the government of France; they sanctioned the peaceable residence of emigrants in their dominions, but declared against armed intervention *unless the co-operation of all the European Powers should be obtained*. And as it was well known that England was not inclined to interfere, this declaration was a mere *brutum fulmen* meant to intimidate the Parisian democrats, but fitted rather to irritate than to alarm the French.² England had at this period declared for a strict neutrality. Public opinion was against a war, and Pitt himself advocated the policy of non-intervention in Continental affairs.³

The work
of the Con-
stituent
Assembly.

The labours of the Constituent Assembly were now drawing to a close. On September 3rd, 1791, the Act of the Constitution was presented to the King, who had been restored to the exercise of his functions. Louis notified his acceptance of it in a letter addressed to the Assembly, September 13th, and on the following day he appeared in the Chamber to confirm it with an oath. A few weeks after, he wrote to his two brothers informing them of what he had done, and calling

¹ Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, i. 366 (Eng. trans.).

² *Ibid.* p. 364.

³ *Diaries and Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury*, vol. ii. p. 441.

upon them to acquiesce. Leopold, on hearing of the King's acceptance of the Constitution, announced to the Powers that the necessity for a Coalition was for the present at an end. The new Constitution was as liberal as the French might reasonably have desired; but as it lasted scarcely a year its chief merit was the destruction of ancient abuses. Feudalism and its exclusive privileges were abolished; the abuses which spring from an arbitrary government, such as *lettres de cachet*, were reformed; uniformity of taxation was established, and the power of the purse vested in the representatives of the people; the monopolies of trade corporations, *maîtrises* and *jurandes*, as well as *corvées* and all the fetters which shackle manufacture and agriculture, were suppressed; the admission to civil offices and military commands was thrown open; the freedom of religious worship recognized; barbarous punishments were done away with; juries introduced in place of the suppressed Parliaments, and, in short, all the English forms of administering justice adopted.¹ But there were some things which the Assembly did, and others they omitted to do, which rendered nugatory all their labours. They had, indeed, recognized an hereditary monarchy, and declared the person of the King inviolable; but they had not given him the means of maintaining himself on the throne; they had stripped him of his prerogatives, deprived him of the support of the clergy and nobles, placed him face to face with a wild democracy, and established no strong executive power which might control its excesses. Of the fall of their new Constitution by democratic violence they seem to have entertained no fear.

The annexation of Avignon and the Venaissin to France was among the last acts of the Constituent Assembly (September 14th, 1791). Avignon and its territory had been a possession of the See of Rome ever since the sale of it to the Pope by Joanna, Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence, in 1348. But the existence of a foreign colony in the heart of France was a source of much inconvenience; it became the refuge of the disaffected and the entrepôt of the smuggler. A party in Avignon, favourable to the Revolution, had risen in June, 1790, and solicited its union with France; formidable riots had occurred, much blood had been spilt, and

Annexation
of Avignon.

¹ Lameth, *Histoire d'Assemblée Constituante*.

many atrocities committed. Within a month after the annexation the Papal party rose, but were put down by the horrible massacres in the tower called *La Glacière*—a foretaste of the horrors which ensued in France.

The Act of the Constitution having been proclaimed with great pomp, September 18th, the Assembly declared its labours terminated and the Revolution accomplished. The Chamber was closed, September 30th. As the members were departing, the populace crowned Robespierre and Pétion with garlands of oak-leaves, and carried them home in triumph. Robespierre was now very popular, and had latterly enjoyed a large share of influence in the Assembly. It was on his motion that they had passed a sort of self-denying ordinance by which they had declared themselves ineligible to the Assembly that was to succeed them. He had also procured a decree, only a few days after the death of Mirabeau, that no member of the Assembly should become a Minister within four years after the conclusion of the session. Both these measures were carried by acclamation. The royalists and aristocrats hoped that an entirely new Assembly might undo all that had been done; while some were moved by that quixotic generosity which led the public men of France to abandon what seemed for their own private advantage without considering whether it was not also for the public good. By their assent to these acts, Barnave, Duport, the Lameths, and the whole Constitutional party, pronounced their own political annihilation; and such was, doubtless, Robespierre's design. It is true that by the same act he excluded himself; but he knew full well that the real power of the State lay not so much in the National Assembly, as in the Paris mob and the Jacobins who directed it, among whom he was a ruling power. Louis accepted the Constitution, and sent a notification to that effect to the foreign Powers.¹

After the acceptance of the Constitution, the great mass of the middle classes were content with what had been done. They were weary of the long struggles and disturbances, were desirous only of returning to their ordinary pursuits, and had fallen into a sort of political apathy. In Paris not a quarter of the enfranchised citizens came forward to vote for members of the new Assembly. This Chamber, which opened

Close of the
Constituent
Assembly,
September
18th, 1791.

Legislative
Assembly—
The Girond-
ists.

¹ Garden, *Traité*s, t. v. p. 169 sq.

its sittings October 1st, 1791, assumed the title of the NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY. It was far from being composed of such distinguished men as had sat in the Constituent. France had exhausted her best talent, and, by Robespierre's self-denying ordinance, had also deprived herself of the services of men who had acquired some political experience. The new deputies were mostly young men of the middle class. The aristocrats observed that they could not muster among them 300,000 livres of income from landed and other property. The Right of the Legislative Assembly was composed of the *Feuillant* party, whose principles were represented by the club already mentioned. The Centre consisted of moderate men attached to the new Constitution. The Left was chiefly formed by the party called GIRONDISTS, so named from the twelve deputies of the Gironde, for the most part lawyers and men of talent, natives of Bordeaux and the southern provinces. The three most distinguished and eloquent members of this deputation were Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné. The Girondists, however, were also joined by deputies from other parts, as Brissot, Condorcet, Rabaud St. Etienne, Pétion, and others. On the left sat also a still more democratic faction, led by such men as Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin.

The Constitutional party, however, were now fast declining. Besides the loss of their parliamentary influence, they were also deprived of municipal power and the command of the armed force. The functions of Lafayette as commandant of the National Guard had been suppressed by a decree of September 12th; and Bailly, alarmed at his retirement, resigned the mayoralty. Lafayette aspired to succeed him, but found a competitor in Pétion. Lafayette's reputation with the people was of that equivocal sort which, in a momentous crisis, must always attach to a man who takes no very decided part; while Pétion was at this period the idol of the people, and was also supported by the Court, which hated Lafayette, and had taken a just view of Pétion's calibre and incapacity.¹ The election of Pétion by a large majority was a triumph for the Gironde, but only a small proportion of the electors voted, thus showing the apathy of most of the Parisians. Soon afterwards, Manuel was appointed *Procureur*

Pétion
succeeds
Bailly as
Mayor of
Paris.

¹ Bertrand de Moleville, *Mémoires*.

de la Commune, with Danton as substitute. A change of ministry had taken place in October and November. Montmorin resigned the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, and was succeeded by De Lessart; Bertrand de Moleville became Minister of Marine, and Count de Narbonne, the friend, some say something more, of Madame de Stäel, succeeded Duportail as Minister of War. This Cabinet is thought to have been a good deal inspired by Madame de Stäel.

The emigration.

Among the more important questions that first engaged the attention of the Legislative Assembly, was that of the emigration. The number of emigrants was increasing every day; 1,900 officers had quitted the army, and crossed the frontiers. Monsieur, by his flight, drew many nobles after him, who should have remained in France, and rallied round the throne. He now took the lead of the emigration instead of his brother, the Comte d'Artois; a kind of little Court gathered round him at Coblenz, which place became the headquarters of the emigration. The Emperor Leopold discountenanced them. He even punished some Brabanters who had insulted the French national cockade, and he forbade all assemblies of the emigrants within his dominions, even without arms.¹ The King of Prussia followed his example. The Elector of Trèves alone openly favoured the emigrants. The Assembly voted a Proclamation, October 31st, requiring the King's eldest brother, Louis Stanislas Xavier, to return to France within two months; or, in default, to forfeit his eventual title to the Regency. On the 9th of November they declared all emigrants whatsoever suspected of conspiracy, and liable to the punishment of death, with confiscation of their properties, if they remained assembled together after January 1st, 1792. The King wrote to his brothers ordering them to return; but they made a flippant answer. Louis sanctioned the decree against his brother, but put his *veto* on that of November 9th. This was a sort of victory for the Gironde, who took advantage of it to describe the *veto* as a conspiracy between the King and the emigrants, backed by the foreign Powers.

Preparations for war.

Louis XVI. wrote to the Elector of Trèves and other German Princes, December 20th, declaring that he should regard them as enemies if they encouraged the assembling of

¹ Von Sybel, i. 358 (Eng. tr.).

emigrants; while the Emperor, on his side, announced that he had instructed General Bender to assist the Elector, if his territories should be invaded; on condition, however, that he had fulfilled his engagement to disperse the emigrants. The Girondists, and especially Brissot, Gensonné, and Isnard, were at this time using every endeavour to bring about a war by their inflammatory speeches. They regarded it as a means of establishing the Revolution at home, and spreading revolutionary principles abroad. Narbonne and Lafayette were also for war; but Robespierre and the Jacobins opposed it. Not that they did not approve the contemplated ends, but they were jealous of Narbonne and Lafayette, and they feared that a powerful general might make himself a Dictator. But it was resolved to raise three armies consisting of 150,000 men in all, to be commanded respectively by General Rochambeau, Luckner, and Lafayette. On January 1st, 1792, the Assembly decreed the accusation of Monsieur, the Comte d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, Calonne, and a few others, and, though Robespierre declaimed against war, by a resolution of January 25th, they invited the King to demand of the Emperor his intentions, and to call upon him to renounce all treaties and conventions directed against the sovereignty, independence, and security of the French nation. His refraining to answer before March 1st, was to be considered equivalent to a declaration of war. The news of this proceeding excited the Emperor's anger. He now converted the preliminary treaty with Prussia of July 25th, 1791, into a definitive alliance by the Treaty of Berlin, February 7th, 1792;¹ he gave orders for the formation of a *corps d'armée* in Bohemia, and marched 6,000 men into the Breisgau. The orders given to Bender were justified; complaints were made of the captivity in which the French King, the Emperor's brother-in-law, was held, and of the anarchy in France; and all these misfortunes were imputed to the pernicious sect of the Jacobins.² This reply was received by the Assembly with derision. The somewhat sudden death of Leopold II. (February 29th), arrested for a while the proceedings of the Coalition; which was also weakened by the assassination of

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. v. p. 5, and the *Suppl.* t. ii. p. 172.

² According to Madame de Staël, *Considérations*, etc. partie iii. ch. 5, this note was drawn up by Barnave and Duport, the secret counsellors of the Queen, and by her transmitted to Leopold.

Girondist
Ministry.

Gustavus III. of Sweden, a fortnight afterwards. The brother of Gustavus, Regent during the minority of his nephew, Gustavus IV., determined to observe the strictest neutrality; and Spain seemed to incline the same way, after the Count d'Aranda became Prime Minister.¹ The correspondence with the Emperor led to a change of Ministry in France. De Lessart, the Foreign Minister, was impeached for having concealed the real state of affairs; Narbonne had already been dismissed; and the Girondists achieved a triumph by forcing on the Court a Ministry selected from their own party. The Gironde now imposed Dumouriez on the King as Foreign Minister; Roland was made Minister of the Interior; De Graves, of War; Lacoste was appointed to the Marine in place of Bertrand de Moleville; Clavière to the Finances, Duranton to the Department of Justice.

Roland and
his wife.

The most remarkable of the new Ministers were Dumouriez and Roland, the latter, however, chiefly through his extraordinary wife. Roland himself is a good specimen of the talking, philosophical, and factious Girondists. He had dissipated in his youth the greater part of his patrimony, and at the mature age of fifty-eight he married Marion, or Marie Jeanne Philipon, the daughter of an engraver on the Quai des Lunettes. Handsome, clever, inquisitive, self-educated, Marion had studied by turns Jansenius and Pascal, Descartes and Malebranche, Voltaire and the Encyclopædists; and had been alternately a Jansenist, a Cartesian, and a Deist. The reading of Plutarch, whose works she took to church instead of the *Semaine Sainte*, had made her at an early period an ardent Republican, and her chief regret was not to have been born a citizen of Athens, Sparta, or Rome.² She had so far outstripped the leaders of the Revolution, that in a letter, written soon after the taking of the Bastille, she urged, either the trial and execution of the King and Queen, or their assassination. But she had great talent and a ready pen; she shared the official labours of her husband, wrote many of his papers, and became the very soul of the Gironde.³

Views of
the German
Powers.

Francis, who at the age of twenty-two succeeded to the Austrian hereditary dominions on the death of Leopold II., adopted his father's policy with regard to France; though,

¹ Garden, *Traité*s, t. v. pp. 180 and 219.

² *Mémoires de Madame Roland*.

³ *Mém. de Wéber*, ch. v. p. 322; Croker, *Essays*, p. 335 sqq.

not having been yet elected Emperor, he was under no obligation to support the cause of the German Princes. One of the first acts of his reign was to assure the King of Prussia of his adherence to the principles of the recent alliance and treaty.¹ Frederick William was inclined to co-operate in the deliverance of Louis XVI. and his restoration to his former power; but this feeling was not shared by his Cabinet, nor by the Duke of Brunswick, one of his principal advisers. The events in Poland were in reality occupying the attention of Prussian Statesmen more than the affairs of France, and Frederick William was determined to share in the Second Partition which was imminent. Catharine II. had exhibited a violent animosity against the French Revolution, which was, perhaps, partly sincere, but which was also suspected of originating in a desire to facilitate her views upon Poland, by despatching to a distance the armies of Austria and Prussia. In some negotiations with de Noailles, the French Ambassador at Vienna, Prince Kaunitz laid down as points from which Austria could not depart: 1st, the satisfaction of the German Princes for their possessions in Alsace and Lorraine; 2nd, the satisfaction of the Pope for the County of Avignon; 3rd, France to take such domestic measures as she might think proper, but which should be such that the Government should be sufficiently strong to repress everything calculated to disturb other States. These demands were ill-received. The Girondists, especially Brissot and Dumouriez, were for an immediate appeal to arms, and compelled the King to proceed to the Assembly, April 20th, and to declare war against his nephew, Francis I., King of Hungary and Bohemia, which he did with a trembling voice and evident reluctance. But the announcement was hailed with enthusiasm by the French nation.

Louis XVI.
declares
war.

At this time the French army of the North, numbering about 50,000 men, under Marshal Rochambeau, was cantoned between Dunkirk and Philippeville. The army of the Centre, under Lafayette, which was rather stronger, stretched from Philippeville to Weissenburg; while that of the Rhine, about 40,000 men, under Luckner, was posted between Weissenburg and Basle. The frontier of the Alps and the Pyrenees was confided to the care of General Montesquiou. Dumouriez, who had sent secret agents into Belgium to excite the Bra-

French in-
vasion of
Belgium.

¹ *Supra*, p. 73.

banter to revolt, determined on taking the offensive; and he ordered columns of attack from the armies of Rochambeau and Lafayette to be rapidly directed on different parts of Belgium, in the hope that the inhabitants would rise and aid the invasion. But in this he was disappointed. The leading columns, which were too weak, advanced as far as Lille and Valenciennes; but although there was only a small Austrian force at present in the Low Countries, the French fled in panic at the first sight of the enemy, April 28th; and Lafayette, who had advanced to Bouvines, was compelled by their flight also to retire. The retreating troops fired on their officers, and massacred General Dillon and other of their commanders. Rochambeau was now superseded by Luckner, and the French army stood on the defensive.

French
reverses.

Their effect
on Paris.

This reverse, which was imputed to treachery, excited great distrust and suspicion at Paris, and increased the dissensions between the Feuillants and the Girondists. The Assembly declared itself *en permanence*, and seized the whole management of affairs. The Girondist faction had begun a course of policy which was highly distasteful, not only to the King, but also to Dumouriez. They denounced, through the journalist Carra, what they called an *Austrian Committee*, or a conspiracy of the Court with the Coalition, an accusation aimed chiefly at the Queen. They carried a decree forbidding ecclesiastics to appear in public in their costume. They obtained the dismissal of the King's guard of 12,000 men, and sent their commander, the Duke de Brissac, a prisoner to Orleans. They procured a decree for the transportation of priests who refused to take the civic oath. Servan, the new Minister of War, without saying a word to his colleagues in the Council, suddenly proposed to the Assembly to form a federal army of 20,000 men, selected from all the departments of France, to be encamped on the north side of Paris; and the Assembly decreed the measure, June 8th.

Resignation
of the
Girondist
Ministers.

The King could not help showing his aversion to these measures, and he refused to sanction the decrees for the banishment of the priests and the establishment of a federal army. Roland now addressed to him his famous letter, written by his wife, exhorting Louis to put himself at the head of the Revolution.¹ But it only confirmed the King in his intention

¹ It will be found in the *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, t. i. App. C.

to break with the Gironde; and on June 13th, Servan, Roland, and Clavière were dismissed. A few days afterwards, Dumouriez also resigned, being offended at the coldness and disdain with which the King treated him. Of the Girondist Ministry only Lacoste and Duranthon were retained; and the places of the others were supplied by persons of no note, selected from the Feuillant party.

Lafayette, at this crisis, by an ill-judged attempt to support the Constitutional Monarchy, addressed a dictatorial letter to the Legislative Assembly from his camp at Maubeuge (June 16th), in which he denounced the Jacobin faction, demanded the suppression of the clubs, and exhorted the Assembly to rally round a Constitutional throne. This imprudent step gave the finishing blow to Lafayette's reputation as a patriot, and helped to prepare the insurrection of June 20th and August 10th. None had hitherto been admitted into the National Guard except those who could provide their own uniform and equipments, a regulation which had kept the force in some degree select; but now it was ordered that pikes should take rank with bayonets, and that all who presented themselves should be admitted to serve. The sixty battalions were also reduced to forty-eight, the number of the new sections; which served to create a fresh mixture of the men, and still further to destroy Lafayette's influence over them.

Action of
Lafayette.

Most historians have considered the insurrection of June 20th, 1792, the anniversary of the oath at the Tennis-Court, as the immediate response of the people to the King's refusal to sanction the two decrees, and the dismissal of the Girondist Ministers; but it had, in fact, been prepared some time before.¹ The "recall of the good Ministers" was, however, made its watchword. On the whole, however, it was a more peaceable and good-humoured mob than might have been expected. The petitioners, as they called themselves, consisted of some 8,000 men armed with pikes and other weapons, and were accompanied by a large crowd of unarmed persons. Led by Santerre and St. Huruge, they were permitted to defile through the Chamber of the Assembly, singing *Ca ira*, dancing and shouting *Vive la nation! Vivent les sans-culottes! A bas le veto!*

Insurrec-
tion of
June 20.

From the Assembly the mob proceeded to the Tuileries.

¹ Mortimer Terneau, *Hist. de la Terreur*, t. i. p. 129.

The King displayed great firmness during this terrible visit. He ordered the doors to be thrown open, advanced to meet the crowd, asked them what they wanted, observed that he had not violated the Constitution. He then retired into the embrasure of a window, surrounded by a few faithful attendants. When the people urged him to sanction the two decrees, he replied, "This is not the time nor the place." To their demands that he should recall his Ministers, he merely answered, "I shall do what the Constitution directs." He put on a *bonnet-rouge* thrust towards him on a pike; but with the exception of an insulting speech from the butcher Legendre, afterwards a notorious member of the Convention, and the attack of a ruffian, who menaced him with a pike, but was hindered from doing any mischief, no further violence occurred. After this scene had lasted two hours, Pétion, the mayor, arrived, and, with the assistance of the deputies, Vergniaud and Isnard, persuaded the mob to depart.¹

Arrival of
Lafayette.

Thus the insurrection of June 20th proved a failure, and had even the effect of giving the King a little brief popularity. But Lafayette, by another ill-judged, though well-meant, step, contrived to make matters worse. On June 28th, leaving his army at Maubeuge, he suddenly appeared in the Assembly, and demanded the punishment of the rioters and the suppression of the Jacobin Club. Failing in this quarter, he sought to effect his objects by means of the National Guard, and attempted a review of them in the Champ de Mars, which was forbidden by Pétion. A deputation from some of their battalions had called upon him to lead them against the Jacobins; but Lafayette hesitated, and the opportunity was irrevocably lost. He now proposed to aid the King's flight to Compiègne, and place him at the head of the army; should that fail, that Luckner and himself should march on Paris with their forces. But Marie Antoinette opposed these projects, observing that, if Lafayette was to be their only resource, they had better perish.² He was attacked in the journals, denounced in the Assembly, burnt in effigy by the Jacobins, and compelled to quit Paris. The Feuillant Club was now closed; the grenadier companies and chasseurs of the National Guard, who had displayed some loyalty, were

¹ Bourienne, *Mémoires*, t. i. ch. iv.

² Lally Tollendal's *Letter to the King*, *Hist. Parl.* t. xvii. p. 243 sqq. Madame Campan, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. ch. ix. (Engl. transl.).

cashiered; the soldiers of the line were removed from the capital.

The refusal of Lafayette's aid sprang, no doubt, in a great degree from hatred of him, as one of the earliest promoters of the Revolution. But a proposal of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, Commandant of Rouen, whose troops were devoted to him, that the King should fly to that city, was also refused; and hence we are led to the conclusion that the Court, at this juncture, relied on the invasion of the allied Powers for their deliverance in preference to venturing on a civil war. The failure of the French troops, in their first encounters with the enemy, was calculated to nourish this hope. This view is confirmed by the fact that the King had now entered into secret negotiations with the Coalition, and by the advice of Malouet had sent Mallet du Pan to treat with the allied Sovereigns. A Memoir was drawn up for this purpose from the King's instructions by Mallet du Pan, and corrected with Louis's own hand.¹ The main object of the Memoir is to inform the allied Sovereigns of the manner in which the King wished the counter-revolution to be effected. It is strongly impressed upon them that the war should have as much as possible the appearance of a *foreign* war, and that the emigrants should not take any active and offensive part in it. Mallet du Pan had an interview at Frankfurt, in July, with the Ministers of the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, who were in the suite of the King of Hungary and Bohemia. That Sovereign, as we have already said, was elected Emperor, July 5th, with the title of Francis II.; and on the 11th he had entered Frankfurt in state, accompanied by the Empress, the Archduke Joseph, and a brilliant Court, for the ceremony of his coronation.

Louis treats
with the
coalition.

After the insurrection, and the attempt of Lafayette, the leaders of the Gironde began to declaim violently against the King. All Paris seemed moved with a patriotic frenzy. On the 4th of July Vergniaud made a famous attack on the monarchy. On the motion of Hérault de Sechelles a decree was passed, July 11th, that "the country is in danger."²

As the King had put his *veto* on the decree summoning the

¹ It will be found in *Mém. et Corr. de Mallet du Pan*, t. i.; *Pièces Justif.* p. 427 sqq. It was first published by Smyth, in his *Lectures on the Fr. Revol.* t. ii. p. 245 sqq.

² *Hist. Parl.* t. xv. p. 358 sq.

The Mar-
seillese.

federal volunteers to Paris, another had been passed appointing Soissons as the place of the federal camp; and to this he gave his sanction. The troops were first to visit the capital, to participate in the anniversary fête of the Federation which was now approaching. The Jacobins of Brest and Marseilles were most active in forwarding these men. Marseilles especially, besides isolated bands, sent three regular battalions, in February, July, and October, 1792, the first of which was led by Barbaroux. A great many of these men remained in Paris, at the instance of Danton. Though called Marseillaise, they were, for the most part, the scum of the prisons of Italy and the Mediterranean coasts.¹ They sang the well-known hymn, composed at Strassburg by Rouget de l'Isle, an officer of engineers, but first published at Marseilles, and thence called the *Marseillaise*.

The Fête
of the
Federa-
tion.

On July 14th, the fête of the Federation, the Champ de Mars was covered with eighty-three tents, one for each department. In the centre rose a symbolical tomb for those who should die on the frontier, with the inscription: "*Tremblez, tyrans, nous les vengerons.*"² The King took an oath to the Constitution, and Pétion, who had been suspended from his office of Mayor, for his conduct on June 20th, by the superior authority of the Directory of the Department of Paris,³ was now reinstated in his functions.

Advance of
the Allies.

Amid these somewhat melodramatic displays the French showed no lack of patriotism and constancy in the imminent danger with which they were threatened. Hatred of the foreigner and dread of an invasion united men of all shades of opinion. The armies of the Coalition were now collecting on the frontiers of France, under the command-in-chief of the Duke of Brunswick, a Prince of mature years, the companion in arms of Frederick the Great, and enjoying a high reputation both for military and other talent. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, William IX., through whose dominions the march of the Prussians lay, and whose geographical position was incompatible with neutrality in a war between Prussia and France, had joined the Coalition in the hope of gaining the Electoral Hat. The Electors of Trèves and Mainz had done the same. The Circles of Suabia had also consented to furnish

¹ Terneau, t. ii. p. 142.

² Weber, *Mém.* ch. v. p. 212.

³ The Department of Paris comprised the forty-eight sections and sixteen rural districts.

their contingents as States of the Empire. The Electors of Hanover and Saxony had declared themselves neutral. The Elector of Bavaria also contrived to maintain his neutrality till the spring of 1793; when, at the urgent remonstrance of the Imperial Court, he found himself compelled to add his contingent of 8,000 men to the combined army. The Austrian and Prussian Cabinets had invoked the aid of the Danish Court, in a joint note, dated May 12th, 1792, in which the principal motives alleged for interfering in the affairs of France were her revolutionary propagandism and the violence exercised towards the King. But the Danish Minister, Count Bernstorff, declined to interfere, on the ground that Denmark, like other States, had recognized the new French Constitution, and that no direct and public step had as yet been taken to overthrow it. The King of Denmark, it was added, had already preserved his subjects from the dangers of infection, by a measure adapted to the genius of the nation; a reply which must have sounded very like a reproof to the allied Governments.¹

The Duke of Brunswick arrived at Coblenz, July 3rd, in the environs of which place the troops under his command were assembling. The emigrant Princes now retired to Bingen. The Emperor and the King of Prussia had a conference at Mainz, July 19th and two following days. The allied Sovereigns exhibited a bitter jealousy of each other, and a selfish anxiety as to what territories they should get by way of compensation. The Emperor's army in the Netherlands was commanded by the Duke of Saxe Teschen. From this 15,000 men were to be detached to cover the right of the Prussian advance and join them near Longwy; while another Austrian army of 20,000 men under Prince Hohenlohe, was to be directed between the Rhine and Moselle to cover the Prussian left, menace Landau, and lay siege to Thionville. A third Austrian *corps d'armée*, under Prince Esterhazy, assembled in the Breisgau, and with 5,000 emigrants under the Prince of Condé, menaced the French frontiers from Switzerland to Phillipsbourg. The French armies were inferior in number to those of the allies; that of Lafayette could hardly be relied on, and, to add to the danger, symptoms of insurrection had manifested themselves in La Vendée and other provinces.

Insurrectionary preparations.

¹ Garden, *Traité*s, t. v. p. 207 sqq.

Yet when the decree that the country was in danger was proclaimed, July 22nd, in the principal places of Paris, amid the roll of drums and the booming of cannon, thousands rushed to enrol themselves as volunteers in the tents and booths erected for that purpose.

Threatening
Address to
the King.

Amidst these hostile preparations the fate of both the King and Monarchy was drawing to a crisis. The federal troops, instead of proceeding to Soissons after the fête, had remained at Paris; and on July 17th they sent a deputation to read to the Assembly an address drawn up by Robespierre, in which the suspension of the King's executive power, the impeachment of Lafayette, the discharge of military commanders nominated by the King, the dismissal and punishment of the departmental directors, etc., were imperiously demanded. Meanwhile the Girondists, threatened on one side by the Court and Lafayette, and on the other by the more violent Jacobins, were endeavouring to work on the King's fears, and reduce him to the dilemma either of throwing himself into their hands, or being crushed by Robespierre and the Republican party.

Measures had now been taken to organize an insurrection. A central bureau of correspondence among the forty-eight sections had been established at the Hôtel de Ville, July 17th, at which commissioners from the various sections appeared every day; and thus a rapid communication was established among them all. These commissioners ultimately formed, on the day of the insurrection, the revolutionary *Commune*, which ejected the legitimate General Council of the Municipality.¹

The 20th of June had been the day of the *Gironde*; the 10th of August, for which, after some postponements, the second insurrection was ultimately fixed, was to achieve the triumph of the *Montagne*, or ultra-democrats. Pétion and Ræderer, though with fear and doubt, ultimately lent their aid to the insurrection. But the men who had incited it, and were to reap its fruits, kept themselves in the background. Neither Robespierre nor Danton, though each after his manner was urging on the movement, took part in the secret insurrectional committee at the Jacobins, which consisted for the most part of obscure persons. Danton made no secret of

¹ Terneau, *La Terreur*, t. ii. p. 138.

his hopes of profit and advantage from the event.¹ The views of Robespierre were more designing and ambitious. He sounded Barbaroux on the subject of procuring for him a dictatorship by means of the Marseillaise; but Barbaroux flatly refused.²

While Paris was thus on the eve of an insurrection, the bitter feeling which prevailed against the Court was increased tenfold by a highly injudicious manifesto, published by the Duke of Brunswick, July 25th, on breaking up from Coblenz to invade the French frontier. In this paper it was declared: That the object of the Coalition was to put an end to anarchy in France, and to restore Louis XVI. to his legitimate authority; that if the King was not immediately restored to perfect liberty, or if the respect and inviolability due to him and the Royal family were infringed, the Assembly, the Department, the Municipality, and other public bodies would be made responsible with their heads; that if the Palace was insulted or forced, and any violence offered to the King or his family, Paris would be abandoned to military execution and total destruction. But if the Parisians promptly obeyed these orders, then the allied Princes engaged to obtain from Louis XVI. a pardon for their faults and errors. By a second declaration, dated July 27th, the Duke threatened that if the King or any member of the Royal family should be carried off from Paris, the road through which they had been conducted should be marked by a continued series of exemplary punishments.

The Duke of Brunswick's manifesto, July 25th, 1792.

The tone of this manifesto was not at all in accordance with the suggestion of Mallet du Pan. It had been drawn up by the Marquis de Limon, according to the views of Calonne, and had obtained the approbation of the allied Sovereigns, though the Duke of Brunswick himself disapproved of it. The passage respecting the destruction of Paris is even said to have been inserted after it had received the Duke's signature.³ At all events, the manifesto should not have been published till the allied armies were nearer to Paris, and, after issuing it, the march of the troops on that capital should have been precipitated. The overthrow of the

¹ He had already touched 30,000 livres, the money of the Court. See *Corr. entre Mirabeau et le Comte de la Marck*, t. iii. p. 82.

² *Mémoires de Barbaroux*, ch. v. p. 62 sqq.

³ *Mém. et Corr. de Mallet du Pan*, t. i. p. 316 sqq.

French Monarchy was already determined on; but by wounding the national pride of the French, the manifesto strengthened the impending insurrection, and also roused the Jacobins to a more vigorous defence against the invasion. A little after Monsieur, the King's brother, and other emigrant Princes, published at Trèves (August 8th), a declaration of their motives and intentions. Their army, of about 12,000 men, was to keep in the rear of the Prussians, and follow their line of operations. The accession of the Court of Turin to the Coalition, July 25th, which offered to furnish 40,000 men, must also have tended to irritate the French.

The King's
abdication
demanded.

The Duke of Brunswick's manifesto was officially communicated to the Assembly, August 3rd; when the King thought proper to assure the Chamber in a letter, that he would never compound the glory and interests of the nation, never receive the law at the hands of foreigners or a party; that he would maintain the national independence with his last breath. On the same day, Pétion, at the head of a deputation from the *Commune*, appeared at the bar of the Assembly, denounced the *crimes* of Louis XVI., his projects against Paris, and demanded his abdication. The petition which he presented to this purport had been approved by all the Sections of Paris except one. The insurrection would have taken place immediately, but Santerre, the leader of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the devoted servant of Robespierre, was not yet prepared.

Prepara-
tions for
defence.

The King was informed almost hourly of the state of the preparations for the attack on the Tuileries. Royalty had not yet lost all its supporters. There was in the Assembly a large, but timid party, the friends of order; and the accusation of Lafayette, proposed by Brissot, had been rejected by a majority of almost two to one. But the members who had voted the rejection were hissed and maltreated on leaving the House. The Palace of the Tuileries was at that time much more defensible than it is at present. The Place du Carrousel was covered with small streets; the court of the Palace was enclosed with a wall instead of a railing, and not open, as at present, but divided by ranges of small buildings. Mandat, whose turn it was to command the National Guard, and had been an officer in the regular army, was a zealous Constitutionalist, and several battalions of that force were also ardently attached to the Throne. Twelve guns were planted

round the Palace, others on the Pont Neuf, to prevent the junction of the men of the Faubourg St. Marceau with those of the Faubourg St. Antoine; a force was stationed to observe the Hôtel de Ville, with instructions to let the mob pass from the Faubourg St. Antoine, and then to attack them in the rear. The most effective force, however, was the Swiss Guard, about 950 men.

None of the leading Jacobins took any active part in the execution of the attack. Even Barbaroux and his friends Rebecqui and Pierre Baille excused themselves from leading their compatriots, the Marseillaise, on the ground that they were the official representatives of the town of Marseilles.¹ On this eventful day the destinies of France were left in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sections, all of them obscure persons, though a few, as Billaud Varennes, Hébert, Bourdon de l'Oise, and two or three more, afterwards became noted in the annals of the Revolution. These men proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville on the night of August 9th, formed themselves into a new *Commune*, and expelled the existing Council; retaining of the previous magistrates only Pétion, Manuel, and Danton, and the sixteen Administrators. One of the first acts of the insurrectionary *Commune* was to send for Mandat, who was at once murdered, Santerre being appointed to be provisional commandant-general of the National Guard.²

Murder of
Mandat.

The *tocsin* had been sounding since midnight from all the steeples of Paris. The inmates of the Palace had passed a sleepless night. At six o'clock the King held a sort of review. Some of the National Guards received him with cries of *Vive le Roi!* but the cannoniers and the battalion *Croix Rouge* shouted *Vive la Nation!* On crossing the garden to visit the posts at the Pont Tournant, he was saluted by the battalions of pikemen with yells of *à bas le Vêto! à bas le traître!* These men took up a position near the Pont Royal, and turned their guns on the Tuileries; others did the like on the Place du Carrousel. Marie Antoinette could not help deploring the want of energy shown by the King, and remarked that the review had done more harm than good.³ Even contemporary Revolutionists were unanimously of opinion that if the King had displayed any resolution he

¹ *Mém. de Barbaroux*, p. 66 sq.; Terneau, t. ii. p. 307 note.

² Mortimer Terneau, *La Terreur*, t. ii. p. 278.

³ Madame Campan, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. ch. x. (Engl. transl.).

would have carried with him half the National Guard. Santerre had hesitated to advance till he was threatened with death by a man named Westermann. Danton and Desmoulins were among the insurgents, but Robespierre and Marat were nowhere to be seen.¹ Pétion, who was at the Tuileries on pretence of official duties, seemed ill at ease among the crowd of royalist gentlemen; but he was summoned away by the new *Commune* and consigned to his hotel.

The insurgent columns were now advancing in dense masses. The death of Mandat, the withdrawal of the cannon from the Pont Neuf, had spoilt the whole plan of defence. To Ræderer, *procureur-syndic* of the Department, and a Girondist, who was at the Palace in his official capacity, must be mainly attributed the result of the day. It was he who, with treacherous counsels, and in order to throw the King into the hands of his faction, persuaded him to abandon the Palace and take refuge in the Assembly. At seven in the morning Louis left his Palace, never to return. It was with great difficulty the Royal family made their way into the hall of the Assembly. The King was received tolerably well by the mob; but the Queen experienced gross insults and horrible threats, and was robbed of her purse and watch.

The departure of the King spread consternation through the Palace and was fatal to its defence. The Swiss alone showed admirable fidelity, courage, and discipline, though two, even of these, were induced to fraternize with the insurgents. Led by their colonel, Pfyffer, the Swiss made a sortie, cleared the Carrousel with much slaughter, seized three cannons and dragged them to the Palace. At this crisis the defence was abandoned by order of the King, who sent to the Swiss, by M. d'Hervilly, an order to that effect, hastily written in pencil.² The greater part of this heroic band were killed in attempting a retreat, some towards the Assembly, some through the gardens of the Tuileries.

¹ Von Sybel, i. 527 sq. (Engl. transl.).

² Mortimer Terneau, *La Terreur*, t. ii. p. 320 sqq. Most previous historians represent the Palace as forced by the mob.

Louis abandons the Tuileries, Aug. 10th, 1792.

Capture of the Palace.

CHAPTER LV

FRANCE AGAINST EUROPE

THE Girondists seemed at first to reap the fruits of a victory achieved by others. The Assembly, in which that party prevailed, assumed at once all the executive power of the State, and, at the instance of Vergniaud, its president, directed the provisional suspension of the King, the nomination of a tutor for the Prince Royal, the installation of the King and Royal family at the Luxembourg, sanctioned the decrees on which the King had placed his *veto*, ordered the accusation of the Minister, Abancourt, for not carrying out a decree against the Swiss Guard, sent commissaries to the armies to suspend the Generals, decreed domiciliary visits to suspected persons. All this was done, August 10th, in the presence of the King. The Assembly, of which only members of the Left were present, also took upon itself to form a new Ministry; restored Roland, Servan, and Clavière to their former places, appointed Lebrun Minister for Foreign Affairs, Monge to the Department of Marine, Danton to that of Justice. Danton had been an advocate in the King's Council since 1787, but had little practice. He was remarkable for his high stature, athletic form, stentorian voice, and what he called his audacity. These endowments served to qualify him for a demagogue; but he quailed if boldly met. He had taken little part in the insurrection; but after the victory he appeared at the head of the Marseillaise with a great sabre, as if he had been the hero of the day. He appointed Camille Desmoulins and Fabre d'Eglantine his secretaries.

Girondist
Ministry.

Danton.

But the reins of power were really held at this juncture by the new *Commune*, or Municipality, supported by the armed mob. It was not till the morning of August 11th that the wary Robespierre had caused himself to be named a member

The
Commune.

of it for the Section in which he lived, that of the *Piques*, Place Vendôme.¹ But he avoided appearing prominently in it, kept himself in a corner of the Council Chamber, yet directed all the steps of the *Commune*; and while the Legislative Assembly existed, headed several violent deputations to its bar.² Marat was also a leading member of the insurrectionary *Commune*; such was their respect for him that they assigned him a private tribune. A Committee of Surveillance was appointed, which assumed all the functions of Government; ordered, among other things, the barriers to be closed, passports to be suspended; non-juring priests to leave France within a fortnight; the ladies of the Queen and several officers of the National Guard to be interrogated; decreed a number of arrests, thus filling the prisons for the ensuing massacres. The National Guard was reformed and increased; the property in the Royal Palaces and the plate in the churches were seized; the Registers at the Hôtel de Ville began to be dated "First year of the Republic." On August 12 the Assembly surrendered the custody of the King and his family to the *Commune*, and on the following day Pétion conducted them from the Luxembourg to the Temple. Here the King was lodged in a gloomy apartment lighted by a single window, and furnished with a wretched bed and a few chairs. The Royal family were not even provided with necessary clothes. The Countess of Sutherland, lady of the English Ambassador, sent some of her son's for the Dauphin.

The Royal family at the Temple.

Mode of election of a Convention.

The Legislative Assembly was itself to be dissolved to make room for a National Convention. Robespierre had proposed this step at the Jacobin Club on the evening of August 10th. On the 11th the Assembly decreed its own abdication, and fixed the mode of electing a Convention. The electoral franchise was now extended; the distinction of *active* and *inactive* citizens was suppressed; every Frenchman, aged twenty-five, living by his own labour or income, and not in domestic service, if he had taken the civic oath, was declared an elector.³ But the double degree of election was retained; that is, primary assemblies to choose electoral assemblies, which last

¹ He now lived with Duplay, the joiner, Rue St. Honoré.

² Mortimer Terneau, t. iii. liv. ix.

³ The Constituent Assembly had decreed that a contribution of three days' labour was a necessary qualification to vote in the primary assemblies.

returned the deputies. The former were to meet on Sunday, August 26th; the latter on Sunday, September 2nd.

A mixed commission, composed of members of the Assembly and of the *Commune*, appointed to search the Tuileries, found some letters and documents, which proved that the King had compromised himself with the counter-Revolution. The *Commune* compelled the Assembly to appoint an extraordinary criminal tribunal. Robespierre refused the presidency of it, and had also resigned, in April, the office of Public Accuser, which he had exercised since the preceding February. On the establishment of the new tribunal, August 18th, the *Commune* directed the *guillotine* to be permanently erected in the Place du Carrousel. The first victims of this tribunal were Delaporte, *intendant* of the Civil List, D'Angremont, the Queen's master of languages, one Solomon, convicted of forgery, and the journalist Durozoy. Thus was inaugurated the reign of blood; Robespierre had invoked it in the last number of his *Défenseur*. The dominion of the men who were to strangle the Revolution by their excesses, and prepare the way for a military despotism had now begun. Its advent was signalized by some acts of senseless brutality. By order of the *Commune*, the statues of Henry IV., of Louis XIV., and Louis XV., and other monuments, were overthrown; they also decreed the destruction of all emblems and monuments of feudality, even in private houses. The title of *Citoyen* was to be substituted for that of *Monsieur*; and in public acts after *l'an IV de la liberté* was to be added, *l'an I de l'égalité*.

Proceedings
of the
Commune.

But, though Paris seemed unanimous, the Revolution of August 10th was not universally welcomed in France. Symptoms of dissatisfaction were manifested at Metz, Nanci, Rouen, Amiens, Strassburg, and other places. Lafayette conceived the idea of uniting the Directories of the Departments in a Congress, and opposing them to the National Assembly—in short, of confronting Paris with the provinces. The Municipality of Sedan, where his army was stationed, was ready to second the measure. He also thought of marching to Paris, with some regiments devotedly attached to him, when the National Guards would, in all probability, have joined him, and the Marseillaise and pikemen might easily have been dispersed.¹ Thus he might have saved the King

Lafayette's
flight.

¹ Von Sybel, vol. ii. p. 51 sqq. (Eng. transl.). Dumouriez says that two-thirds of the army of Flanders were with Lafayette, *ibid.* p. 51.

and Constitution, but he wanted resolution for so bold a stroke, and only did enough to insure his own fall. The Government superseded him, and, on the night of August 19th, he fled with many of his officers, hoping to reach the Dutch frontier and England; but he was arrested by the Austrian outposts, transferred for some unknown reason to Prussian custody, and successively imprisoned at Wesel, Neisse, and Glatz.¹ Dumouriez was now appointed Commander-in-Chief of the two armies which covered the frontiers, and Luckner was superseded by Kellermann.

Domiciliary
visits.

The allies were now advancing. The Prussian light troops had entered the French territory, August 12th. Some of the inhabitants of Sierck having fired upon them from their windows, that place was abandoned to military execution. The main body of the Prussian army, which had taken three weeks to accomplish forty leagues, crossed the frontier, August 18th, and encamped at Tiercelet, where it formed a junction with the Austrians under Clairfait. Longwy, invested by the Duke of Brunswick and General Clairfait, August 20th, capitulated on the 24th. This event was seized upon by the Jacobin leaders, who artfully fomented the excitement which it naturally produced. The Assembly decreed that every citizen, in a besieged place, who talked of surrender, should be put to death; that Longwy should be razed, and a new levy of 30,000 men made.² On August 27th was given a grand funeral fête, in honour of those who had fallen on the 10th; the passions of the people were roused by a long procession of their widows and orphans. Next day Danton declared in the Assembly that the despots could be made to retreat only by "a great national convulsion," insisted on the necessity of seizing all traitors; demanded authority to make domiciliary visits, for the purpose, as he said, of seizing the arms of suspected persons. These visits were made, by order of the *Commune*, on the night of August

¹ Terneau, t. iii. p. 72 sq. At the Peace of Basle, 1795, the Prussians handed him over to Austria. He was now confined at Olmütz, and was at length released by Bonaparte at the Peace of Campo Formio, after a harsh confinement of four years.

² *Hist. Parl.* t. xvii. p. 126. It was in the midst of these alarms that several distinguished foreigners were admitted to French citizenship, as Priestley, Paine, Bentham, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Mackintosh, Pestalozzi, Washington, Hamilton, Maddison, Klopstock, Kosciusko, etc.—*Fastes de la Révol.* ap. Blanc, t. vii. p. 117.

29th, when several thousand persons were arrested, but the greater part were released on the following day. The Assembly at last made an endeavour to stem the assumption of authority by the *Commune*, and decreed, August 30th, the election of a new Municipality; but Pétion appeared at the bar at the head of a deputation on the 31st, and frightened the Chamber into an abandonment of the measure.

On Sunday morning, September 2nd, news arrived at Paris that Verdun had been invested; that the Duke of Brunswick, in summoning it, had declared that places which did not surrender would be abandoned to the fury of the soldiery. The *Commune* now directed the barriers to be closed, horses to be seized to convey troops to the frontier; citizens to hold themselves in readiness to march at the first signal. Alarm-guns were fired, the *tocsin* was rung, the *générale* beaten.

The Prussian advance to Verdun.

Everything was now ready for the MASSACRES OF SEPTEMBER. The first victims were some priests, who were being conveyed in carriages to the prison of the Abbaye, about half-past two in the afternoon; several of whom were murdered before they reached the prison. When the carriages entered the court it was found to be filled with a multitude of people, who must have been admitted by the authorities. The massacre at this place lasted till five o'clock, when a voice exclaimed, "There is nothing more to be done here; let us go to the Carmelites." This prison contained 186 ecclesiastics and three laymen. The priests were asked whether they would take the civic oath? and on their heroically refusing, they were conducted to the garden of the convent, and despatched with muskets and swords. Only fourteen contrived to escape over the walls. About six in the evening an officer of the National Guard informed the General Council of the Municipality of what was passing. This body could, doubtless, have arrested the massacres, had they been so inclined, by ordering out the National Guard; but they contented themselves with sending commissioners to the different prisons to protect persons incarcerated for debt. They went through the farce of sending a message to the Assembly to deliberate respecting the crowds assembled at the prisons. But the Assembly was frightened and powerless. The prisoners were subjected to a sort of burlesque trial. Maillard, the hero of the Bastille, acted the part of judge; ten armed men, seated at a table, formed an extempore jury.

The massacres of September.

Similar scenes passed at the other prisons during five consecutive days. The verdict, "Liberate the gentleman," was the signal to kill the prisoner who thought he had escaped. Some who boldly avowed that they were Royalists were spared; any equivocation or falsehood was attended with certain death. Among the victims were the Minister Montmorin, and the beautiful Princess de Lamballe, one of the Queen's favourites, who was murdered because she refused the oath of hatred of Royalty. When the murderers had cleared the chief prisons, they went to the Bicêtre and La Salpêtrière, and massacred women and children, paupers and lunatics. The total number of victims at Paris is reckoned at between 1,400 and 1,500,¹ to whom must be added the prisoners detained at Orleans—forty-three in number. These prisoners were all massacred but three, September 9th. Among them were the ex-Minister De Lessart and the Duke de Brissac, formerly commander of the King's guard. The ruffian Fournier, called the American, but who was in reality a native of Auvergne, leader of the band which committed this massacre, had a regular commission from Roland, Minister of the Interior.²

The Committee of Surveillance addressed a circular to the different departments, September 3rd, calling upon them to follow the example set by the capital, as a necessary means of public safety. This circular, which bears among other signatures that of Marat, was forwarded with the counter-sign of Danton.³ The circular produced, however, but little effect, and, on the whole, the Septembrists failed in the provinces. At Rheims about eight persons were murdered, eleven at Lyons, fourteen at Meaux. At the last place the assassins are said to have come from Paris.

There can be no doubt that the September massacres were premeditated. They appear to have been determined on at latest by August 26th, and probably one of the chief objects of them was to influence the elections for the Convention.⁴ It

Question of
premeditation.

¹ Terneau (t. iii. p. 548) estimates them at 1,368.

² Terneau, *La Terreur*, t. iii. p. 368. For details of the massacres, see the *Relation* of the Abbé Sicard, and Jourgniac St. Méard, *Mon agonie de 38 heures*, in Barrière's *Biblioth. des Mém.* t. xviii.

³ From the archives of Angers, ap. Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, B. i. S. 548, vol. ii. p. 99 (Eng. Trans.).

⁴ Von Sybel (*ibid.* p. 69).

can be proved that the Ministry knew of them beforehand; that the *concierges* and other authorities at the prisons were prepared for what was to happen; that the assassins, consisting chiefly of Marseillaise and Federal soldiers, were quietly admitted into the prisons; that great part of them were hired and paid for their bloody work; that records of the Sections still existing, as those of the Sections Luxembourg and Poissonnière, show that the massacres were deliberately voted; and that the same thing was done in other places may be inferred from the circumstance that in the registers of several Sections the leaves containing the transactions of September 2nd and 3rd are torn out.¹ A further proof of foreknowledge and design is that many prisoners were liberated by the leaders of the *Commune* before the massacres began, either from private friendship, or for the sake of money. The Prince de Pois and Beaumarchais bought their lives of Panis and Manuel.²

The chief instigators of the massacres were Danton, Marat, and the Committee of Surveillance; one of the principal agents of them was Billaud Varennes. At the prison of La Force, members of the Municipality, in their scarves of office, presided over and legalized the butchery. Robespierre's share in these atrocities, if more obscure, is hardly less certain. He was too wary to take any prominent part. But that he had a foreknowledge of the massacres appears from the fact, that he, as well as Tallien and others, reclaimed from the prisons some priests who had been their tutors. Panis, one of the most active of the Committee of Surveillance, was Robespierre's creature, acting only by his command. Robespierre afterwards endeavoured to exculpate himself by some glaring falsehoods. He affirmed that he had ceased to go to the *Commune* before the massacres occurred; yet the minutes record his presence September 1st and 2nd. Pétion also declared that he saw Robespierre at the Hôtel de Ville during the massacres, and reproached him with the part he had taken in the denunciations and arrests.

Principal
instigators.

The Girondists are not exempt from blame, though their part in the massacres was that of cowardly connivance. We have mentioned Roland's agency in the matter of the Orleans

The
Girondists'
share.

¹ The proceedings of all the Sections will be found in Terneau, *La Terreur*, t. iii. note xiii.

² Prudhomme, ap. Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, B. i. S. 530.

prisoners. The journals published under the patronage of the Minister of the Interior represented the massacres as necessary and just. Pétion, when applied to by men bespattered with blood for orders respecting eighty prisoners at La Force, exclaimed, "Do for the best!" and offered the assassins some wine.¹ Brissot was publicly charged by Chabot with having informed him, on the morning of September 2nd, of the plot to massacre the prisoners.² When it was too late, the Girondists bestirred themselves a little, and procured the dissolution of the Committee of Surveillance.

From these revolting scenes we turn with pleasure to view the French character on a brighter side. With patriotic enthusiasm volunteers enrolled themselves in great numbers; during a fortnight 1,800 men left Paris daily for the frontier. The Marseillaise, however, the perpetrators of the massacres, who had been maintained at the expense of the *Commune*, refused to march. Marat proclaimed that he had other work for them to do at Paris. Patriotic gifts poured in; even the market women brought 4,000 francs. Verdun had surrendered, September 2nd, after a bombardment of fifteen hours; but the suicide of Beaurepaire, the commandant, who had opposed the capitulation, might apprise the Prussians of the resistance they were likely to meet. Dumouriez who had only 25,000 men to oppose to the much superior forces of the Duke of Brunswick, had determined to occupy the forest of Argonne, a branch of the Ardennes which separates the Trois Evêchés from Champagne Pouilleuse, and to make it the Thermopylæ of France. But being driven from two of the passes he had occupied, and a superior force of the allies threatening to turn his flank, he retreated in the night of September 14th to St. Menchould. Here he was joined by Kellermann and Bournonville with their divisions, which brought up his army to more than 50,000 men. The Prussians attacked Kellermann at Valmy, September 20th, but the Duke of Brunswick withdrew the columns which had been formed, and were actually marching to storm the heights, to the great chagrin of the King of Prussia, who was present, and had ordered the advance. The Duc de Chartres, eldest son of the Duke of Orleans, and his

¹ Evidence of Chabot in the trial of the Girondists. *Hist. Parl.* t. xxx. pp. 49, 71, 88, 106.

² *Hist. Parl.* t. xx. p. 444.

brother, the Duc de Montpensier, were present at this battle, which was little more than a cannonade. It had, however, important consequences. The Prussians, deceived by the representations of the French emigrants, that their advance would be a mere military promenade, were ill provided for a long campaign; the peasants had laid waste the surrounding country, bad weather set in, the roads became almost impracticable, the men were suffering severely from dysentery. The stories about the Duke of Brunswick having been tampered with by the French are most probably false, but it is certain that he did not push the war with much ardour. Instead of advancing on Châlons, as the King of Prussia, the Russian, Austrian, and emigrant parties desired, the Duke renewed negotiations with Dumouriez; offered much milder conditions than those previously threatened; said nothing about restoring the ancient *régime*; demanded only the release of the King, and the cessation of all propagandism. Dumouriez would have willingly made a separate peace with Prussia; but the Convention had now assembled; the Executive Council refused to listen to any terms till the French territory had been evacuated; and Dumouriez, in reply to the Duke's proposals, handed to the Prussian envoy the decree establishing a Republic. There was now nothing left to the Prussians but to retreat, and Dumouriez, authorized by Danton, did not molest them. They crossed the Rhine at Coblenz towards the end of October, and Dumouriez returned to Paris to enjoy his success and arrange a plan of operations against Belgium. On the 17th of October King Frederick William II. wrote to the Empress Catharine that the inclemency of the weather had forced him to retreat; that he should not forsake the great cause, but that he must be compensated with a still larger share of Poland! At the same time Austria was urging on the Russian Court her claim to Baireuth and Anspach; and Francis II., in a letter to the King of Prussia (October 29th), expressed his resolution to act with him against the common enemy, and at the same time to procure the compensation to which both were entitled.¹

Retreat of
the Prus-
sians.

The NATIONAL CONVENTION charged with the drawing up of a new Constitution, assembled September 21st. The Girondists, or Brissotins, who had sat on the left or opposition

The Con-
vention.

¹ Von Sybel, ii. 185 sqq. (Eng. transl.).

benches in the Legislative, formed the right of the Convention. In appearance they had the superiority. They occupied the Ministry, they had a majority in the Assembly, and were supported by the moderate party. But they had placed themselves in a false position. They had gone too far for the Constitutionals, and not far enough for the ultra-democrats and Jacobins. Opposite to them in terrible array was the faction of the MOUNTAIN, so called from the members of it occupying the highest benches on the left. The nucleus of this faction was formed by the twenty-four Parisian deputies and some violent Republicans from the Departments. The election of deputies had commenced at Paris, September 2nd, and there can be no doubt that the massacres had a vast influence on the returns.¹ The list, headed by Robespierre and closed by the Duke of Orleans, now called Philippe Egalité, contains, among other names notorious in the annals of the Revolution, those of Danton, Collot d'Herbois, Manuel, Billaud Varennes, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, Legendre the butcher, Panis, Sergent, Fréron, Fabre d'Eglantine, Robespierre's brother Augustine, David the painter, etc. The Duke of Orleans, by accepting a seat in the Convention, identified himself with the mortal enemies of the King, his relative. Towards the end of 1791 a reconciliation had been attempted through Bertrand de Moleville. The King received the Duke and appeared entirely satisfied. But when the latter attended the levée on the following Sunday, the courtiers pressed round him, and covered him with insult. From this moment he vowed to revenge himself on the King and Queen.² The strength of the Mountain lay, not in their number, but in their being supported by the Jacobin Club, the *Commune*, and consequently the Parisian populace, then the supreme power in the State. They had succeeded in driving the Jacobins from the Club, and had filled their places with *Sans-Culottes*. Between the Gironde and the Mountain, voting sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, was seated the *Plain*, or the *Marsh* (*Marais*), consisting principally of new members without settled political connections. Their principles generally inclined them to the *Right*, but terror often compelled them to vote with the *Left*.³

¹ Terneau, *La Terreur*, t. iii. p. 192.

² Bertrand de Moleville, *Mém.* t. i. p. 278 sq.

³ Thos. Paine had been returned for the Pas de Calais, Dr. Priestley

The Convention, on the very first day it assembled, although only 371 members were present out of 749, decreed, on the motion of the Abbé Grégoire, the abolition of Royalty. This event had been prepared in the Legislative Assembly. At the instance of Chabot, September 4th, all the members had cried, "No King!" and taken an oath of eternal hatred to royalty. On September 22nd, the Republic was proclaimed under the windows of the Temple. Louis XVI. heard, it is said, the sentence of deposition without emotion, and continued to read a book on which he was engaged. It was now ordered that the date of *fourth year of liberty* should be altered to *first of the Republic*.

Royalty
abolished.

A struggle for power between the Girondists and the Mountain was inevitable.¹ The Girondists charged their adversaries with promoting social anarchy in order to establish a dictatorship; while the Mountain denounced the Girondists as aiming to divide France into several Federated Republics, after the manner of the United States of America; nay, they even imputed to them a design to restore royalty by means of a civil war. These were the war-cries of the two parties. Danton made some attempt to conciliate them, but without success. It was the Girondists who began the attack. Brissot preluded it by an article in his Journal, September 23rd; and Kersaint followed it up next day by a speech in the Convention. The massacres were made the chief topic of offence. Barbaroux was put forward to make a desultory informal attack upon Robespierre, which led to nothing.

Struggle
between the
Girondists
and the
Mountain.

On October 8th Buzot proposed to the Convention a project for a departmental guard of 4,470 men. The scheme was violently denounced at the Jacobins and in Robespierre's Journal. But the strongest arguments against the measure were the threatening deputations from the Sections, and especially from the Faubourg St. Antoine. The Girondists were compelled to abandon their guard; but the arrival of a third band of Marseillaise, under the auspices of Barbaroux, encouraged them to proceed to their attacks upon the Mountain. On October 29th, Louvet, the author of the novel of

for the Department of the Orne, and Anacharsis Clootz for that of the Oise. Priestley declined to serve because he did not speak French.

¹ For the history of the Girondists, see Vatel, *Vergniaud*; Guadet, *Les Girondins*; Biré, *La Légende des Girondins*.

Faublas, made a formal, but rambling accusation of Robespierre, when Barère, who represented the Deputies of the centre, or plain (the trimmers) came to his rescue. "If," he said, "there was in the Assembly a man like Cæsar, Cromwell, or Sylla, he would accuse him, for such men were dangerous to liberty; but the little dabblers in revolutions, politicians of the hour, who would never enter the domain of history, were not worthy to occupy the valuable time of the Assembly." He then moved that they should pass to the order of the day: which was accordingly done.

Progress of
the French.

We must now revert to the war on the frontiers. After the retreat of the Prussians, the French General Custine, who was acting against the Austrians, had pushed on with his division to Spire, which he took by a *coup de main*. Learning here that the French would be welcomed as deliverers in the Rhenish provinces, he sent a detachment of 4,500 men to Worms, who were received with open arms; and he published a proclamation containing the democratic maxim then in vogue; "War to the palace, peace to the cottage." Custine appeared before Mainz, October 19th, which place surrendered on the 21st. Here he opened a club on the model of the Jacobins, and was joined by many ecclesiastics, eager to break their vows; while the peasants also manifested a disposition to rise. Another French corps had occupied Frankfurt without resistance, October 22nd. These successes, however, were not unmixed with reverses. Bournonville, repulsed in an attempt upon Trèves at an advanced season of the year, retired into Lorraine. Custine, instead of seizing Coblenz, whither the Elector of Mainz had fled with his Court after the capture of his capital, remained inactive, bribed, it is said, by the Prussians; he also neglected the defence of Frankfurt, which the Prussians re-entered, December 2nd.

In conformity with their scheme of revolutionizing all Europe, the French had also declared war against the King of Sardinia; a French army under General Montesquiou soon after entered Savoy, and occupied Chambéry, September 23rd. The Savoyards received the French with open arms. Hence Montesquiou was to have pushed on to Geneva, threatening Switzerland and Italy; but his negotiations with the Genevese displeased the Assembly; his impeachment was decreed, and it was with difficulty that he saved himself by flying to

Geneva itself.¹ About the same time a French division under General Anselme entered Nice, and captured Villa Franca on the first summons.

Meanwhile on the side of Flanders, the Austrians, under Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, had bombarded Lille, but without effect; and finding themselves deserted by the Prussians, had taken up, under Clairfait, a fortified position at Jemappes, near Mons. Here they were attacked and defeated by Dumouriez, now appointed General of the army of the Ardennes (November 6th). The Duc de Chartres (Louis Philippe) was present in this action. The victory of Jemappes opened Belgium to the French: Mons, Brussels, Liège, Namur, Antwerp, and other places, fell successively into their hands; and by the middle of December the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands was completed. The Jacobins now sent agents thither to propagate their revolutionary doctrines. But the Flemings, who had at first received the French with enthusiasm, soon discovered that their yoke was heavier than that of their former masters; were disgusted by the requisitions made upon them, and a system of general pillage. Dumouriez, who disapproved these things, and had a scheme for the conquest of Holland, to which the Girondists were opposed, now came to Paris to remonstrate. He wished also to baffle the Jacobins and rescue the King from their hands. In addition to these successes, a French fleet had appeared in November before Naples, and had compelled the Bourbon King to recognize the French Republic—the first acknowledgment of it by a foreign Power.

Battle of
Jemappes,
Nov. 6, 1792.

Conquest of
Belgium.

On December 3rd the Convention decreed that Louis XVI. should be brought to trial before them. A committee of twenty-four which had been named to examine the papers found at the Tuileries, delivered a report conceived in a spirit of the most virulent hostility towards the King. His death had been demanded by deputations of the sections, and in addresses from the affiliated Jacobin clubs, and had been represented in puppet shows in the public streets and squares. The Constitution had declared the King inviolable, and his Ministers responsible. The only head under which he could be arraigned was treasonable negotiations with foreign Powers, for which the penalty was abdication; but

Louis XVI.
attacked.

¹ Von Sybel, ii. 163 sq. (Eng. transl.).

that penalty he had already paid on the 10th of August. It was necessary, therefore, to abandon all appeal to the law, and to substitute the plea of State necessity, of which the Sovereign People was the judge, and the Convention as its representative. In a debate on November 13th the fanatical St. Just contended that the King could not be judged as a citizen, but as an enemy; that he was not included in the national contract, and could not, therefore, be tried by the civil law, but by the law of nations. Robespierre adopted the arguments of St. Just. Louis, he exclaimed, is King, the Republic is founded; either then Louis is already condemned, or the Republic is not acquitted. You invoke the Constitution in his favour; but the Constitution forbids what you have already done; go, fling yourself at his feet and implore his mercy! The Ministry and the majority of the Convention were also for a trial, in order to promote their foreign propagandism by the terror which it would inspire. But when they found that England, instead of favouring their views, had been completely alienated by the September massacres, and might probably institute a war of vengeance for the King's death,¹ they changed their tone, especially as they began to feel some apprehensions about their own fate; for the attacks of the Jacobins were now directed against them as well as the King. They proposed, indeed, that the trial should proceed, but they hoped to avert the sentence by demanding that it should be ratified by the primary electors. A futile method! for the *sans-culottes* of Paris were the real arbiters of the question, and to get the better of them was a plain impossibility. For though the great mass of the people sympathized with the King and the Gironde, the Mountain prevailed by its unscrupulous audacity, and the better classes were paralyzed by fear.

While Louis was thus savagely denounced, he and his family were leading a most exemplary life at the Temple. The King rose at six o'clock and devoted himself to religious exercises. At nine the family assembled for breakfast, after which Louis instructed his son in Latin and geography; Marie Antoinette gave lessons to her daughter; while Madame Elizabeth read books of devotion or employed herself with needlework. At one, the family again met for dinner; after

Royal life
in the
Temple.

¹ Von Sybel, ii. p. 273 sq. (Eng. transl.).

which the children played together, while the King and Queen played a game of chess or piquet, or took a walk in the wretched garden, but under the inspection of two municipal officers. Nine was the hour for bed-time, when Louis, having given his blessing to his family, concluded the day, as he had begun it, with exercises of devotion.

On December 10th the accusation of the King was read to the Convention. The principal charges alleged against him were: his having suspended the sittings of the National Assembly, June 20th, and subsequently attempted to dictate to and overawe it; having collected troops to support despotism by force; having caused many persons to be killed at the siege of the Bastille, and having ordered the governor to hold out to the last extremity; having summoned the regiment of Flanders to Versailles, followed by the *fête* of the *gardes du corps*, etc.; having sanctioned Bouillé's massacre at Nanci; having corrupted Mirabeau and others; the flight to Varennes and manifesto drawn up on that occasion; having caused the people to be fired on in the Champ de Mars; having kept secret the Convention of Pilnitz, of which he was the head; having paid large sums of money to the emigrants; having purposely neglected the army, thus causing the fall of Longwy and Verdun; having neglected the navy; having provoked the insurrection of August 10th in order to massacre the people, etc. But this last charge was felt to be so shameless that it was subsequently withdrawn.

The King
accused.

On the following day Louis was brought before the Convention to be interrogated on these charges. Some he justified, some he denied; of some he declared that he had no knowledge, of others he threw the responsibility on his Ministers. He disclaimed all knowledge of an iron safe found in the walls of the Tuileries, and of the papers it contained. Some of these revealed Mirabeau's venality; in consequence of which his bust at the Jacobins was overthrown, and that in the Convention veiled till his guilt should be more fully proved.

Louis, after a furious resistance of the Mountain, was allowed counsel for his defence; and he selected Target and Tronchet for that purpose. Target being too ill to act, Lamoignon de Malesherbes volunteered to supply his place. Both Malesherbes and Tronchet being old and feeble, they procured, with the consent of the Assembly, the aid of Desèze, a young and brilliant advocate of Bordeaux. When the King

His trial.

was arraigned, December 26th, Desèze made a powerful speech in his defence. Dividing the heads of accusation into things done before and things done after the King's acceptance of the Constitution, he argued that the former were covered by that act, the latter by the inviolability which the Constitution conferred upon him; and he concluded with a glowing eulogium on Louis's virtues, his benevolence, his mildness, and his justice. After his counsel had concluded, the King read a short address, in which he only protested against the imputation of having shed his subjects' blood on August 10th,

When Louis had retired it was decreed, on the motion of Couthon, that the debate on the judgment of Louis Capet should be continued without interruption till sentence had been pronounced. The Girondists, either from a sentiment of compassion, or for their own political ends, wished to save the King's life. Vergniaud's speech deprecating regicide was a masterpiece of eloquence. The Girondists proposed an appeal to the people, which, *as sovereign*, possesses the prerogative of mercy, and ought, therefore, to be consulted. This was opposed by Robespierre and Marat. Robespierre, the cold-blooded and sophistical disciple of Rousseau, now showed, by excellent arguments, the absurdity and inconvenience of consulting the people on affairs of State; yet, if they were competent to decide any political question at all, surely none more simple could be submitted to them than that of the condemnation or acquittal of the King. The appeal was lost; and it was decided that the question, as to the King's guilt, should be put on January 14th, 1793. The Convention, during the interval, exhibited scenes of the most extraordinary violence. To work upon the passions of the people and of the deputies, a procession of the wounded of August 10th, accompanied by the widows and orphans of the slain, defiled through the Convention; the orator of the Sections called for the death of Louis, the infamous assassin of thousands of Frenchmen! The members of the different sides rushed one upon another as if about to engage in a general fight; vociferous cries continued for hours, during which nobody could be heard; the President broke his bell in vain attempts to restore order.

On January 14th the three following questions were submitted to the Convention: 1. Is Louis guilty? 2. Shall the decision of the Assembly on this point, whatever it may be,

Appeal to
the people
rejected.

be submitted to the people for ratification? 3. What punishment has Louis incurred?

The first of these questions was decided almost unanimously in the affirmative. The second was negatived by a majority of 423 against 281. The debate on the King's punishment commenced on January 16th. Danton, who had returned to Paris only that day, proposed and carried a motion, that the King's fate should be decided by an absolute majority, instead of a majority of two-thirds, as usual in criminal cases. It had been determined that the members should give their votes by the *appel nominal*, that is, by calling their names. This was commenced at eight o'clock on the evening of the 16th. The Girondists had been alarmed by threats of fresh massacres. Already some twenty votes had been recorded, most of them for death, when the name of Vergniaud was called, the eloquent leader of the Gironde. A breathless silence prevailed; his vote would probably guide the rest of his party, and thus decide the King's fate. It was for death! but he asked, with a sort of shuffling evasion, as if ashamed of his vote, whether execution would be deferred? Philippe Egalité pronounced his relative's condemnation without any visible emotion, observing: "Guided only by duty, and persuaded that those who have attempted, or shall attempt, anything contrary to the sovereignty of the people deserve to die, I vote for death!" The *appel* lasted till the evening of January 17th, when the votes were declared. As 721 members were present, the absolute majority would be 361, and exactly this number of members voted for death unconditionally; 26 more pronounced the same sentence, but demanded a discussion whether it should not be deferred; thus making the total majority 387. On the other side, 334 voted for banishment, imprisonment, etc., including 46 who were for death with reprieve. Vergniaud, as President of the Convention, now pronounced the sentence of death. The King's counsel offered some objections to the proceedings, but they were overborne by Robespierre, and the sitting was closed.

The King
condemned.

On January 19th Brissot and others proposed that the King's execution should be deferred, on the political ground that it would alienate the friends of the Revolution in England and America; but Barère opposed the motion, and it was decided by a majority of 380 against 310 that Louis should be executed within twenty-four hours. The sentence was

Execution
of Louis
XVI.,
Jan. 20, 1793.

carried out the following day in the Place de la Révolution (now the Place de la Concorde). Louis XVI. was thirty-nine years of age, of which he had reigned eighteen. He was buried in the church of the Madeleine.¹

Opinion of
Europe.

The murder of Louis XVI., for such it must be called, created a great sensation throughout Europe. A general mourning was assumed in England and other countries. The Empress of Russia interdicted all commerce with France, and expelled the French from her dominions, unless they abjured revolutionary principles, and renounced all commerce with their native country. Spain prepared to take up arms, nor could the sentiments of the Court of Naples be doubtful, where Caroline of Austria, sister of Marie Antoinette, ruled in the name of her husband. The Papal Court had denounced the proceedings in France before the King's execution, and Basseville, the French Secretary of Legation at Rome, had been murdered for taking down the royal arms at his hotel, and substituting those of the Republic. Spain alone, however, of all the neutral Powers, had made any attempt to save Louis; but the Convention refused to consider the application. The Marquis of Lansdowne and Fox in the British Parliament had moved for some intervention in favour of the King, and the opposition of Pitt and the Ministry has been attributed by some French historians to the most sinister and unworthy motives. But, as Pitt stated in the House of Commons, the intervention of England would only have alarmed the national pride and jealousy of the French, and have hurried on the very crime which it was intended to prevent; nor could Fox deny the justice of this view. Such, undoubtedly, would have been the effect in the relations then existing between England and France, which we must here briefly describe.

English
complaints
against
France.

Immediately after August 10th, Lord Gower, the English Ambassador, had been recalled from Paris, on the ground that his credentials were annulled by the imprisonment of the King; but he was instructed, while professing the determination of his royal master to observe strict neutrality in respect to the settlement of the French Government, to express his solicitude for the situation of Louis XVI. and his family, and to deprecate any act of violence towards them. The Marquis de Chauvelin, the French Ambassador at Lon-

¹ Von Sybel, vol. ii. p. 295 (Eng. transl.).

don, with whom M. de Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, was associated, also ceased from the same period, and for similar reasons, to be recognized by the English Court in his official capacity, though he was allowed to remain at London. But, between the French King's imprisonment and execution, the British Cabinet found several just causes of complaint against the proceedings of the Convention, not at all connected with their internal administration. Pache, the French Minister at War, Danton, Robespierre, and their party, had determined on the acquisition of Belgium at any risk; a proceeding which the English Ministry could not regard with indifference, especially as England had guaranteed that country to the Emperor. Their formulated complaints were chiefly three: viz. 1. A Decree of the French Assembly of November 19th (subsequently complemented by another of December 15th), by which they had established a system of revolutionary propagandism and conquest, by directing their generals to proclaim, in the countries which they entered, fraternity, liberty, and equality, the sovereignty of the people, the suppression of the existing authorities, etc. Peoples who refused or renounced liberty and equality were to be treated as enemies. That these principles were also to be applied to England, was shown by the receptions publicly given in France to the King's seditious subjects; 2. A project for the invasion of Holland by the Republican armies in Belgium, which had begun to be canvassed by French statesmen after the battle of Jemappes; 3. The proclamation by the French of the freedom of the Scheldt (November 22nd, 1792), showing a total disregard and contempt of the rights of neutral nations. That river had been closed by the Treaty of Münster, confirmed by the Treaty of Fontainebleau between the Emperor, as sovereign of the Netherlands, and the United Provinces, *under French mediation*, November 8th, 1785. Yet the Convention haughtily proclaimed that the obstruction of rivers was contrary to those natural rights which all Frenchmen had sworn to maintain, a relic of feudal servitude and odious monopoly. No treaties, it was asserted, could authorize such concessions, and the glory of the Republic demanded that liberty should be established and tyranny overthrown wherever her arms prevailed. Nor was this decree a mere *brutum fulmen*; several French vessels of war had forced a passage up the Scheldt in order to bombard Antwerp. These

Insolence
of the Con-
vention.

complaints were aggravated by the offensive tone in which the Minister Lebrun, as he publicly announced to the Convention, instructed M. de Chauvelin to reply to them; namely, by attempting to separate the British Ministry from the British people, and to establish the latter as the proper judge of the questions at issue; a process, it was intimated, that might lead to consequences of which the Cabinet of St. James's had little dreamt.

Thus France, regardless of all existing treaties, even though sanctioned by her own former Government, was to be the self-constituted arbiter of all international questions; wherever, at least, her arms and her proselyting spirit might prevail. England was called on to resist such pretensions, not alone from motives of general policy, but also by her positive engagements towards Holland, entered into by the Treaty of the Hague, April 15th, 1788. Other grounds of complaint against France were, the annexation of Avignon, Savoy, and Nice, the conquest of Austrian Flanders, etc.; though French statesmen plausibly maintained that these aggregations sufficed only to balance the gains of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, by the dismemberment of Poland. More particular causes of offence were the threatened invasion of Holland and the attempt to propagate revolutionary ideas in England by means of Jacobin agents, and even, it was supposed, through Talleyrand and Chauvelin, the French Ministers in London.

The French Revolution had given birth to several democratic and revolutionary clubs in England, and had communicated fresh activity to those which previously existed. Such were the Constitutional Society, the London Corresponding Society, the Friends of the People, etc. The greater part of these societies were in correspondence with the Jacobin Club; nay, their seditious addresses, though expressing the sentiments of only a small portion of the British people, were publicly and favourably received by the Convention. Thomas Paine, an active agent in the French Revolution, had published this year in England the concluding part of his *Rights of Man*; in which he attempted to show that the English Government was utterly bad, and incited the people to mend it by following the example of the French; and a cheap edition of the work had been published to enable every class to read it. Monge, the French Minister of Marine, had written to the Jacobin societies in the seaport towns of

Revolution-
ary Clubs in
England.

France, December 31st, 1792, threatening to make a descent on England, hurl thither 50,000 caps of liberty, destroy the tyranny of the Government, and erect an English Republic on the ruins of the throne. Pitt attached, perhaps, more than their due weight to these and some similar proceedings, which, relying on the good sense of the English people, he might securely have despised. But they were nevertheless acts of hostility, and therefore afforded just ground of complaint.

In this state of feeling between the two nations, the English Government had found themselves compelled to adopt some measures of a hostile tendency. The circulation of *assignats* in England was prohibited; the Government was empowered to prevent the exportation of arms, ammunition, and naval stores; the sending of corn and flour to *France* was forbidden, an invidious measure. On December 1st a proclamation appeared for embodying the militia. The English Ministry appear to have now foreseen that war was inevitable. Towards the end of November they had made communications to the Court of Vienna tending to reanimate the Coalition. The Parliament, which had been prorogued to January 3rd, was summoned to meet December 13th, 1792, when the King, after lamenting in his speech the attempts at sedition in England, pursued in concert with persons in foreign countries, remarked that he had observed a strict neutrality in the war, and abstained from interference in the internal affairs of France; but he could not without serious uneasiness observe the strong and increasing indications in that country of an intention to excite disturbances in other States, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards his allies, the States-General (who had been equally neutral), measures neither conformable to the law of nations nor to existing treaties. Under these circumstances he had taken steps for augmenting his naval and military force, and by a firm and temperate conduct to preserve the blessings of peace. This statement may be regarded as the English manifesto. A few days after Lord Grenville introduced an Alien Bill, by which foreigners were placed under surveillance.

George
III.'s
speech.

All these were no doubt unfriendly steps, and the French added to them the shelter which their emigrants found in England; but they were no more than what the safety of the country demanded, or what had been its usual practice.

War inevit-
able.

Conduct of
the English
Govern-
ment.

On the 28th of January, 1793, four days after the execution of the French King, George III. sent a message to Parliament that, "in consequence of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris," it would be necessary to increase the military and naval forces. In truth, a peace policy would have been simply impossible. The leading members of the Whig party supported Pitt's views, and even Fox himself was compelled to acknowledge that ground for complaint existed. When Fox ventured to divide the House he constantly found himself in small minorities, and it is plain that he could not have carried on the government a single week. For the views of the Ministry were those of the great majority of the nation. An almost universal feeling had been excited against the French by the aggressions before mentioned, inflamed by horror and disgust at the September massacres.¹ This feeling, which is displayed in the Parliamentary speeches of the period, must have been much stronger than anything we can now imagine, and was highly creditable to the English people.² War was in fact inevitable. The Girondists had determined on propagating their principles of liberty and equality, or rather their own dominion under those sacred names, with the sword. Brissot, in a letter to one of the French Ministers, observes: "Set fire to the four corners of Europe—there lies our safety."

Declaration
of war,
February
1st, 1793.

The French Government had anticipated the dismissal of M. Chauvelin by recalling him. On February 1st, 1793, the Convention unanimously declared war against the King of England and the Stadholder of the United Provinces. Thus, in point of fact, the French were the aggressors. Yet, at this time, negotiations were actually going on between Lord Auckland, the English Minister at the Hague, and Dumouriez, with the view of preserving peace, and a Conference had been fixed for February 10th, at Mardyck. But Dumouriez, instead of going to London, as he wished, was directed to attack Holland with all possible speed. Soon after declaring war, the Convention decreed a levy of 500,000 men, and

¹ Brissot, in the report before quoted, confesses that the massacres had alienated the English.

² "Si l'on avait vu la nation Anglaise envoyer des ambassadeurs à des assassins, la vraie force de cette isle merveilleuse, la confiance qu'elle inspire, l'aurait abandonnée."—Mad. de Staël, *Considérations, etc. Œuvres*, t. xiii. p. 98.

assumed the superintendence of the armies by means of nine commissioners armed with power to remove those who were incapable, to punish those who were indifferent, to annihilate (*foudroyer*) traitors. A progressive income-tax was assessed on the rich, and all Frenchmen between the ages of eighteen and forty, being bachelors or widowers without children, were held in permanent requisition for the war.

After the declaration of war Great Britain proceeded to conclude a series of treaties with various Powers, which we shall here record together, though some of them were not made till several months later. A treaty with Hanover, March 4th, 1793, for 15,000 men, augmented by 5,000 in January, 1794. A double treaty with Russia, at London, March 25th, 1793—one commercial, the other directed against France.¹ The ports of both countries were to be shut against France; no provisions were to be exported thither; her commerce was to be molested; neutrals were to be hindered from assisting her. This clause was intended to cut off the commerce of France with her colonies by means of neutral vessels. Notwithstanding this treaty, however, the Empress Catharine took no part in the war upon the Continent, directing all her efforts against Poland, though she sent a fleet into the Baltic and North Sea in August to assist in intercepting the commerce of neutrals with France. A treaty with Sardinia, April 25th. The King of Sardinia to keep on foot an army of 50,000 men during the war, receiving a subsidy of £200,000 sterling per annum. Great Britain to send a fleet into the Mediterranean.² A treaty with Spain, May 25th. Both countries to shut their ports against French vessels and to prevent neutral vessels from aiding French commerce.³ A treaty with the King of the Two Sicilies, July 12th, who was indignant at having been forced to recognize the French Republic. Great Britain undertook to maintain a fleet in the Mediterranean, while the King of the Two Sicilies was to provide 6,000 soldiers, four ships of the line, and four smaller vessels.⁴ A treaty between England and Prussia at the camp before Mainz, July 14th, for the most perfect union and confidence in carrying on the war against France,⁵ sub-

England
makes
treaties.

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. v. pp. 433, 439; Garden, t. v. p. 202.

² *Ibid.* p. 462.

³ Garden, t. v. p. 204.

⁴ Martens, t. v. p. 480 (2e Ed.).

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 483.

sequently converted into a treaty of Subsidies. A treaty at London, August 30th, between Great Britain and the Emperor.¹ Portugal also entered into the Coalition by a treaty signed at London, September 26th, by which she undertook to shut her ports against the French during the war, and to prohibit her subjects from carrying warlike stores and provisions to France.² Treaties for troops were also concluded with some of the smaller German States. The execution of Louis XVI. had decided the Spanish Government to join the Coalition; the French Ambassador was dismissed, and the Convention unanimously declared war against Spain, March 7th, 1793. Thus, all the Christian Powers except Sweden, Denmark, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Switzerland, Venice, and Genoa, entered successively into the League against France, which remained completely isolated and dependent on her own resources.

Spain and
Godoy.

The Spanish Court had been disposed to war chiefly by the counsels of Don Emanuel Godoy, and in opposition to the opinion of the Count d'Aranda. Charles IV., who had succeeded his father Charles III. in 1788, and who, as Prince of Asturias, had displayed the most ungovernable violence of temper, manifested after his accession quite a contrary disposition, the result, it is said, of an illness with which he was afflicted. He was destitute neither of intelligence nor education; his heart was good, his judgment sound; but he was of a pusillanimous temper, and of so idle a disposition that anything requiring thought and application became a fatigue. His sole delight was in the chase, and, in order to enjoy it without interruption, he gladly resigned affairs of State into the hands of his Queen, Maria Louisa, daughter of the last Duke of Parma. Unfortunately, Maria Louisa was an artful, violent, and vindictive woman, of dissolute morals and imperious temper. She gladly seized the reins of power, though totally unqualified to rule, and she handed them over to a favourite not much better fitted for the task than herself. Don Emanuel Godoy, born at Badajoz in 1767 of a poor but noble family, seems naturally to have possessed a good understanding and a humane temper; he was well acquainted with mankind, and used his knowledge with tact. But he was so ignorant that he could not even speak his own lan-

¹ Martens, t. v. p. 447.

² *Ibid.* p. 519.

guage correctly, and was deficient in grace and dignity of manner. He owed his advancement to his personal beauty. He attracted the notice of the Queen, and was suddenly advanced from the station of a simple *garde du corps* to manage the affairs of Spain. Charles IV. showed an entire submission to his Queen; Godoy also became his favourite and Prime Minister, and was loaded with favours and distinctions. But this sudden elevation perverted all his natural good qualities. He became idle and avaricious, fond of show, and ambitious. Modern history presents few instances of a crowned head and a favourite who have made a worse use of their power.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE.

Anarchy in
France.

WHILE the French were thus throwing down the gauntlet to all Europe, their own country seemed sinking into anarchical dissolution. Paris was filled with tumult, insurrection, and robbery. At the denunciations of Marat against "forestallers," the shops were entered by the mob, who carried off articles at their own prices, and sometimes without paying at all. The populace was agitated by the harangues of low itinerant demagogues. Rough and brutal manners were affected, and all the courtesies of life abolished. Moderate persons of no strong political opinions were denounced as "suspected," and their crime stigmatized by the newly-coined word of *moderantisme*. The variations of popular feeling were recorded like the heat of the weather, or the rising of a flood. The principal articles in the journals were entitled, "Thermometer of the Public Mind;" the Jacobins talked of the necessity of being "up to the level." Many of the provinces were in a disturbed state. A movement had been organizing in Brittany ever since 1791, but the death of the Marquis de la Rouarie, its principal leader, had for the present suspended it. A more formidable insurrection was preparing in La Vendée. Chiefly agricultural, with few roads or large towns, and thus almost isolated from the rest of France, La Vendée had been little infected by the new opinions. It contained a class of haughty gentlemen, warmly attached to their ancient feudal customs and privileges, who had not joined the emigration, and still resided on their estates; while the peasantry were superstitiously devoted to their priests. La Vendée, from its undulating surface, numerous streams, narrow roads, and the cover afforded by hedges and small woods, is well adapted to defensive warfare. On March 10th, 1793, the day appointed for levying men for the war, the insurrection broke

La Vendée.

out at several points at once, principally under the leadership of Cathelineau, a working man, Stofflet, a gamekeeper, and Athanase Charette, a naval officer styling himself Le Chevalier Charette. They were afterwards joined by Henry de la Rochejaquelein, Bonchamps, De Lescure, D'Elbée, and others; under whose auspices a force was raised of some 40,000 or 50,000 men, in seven divisions of unequal size. In the course of April and May they took Bressuire, Thouars, Parthenay, and other places, and they applied for assistance to England and Spain.

It was in the midst of these disturbances, aggravated by a suspicion of General Dumouriez's treachery, that the REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL was erected. Danton, after his return from Belgium, whither he had been despatched by the Convention to inquire into the state of that country and the conduct of Dumouriez, had become impressed with the necessity of establishing a dictatorship, in order to restore order and enable France to meet the dangers with which she was surrounded. In this view Robespierre agreed. The Tribunal was first formally proposed in the Convention, March 9th, by Carrier, afterwards notorious by his massacres at Nantes, urged by Cambacérès on the 10th, and completed that very night at the instance of Danton, who rushed to the tribune, and insisted that the Assembly should not separate till the new Court had been organized. The Girondists had hoped at least to adjourn the subject; but Danton told them that there was no alternative between the proposed tribunal and the more summary method of popular vengeance. The extraordinary tribunal of August, 1792, had not been found to work fast enough, and it was now superseded by this new one, which became, in fact, only a method of massacring under the form of law. The Revolutionary Tribunal was designed to take cognizance of all counter-revolutionary attempts, of all attacks upon liberty, equality, the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, the internal and external safety of the State. A commission of six members of the Convention was to examine and report upon the cases to be brought before it, to draw up and present the acts of accusation. The tribunal was to be composed of a jury to decide upon the facts, five judges to apply the law, a public accuser, and two substitutes; from its sentence there was no appeal.¹

Revolution-
ary Tri-
bunal.

¹ Morse Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, vol. ii.; Campardon, *Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire*.

Plans of
Dumouriez,
1793.

Meanwhile Dumouriez had returned to the army, very dissatisfied that he had failed in his attempts to save the King and baffle the Jacobins. He had formed the design of invading Holland, dissolving the Revolutionary Committee in that country, annulling the decree of December 15th, offering neutrality to the English, a suspension of arms to the Austrians, reuniting the Belgian and Batavian Republics, and proposing to France a reunion with them. In case of refusal, he designed to march upon Paris, dissolve the Convention, extinguish Jacobinism; in short, to play the part of Monk in England.¹ This plan was confided to four persons only, among whom Danton is said to have been one; it is, at all events, certain that he supported Dumouriez at this time, as appears from his praises of him in the Convention.

Dumouriez, having directed General Miranda to lay siege to Maestricht, left Antwerp for Holland, February 22nd, and by March 4th had seized Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg. England had despatched 2,000 guards to the aid of the Dutch, and at her instance Austria had pushed forward 112,000 men under Prince Josias of Saxe-Coburg. Clairfait, with his army, at this time occupied Bergheim, where he was separated from the French only by the little river Roer and the fortress of Jülich. Coburg, having joined Clairfait, March 1st, crossed the Roer, defeated the French under Dampierre at Altenhoven, and thus compelled Miranda to raise the siege of Maestricht, and retire towards Tongres. Aix-la-Chapelle was entered by the Austrians after a smart contest, and the French compelled to retreat upon Liége, while the divisions under Stengel and Neuilly, being cut off by this movement, were thrown back into Limburg. Large bodies of the French made for the frontier in disorderly flight. The Austrians then crossed the Meuse, took Liége, March 6th, and following up their success, arrived within two days' march of Brussels. The Flemings, disgusted by the brutalities and extortions of the Jacobin Commissioners, and encouraged by the presence of the Austrians, rose against the French. Dumouriez, who was on the point of crossing the frith called Hollands Diep, at the mouth of the Meuse, was directed to return into Belgium, to arrest the progress of the Austrians. His first acts on arriving there were to abrogate all the doings

¹ See *Mém. de Dumouriez*, t. iv. liv. viii. ch. i.

of the Commissioners, to shut up the Jacobin clubs, and order the restoration of all stolen property. He concentrated his forces, about 50,000 men, at Louvain. From this place he wrote a threatening letter to the Convention, March 11th, denouncing the proceedings of the Ministry, the acts of oppression committed in Belgium, and the Decree of December 15.¹ This letter threw the Committee of General Defence into consternation. It was resolved to keep it secret, and Danton and Lacroix set off for Dumouriez's camp, to try what they could do with him, but found him inflexible.

Dumouriez routed the Austrians at Tirlemont, March 16th, but was defeated by Prince Coburg at Neerwinden, on the 18th, where the battle was decided by a charge of the Archduke Charles, which routed the French. In an interview with the Austrian Colonel Mack, at Ath, he announced to that officer his intention to march on Paris, establish a Constitutional Monarchy, and proclaim the Dauphin. The Duke of Chartres (Louis Philippe) was present at this conference. The Austrians were to support Dumouriez' advance upon Paris, but not to show themselves except in case of need, and he was to have the command of what Austrian troops he might select.² The French now continued their retreat, which, in consequence of these negotiations, was unmolested. The Archduke Charles and Prince Coburg entered Brussels March 25th, and the Dutch towns were shortly after retaken.

Battle of
Neerwin-
den.

When Dumouriez arrived with his van at Courtrai, he was met by three emissaries of the Jacobins, sent apparently to sound him. He bluntly told them that his design was to save France, whether they called him Cæsar, Cromwell, or Monk, denounced the Convention as an assembly of tyrants, and said that he despised their decrees. All this the emissaries reported to the Convention on their return. At St. Amand he was met by Beurnonville, then Minister of War, who was to supersede him in the command, and by four commissaries despatched by the Convention. Camus, one of these, presented to him, in the midst of his officers, a decree summoning him to the bar of the Convention. After an angry altercation, in which Dumouriez declared that he would not submit himself

Treachery of
Dumouriez.

¹ The Decree is in the Appendix to Dumouriez's *Mémoires*, t. iii. note D.

² Dumouriez, *Mém.* t. iv. liv. viii. ch. viii.

to the Revolutionary Tribunal so long as he had an inch of steel at his side, Camus boldly pronounced him suspended from his functions, whereupon Dumouriez called in some hussars, and arrested the commissaries and Beurnonville, who were handed over to Clairfait, and ultimately carried to Maestricht.

Dumouriez
compelled
to fly.

The allies were so sanguine that Dumouriez' defection would put an end to the Revolution, that Lord Auckland and Count Stahremberg, the Austrian Minister, looking upon the dissolution and flight of the Convention as certain, addressed a joint note to the States-General, requesting them not to shelter such members of it as had taken any part in the condemnation of Louis XVI. But Dumouriez' army was not with him. On the road to Condé he was fired on by a body of volunteers and compelled to fly for his life (April 4th). In the evening he joined Colonel Mack, when they employed themselves in drawing up a proclamation in the name of Prince Coburg, which was published on the following day. Dumouriez ventured once more to show himself to his army, but was received with such visible marks of dissatisfaction, that he was compelled to return to the Austrian quarters at Tournai with a few companions, among whom was the Duc de Chartres. Thus terminated Dumouriez' political and military career.

Situation of
France.

The situation of France at this time seemed almost desperate. The army of the North was completely disorganized through the defection of Dumouriez; the armies of the Rhine and Moselle were retreating; those of the Alps and Italy were expecting an attack; on the eastern end of the Pyrenees the troops were without artillery, without generals, almost without bread, while on the western side the Spaniards were advancing towards Bayonne. Brest, Cherbourg, the coasts of Brittany, were threatened by the English. The ocean ports contained only six ships of the line ready for sea, and the Mediterranean fleet was being repaired at Toulon. But the energy of the revolutionary leaders was equal to the occasion. The Convention seized the direction of military affairs, and despatched eight commissaries, among them Carnot, not only to superintend the operations of the army, but also to keep it under the surveillance of the Assembly. Dumouriez was declared a traitor, a price was set upon his head, and General Dampierre was appointed to his vacant place. In compliance

with a petition of the *Commune*, it was voted that a camp of 40,000 men should be formed under the walls of Paris.

But the most important measure suggested by the present posture of affairs was the establishment, at the instance of Barère, of the *Comité de Salut Public*, or *Committee of Public Safety*, April 6th, 1793. There already existed a *Comité de Sûreté Générale* (or Committee of General Security), established October 2nd, 1792, but this was rather a board of police than a political body. The new Committee was to be composed of nine Members of the Convention, who were to deliberate in secret, to watch over and accelerate the deliberation of the Ministry, and to control the measures of the Executive Council. Thus it was in fact little short of a dictatorship of nine persons; though, by way of check upon them, they were to have no power over the national treasury, were to be renewed every month, and were to render to the Convention every week an account of their proceedings, and of the situation of the Republic.¹ The Girondists did not oppose the erection of this Committee. Nearly half its first members were indeed taken from the centre or the right of the Convention; the rest from the more moderate section of the Mountain, including, however, the terrible Danton. Robespierre and the more violent Jacobins were not yet admitted; an exclusion which they resented by agitating and getting up inflammatory petitions. After this period, the Committee of General Security was charged with the administration of the police, became in fact a sort of executive power, while the functions of the new Committee were higher and more general, and indeed essentially functions of government. Nevertheless, the Committee of General Security recognized no authority superior to its own, except the decrees of the Convention, till after the fall of the Girondists; when the Committee of Public Welfare, instead of consulting, began to dictate to it.

Committee
of Public
Safety, 1793.

By the creation of the Revolutionary Tribunal and of the Committee of Public Safety, all the instruments of the Reign of Terror had been provided; but Robespierre and the men who were to wield them were still in the background. The deadly struggle for place and power between the Gironde and

Struggle
between the
Gironde
and the
Mountain.

¹ For the history of the Fall of the Girondists, see Schmidt, *Tableau de la Révolution Française*, vol. ii.

the Mountain was, however, in progress. The Convention was the daily scene of the quarrels of the two parties, which sometimes rose to such a pitch of violence that swords were drawn and the lives of the members threatened. The inviolability of the deputies had been abolished by a decree of April 1st, by which the two parties voted their right to proscribe one another. The populace was incited to agitate against the Girondists. On the 8th of April, a deputation from the Section Bon Conseil declared in the Convention that the public voice condemned Gaudet, Gensonné, Brissot, Barbaroux, Louvet, Buzot, and other members of that party. On the same day the Convention had decreed that all the members of the Bourbon family, including Philippe Egalité, should be detained at Marseilles. On the 15th of April a deputation from thirty-five of the forty-eight Sections, headed by Pache, now Mayor of Paris, presented to the Convention a petition demanding in the most violent language the expulsion of twenty-two of the leading Girondists; and when Fonfrède suggested an appeal to the sovereign people of France, in their primary assemblies, the *Commune*, by a fresh deputation, intimated that the Sections did not contemplate any such appeal, but required the punishment of the traitors—that is, in other words, the execution of a judgment not pronounced. The Girondists did not venture to persist in their demand for an appeal, though they had a majority in the Assembly, and contented themselves with decreeing that the National Convention reprobated as calumnious the petition presented by the thirty-five Sections, and adopted by the Council General of the *Commune*; and with directing that this decree should be forwarded to the different departments. But they procured a decree for the arraignment of Marat before the Revolutionary Tribunal for having signed an incendiary address as president of the Jacobin Club. This most impolitic act resulted, as might have been foreseen, only in the triumph of Marat and the Jacobins, from which faction the jury of that tribunal were selected, and most of whose members were friends of Robespierre. Some of these jurymen were so ignorant that they could neither read nor write, others were habitually intoxicated. Marat did not even pretend to defend himself; on the contrary, he assumed the part of accuser instead of defendant, boasted of what he had done, and laid all the blame on the Girondists. He was of course immediately

acquitted (April 24th). On his release the mob bore him on their shoulders to the hall of the Convention, through which they defiled amidst the cheers of the galleries and the ill-concealed fear of the deputies. At the Jacobins that evening Marat congratulated himself that he had put a rope round the necks of the Girondists.

At this time Danton would willingly have effected a reconciliation with the Gironde. He prepared a grand banquet in the Park of Sceaux, to which the leaders of that party were invited. But when Danton proposed an amnesty for the past, Guadet, though with silent disapprobation of Vergniaud, replied with an unconditional refusal. The Girondists had now proclaimed themselves the advocates of security and order, and could not with any consistency ally themselves with Danton, the patron of the Septembrists, and still the advocate of violence. Danton ascribed their rejection of him to personal hatred, and for his own safety threw in his lot with the Mountain, though he had repented of his former courses, and even after the banquet publicly voted with the Gironde on the question whether the Government should be named by the people or by the legislative body. It is also said that in a nocturnal conference at Charenton with Pache, Robespierre, Henriot, and others, he opposed a massacre of the Girondists, and preferred to extort a decree against them by threats and intimidation.¹ The Gironde made some feeble attempts to oppose the *Commune* and the Jacobins with their own weapons. The *Commune*, by a Decree of May 1st, had ordered a levy to be made in Paris of 12,000 men for the war in La Vendée, and had laid a heavy income-tax upon the rich. These measures excited great discontent among the clerks, apprentices, and other young men of the better classes subject to the conscription; riots ensued, which were stimulated by the *Gironde* and by articles in Brissot's *Patriote*. But such partisans were no match for a mob of *sans-culottes*, a regular army of whom was taken into pay at the instance of Robespierre. On the 2nd of May the Convention was compelled by the threats of the Hôtel de Ville to place a *maximum* on the price of corn. The Girondists, after a vain attempt to remodel the Municipality, obtained, on the motion of Barère, the appointment of a *Commission of Twelve*, armed with extraordinary power, and

Commission
of Twelve.

¹ Von Sybel, iii. p. 70 sq. (Eng. trans.).

selected from their own party (May 18th).¹ This step tended to bring matters to an issue between the contending factions. The *Twelve* forbade nocturnal assemblies of the Sections, dismissed Boulanger from the command of the National Guard, and by ordering the arrest of two administrators of police, provoked a trial of strength between the parties. A deputation from the *Commune* appeared at the bar of the Convention, May 25th, to demand that Hébert, "a magistrate estimable for his virtues and enlightenment," should be restored to his functions. Amidst the clamour which ensued, the Girondist Isnard, then President of the Assembly, in an angry and foolish speech, declared that France had confided the national representatives to Paris, and if they were attacked, he threatened in the name of all France that Paris should be annihilated, that the spot which it had occupied should soon be sought in vain.

The
Girondists
stronger
in the
Provinces.

The Girondists had unquestionably a majority in the provinces, though the Commissioners of the Convention had done their best to spread terror through the length and breadth of the land. Vast numbers were arrested and imprisoned in some of the principal towns, without either charge or examination. At Sedan the Commissioner declared that *sans-culottes* were the only citizens; Chabot, at Toulouse, told the people that they wanted no priests, that the citizen, Christ, was the first *Sans-culotte*.² It was only a few of the larger municipalities, as Bordeaux and Rouen, that were able to defend themselves against these outrages. The walls of Bordeaux had been covered with placards threatening to revenge its deputies, if killed; the party of Barbaroux, at Marseilles, had manifested anti-revolutionary sentiments, and Girondist addresses had been presented from that town, as well as from Bordeaux, Lyons, Avignon, Nantes, and other places. But there was no hope of deriving material aid from the provinces; the fate of France was to be decided at Paris, and here the Girondists could reckon only on three of the forty-eight Sections, the Butte-des-Moulins, Quatre-vingt-douze, and Du Mail. Robespierre, who had been gradually organizing the means of overthrowing the Gironde, observed in the Jacobin Club, May 26th: "The Faubourg St. Antoine will crush the Section du Mail. Generally speaking, the people should re-

¹ *Hist. Parl.*, t. xxvii. p. 132.

² Von Sybel, iii. p. 59.

pose on their strength; but when all laws are violated, when despotism is at its height, they ought to rise. *This moment is come.* For my own part, I declare that I place myself in insurrection against the President and all the members of the Convention." Some stormy scenes ensued in that Assembly, and the decreasing majority in favour of the Gironde showed that the *Marais* was going over to the *Mountain*. The Convention, menaced by a deputation, voted the release of Hébert and the other prisoners.

The insurrection which overthrew the Girondists was organized by commissioners from thirty-six of the Sections, who met at the *Evêché*. They were about 500 in number, including 100 women, and assumed the name of the *Central Club*. The destruction of the *Gironde* was resolved on at a meeting of this Assembly, May 29th; Robespierre, with his usual craft, withdrew as the moment of action approached.

The Central
Club.

Early in the morning of May 31st the Central Club, having previously declared the *Commune* and the Department in a state of insurrection, sent Commissaries to the Hôtel de Ville to declare that the people of Paris annulled the constituted Municipal authorities; and they exhibited the unlimited powers which they had received from thirty-three Sections to save the Republic. Upon this the Municipal officers and General Council abdicated, but were immediately reinstated in their functions. The latter now assumed the title of *Revolutionary Council General*; an epithet which signified that all the usual laws and observances were suspended. Henriot was named Provisional Commander-General of the Parisian forces. An act of impeachment against the Girondists was drawn up; every man was offered a day's wages of forty sous, and the tocsin was sounded in every quarter. In order to give the movement an appearance of order, and to convert it into what was called "a *moral* insurrection," the Jacobins had convened a meeting of deputies from the forty-eight Sections and representatives of the authorities of the Department, who elected a commission of eleven, to be incorporated with the Council General of the *Commune*. These men pretended to restrain any open violence. But the Girondists were soon undeceived by the appearance of petitioners, violently demanding that the price of bread should be fixed at three livres, that workshops should be established to make arms for the *sans-culottes*, that Commissioners should be sent

The
Girondists
denounced.

to Marseilles and other southern towns, that the Ministers Le Brun and Clavière should be arrested, that the obnoxious twenty-two members, as well as the twelve, should be arrested. Soon after arrived the members of the administration of the Department, the authorities of the *Commune*, and the Commissioners of the Sections, accompanied by a crowd of savages armed with clubs, pikes, and other weapons. L'Huillier, the *procureur Général Syndic*, their spokesman, denounced by name several of the leading Girondists, stigmatized the crime they had been guilty of in threatening to destroy Paris, the centre of the arts and sciences, the cradle of liberty. The populace now spread themselves in the Assembly, and fraternized with the *Mountain*. In this scene of indescribable confusion, Robespierre demanded the accusation of the "accomplices of Dumouriez," and of all those named by the petitioners. Vergniaud, the orator of the Gironde, was too terrified to reply; in his alarm, he had himself moved that the address of the previous petitioners should be printed and circulated in the Departments! The debate was closed by the adoption of a decree proposed by Barère: "That the armed force of the Department of Paris should be in permanent requisition till further orders; that the Committee of Public Safety, in concert with the constitutional authorities, should investigate the plots denounced at the bar; that the Twelve should be suppressed; that a proclamation explaining these proceedings should be forwarded to all the Departments" (May 31st.)¹

The 2nd of
June, 1793.

These measures, and especially the establishment of a permanent insurrectionary force with regular pay, convinced the Girondists that their power was at an end. Their discouragement was completed by the news that the men of the three Sections on which they relied, had fraternized with those of the Faubourg St. Antoine. Some now proposed to fly into the provinces and raise an insurrection, but this was negatived by the majority. On the following day they absented themselves from the Convention. When that body assembled, June 2nd, it was surrounded by 80,000 armed men, with 163 guns. Among them were the 12,000 men destined for La Vendée, who had been purposely detained at Courbevoie. A scene of indescribable tumult and violence ensued. Hoping

¹ Wallon, *La Révolution de 31 Mai*.

to overawe the people by the majesty of the National Assembly, Hérault de Séchelles, who that day presided, descended with the greater part of the members among the crowd, he himself with his hat on, the rest uncovered. Addressing Henriot, who with his staff was stationed in the court leading to the Carrousel,¹ he asked what the people wanted? remarked that the Convention was occupied only with promoting its happiness. "The people," replied Henriot, "has not come here to listen to phrases, but to give orders. What it wants is thirty-four criminals." Then, reining back his horse, he shouted in a voice of thunder, "Cannoniers to your guns!" The members of the Convention, after attempting a retreat through the gardens, from which they were driven by Marat and his myrmidons, were compelled to resume their sitting in profound dejection.

The *Commune* and the Jacobins were now victorious. It was a repetition of the 10th August for the Gironde. On the motion of Couthon a list of the deputies to be proscribed was read in the Convention; Marat added to or retrenched from it as he pleased. A decree was passed for the arrest of twenty-one of the leading Girondists, including Vergniaud, Brissot, Gensonné, Guadet, Gorsas, Pétion, Barbaroux, Buzot, Rabaud St. Etienne, Lasource, Lanjuinais, Louvet, and others; also of the Ministers, Clavière and Le Brun, and of the whole Commission of Twelve, except Fonfrède and St. Martin—in all, thirty-three persons. Isnard and Fouchet, having resigned their functions, were not arrested, but were forbidden to leave Paris. The proscribed Girondists were merely placed under the surveillance of *gendarmes*, from which most of them contrived to escape, and fled to the Departments of the Eure and the Calvados, to Lyons, Nîmes, Moulins, and other places. Vergniaud, Valazé, and Gensonné remained in custody. Seventy-three deputies, who subsequently signed a protest against the arrest of the Girondists, were expelled from the Convention and imprisoned.

Thus the *Gironde* fell by the same power it had itself employed to overwhelm the nobles, proscribe the priests, and sap the throne—the power of the Parisian mob. They had relied too much on their oratory and their journals, were vain

The
Girondists
arrested.

Reaction
in the
Provinces.

¹ The Convention had transferred their sittings from the *Manège* to the Tuileries, May 10th.

enough to imagine that they could control the spirit which they had conjured up, and complacently assumed the name of *hommes d'état* or statesmen. They were indeed, by the admission of Danton himself, vastly superior to the *Montagne* in talents and education; "but," he added, "we have more audacity than they, and the *canaille* is at our command." Such, no doubt, was the true state of the case. The Girondists had lost all influence with the mob, and it was not till too late that they attempted to find a counterpoise in the provinces. A strong reactionary spirit existed in many parts of France, which required only leading, and the arrest of the Girondists was followed by some serious insurrections. At Caen an association, calling itself the "Central Assembly of resistance to oppression," published a violent manifesto against the Jacobins of Paris. Two commissioners, Prieur and Romme, whom the Convention had despatched into the Calvados, were arrested and confined in the Castle of Caen. Felix Wimpfen, a brave soldier, who headed the insurrection in this quarter, failed, however, in the attempt to raise an army, and the Girondists, who had fled to the Calvados, now made their way to Quimper and embarked for Bordeaux. The authorities of this city had declared themselves in a state of provisional independence under the title of "Popular Commission of Public Safety." At Rennes the primary assemblies voted a violent address to the Convention. At Lyons, when news arrived of the insurrection in the Calvados, the citizens openly raised the standard of revolt, fortified the town, levied an army of 20,000 men, and opened communications with the emigrants and the King of Sardinia. Disturbances had broken out in this city before the end of May. The Girondists, united with the royalists, had had some serious encounters with the republican party, led by Chalier, a member of the Municipality; the Gironde proved victorious, and Chalier was seized and executed July 16th. An army of counter-revolutionists, formed at Marseilles, and increased by battalions from Aix, Nîmes, Montauban, Toulouse, and other places, marched towards Lyons, took possession of Avignon, Arles, and both banks of the Rhone; Carteaux, at the head of a small force, was the only obstacle to their junction with the Lyonese. Even at Paris a reactionary spirit was displayed in several of the Sections.

The death of Marat was another result of the fall of the

Girondists. In the neighbourhood of Caen, whither many of them had fled, lived Charlotte Corday, a descendant, it is said, of a sister of the great Corneille. She was then about twenty-five years of age, having been born at St. Saturnin near Seéz, in July, 1768. A partisan of the Gironde, and enraged by its fall, she proceeded to Paris; obtained admission to Marat on pretence of giving him some valuable information on the state of the Calvados; found him in a bath, and plunged a knife into his breast with so determined a thrust that he expired in a few minutes (July 13th, 1793). She attempted not to escape, and being condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal, met her fate with serenity and courage. It was a just retribution that the apostle of massacre and murder should fall by the dagger of an assassin; but his death only enhanced his popularity and inaugurated his apotheosis. In November his remains were carried to the Pantheon in place of those of Mirabeau, which were ejected.

Charlotte
Corday.

Amidst these dangers and alarms the new republican Constitution, drawn up from the ideas of Condorcet but modified by Robespierre, was decreed by the Convention, June 23rd. It is unnecessary to describe the "Constitution of '93," or of An I, since it was soon virtually suspended by the dictatorial authority assumed by the Committee of Public Safety. It was only issued as a reply to the Girondist contention that the Mountain desired to establish an absolutism.

The Consti-
tution of
1793 (An I).

It was fortunate for France during this domestic anarchy that the allies combined against her, divided by their own selfish views and jealousies, had no well-concerted plan of action. After the flight of Dumouriez, General Dampierre, his successor, had collected the scattered remnants of the French army in a camp at Famars; and he proceeded to form intrenched camps at Cassel, Lille, Maubeuge, Charleroi, and Givet. The Imperial army under Prince Coburg entered the French territory, April 9th, but the movements of that commander were as slow and indecisive as those of the Duke of Brunswick had been; and though Lille, Condé, Valenciennes, and Maubeuge were threatened, nothing of importance was done. Coburg was of opinion that the strife of parties would reduce France to a state of impotence, and that about the spring of 1794 an invasion might be securely undertaken. Hence he had already determined in April to attempt nothing

The Cam-
paign of
1793.

further in the ensuing campaign of 1793 than the reduction of some frontier fortresses.¹ The Duke of York, with 10,000 English, having disembarked at Ostend, April 20th, proceeded to join the Dutch and Hanoverian divisions. Their united cantonments extended from Tournai and Courtrai to the sea. In vain the Duke of York and the Austrian general, Clairfait, urged an advance; Coburg would not stir. His views respecting the campaign were, no doubt, a good deal influenced by the Austrian policy at this time, which was to secure the reconquered Belgian provinces; the states of which were restored to their former rights, and the Archduke Charles was appointed Governor-General of the Austrian Netherlands. Attacks were made by the French with the view of saving Condé; against the better judgment of Dampierre, who saw their inutility, but was urged to them by the Convention. In one of these, May 8th, he sought and found his death in preference to the alternative of the *guillotine*. At length the allies attacked the French at Famars, and drove them from their camp, May 23rd. The victory was won by the Duke of York turning the French flank; Coburg had wasted his time in useless manœuvres. A twelve days' march might now have brought the allies to Paris; but Coburg would not leave the frontier towns behind him. The French army, in a state of disorganization, had retreated under the walls of Bouchain.

On the death of Dampierre, Custine, commander of the army of the Rhine, was appointed to his post. Before Custine's departure, Frederick William, soon after the battle of Neerwinden, had crossed the Rhine at Bacharach, dispersed some republican battalions, intercepted Custine's communications between Mainz and Worms, and compelled him to retreat behind the Lauter. Custine was joined here by the army of the Moselle; but though he had 60,000 men against 40,000 Prussians, he ventured not to attack them. The Prussians, on their side, though reinforced by an Austrian corps under Wurmser, and by the emigrants under Condé, confined their whole attention to the reduction of Mainz. Custine, before proceeding to take the command of the army of the North, made a feeble and unsuccessful effort to relieve that place (May 17th). He was succeeded in the command of the army

Causes of
the failure
of the Allies
in 1793.

¹ Von Sybel, B. ii. S. 391.

of the Rhine by Houchard, and in that of the army of the Moselle by Alexander Beauharnais, husband of the celebrated Josephine. The allies did not act cordially together. Austria was jealous of Prussia's designs on Poland, and had counter schemes of aggrandizement of her own: of an exchange of territory with Bavaria, of seizing Alsace, of occupying, in her own name, the French frontier fortresses. Great Britain was more intent on acquiring Dunkirk, and seizing the French possessions in the East Indies, than on pushing the continental war with vigour; Prussia had little to gain in the struggle; disliked the Austrian schemes, and wished to husband her forces, in case they should be wanted in Poland; but it was important for her to drive the French from Mainz, the key of Germany. Hence the mighty preparations of the allies for the campaign of 1793 were chiefly employed in the reduction of two towns, Mainz and Valenciennes. The former place capitulated to the Prussians, July 22nd. Condé had surrendered to the Austrians, July 12th; and on the 28th, Valenciennes also capitulated. The garrisons of Mainz and Valenciennes, amounting to upwards of 20,000 men, were dismissed, on condition of not bearing arms against the allies for a year; but this did not prevent the French from employing them with great effect against the Vendéans. Custine, suspected of collusion with the enemy, had been summoned to Paris on the motion of Bazire, before the surrender of Mainz. Kilmaine, his successor, withdrew the army of the North from Cæsar's camp before Bouchain, and established it with little molestation in a strong position behind the Scarpe, between Douai and Arras (August 10th).¹

While such was the posture of affairs on the northern frontier, a Spanish army under Don Ricardos had entered France on the eastern side of the Pyrenees, had laid siege to Perpignan, captured St. Laurent and the fort of Bellegarde. The Spaniards had also been successful on the western side of that chain, and menaced St. Jean Pié de Port. The Corsicans had risen in insurrection towards the end of May, at the instigation of Pascal Paoli, who was named Generalissimo or Governor of the Island. The clergy reinstated, the emigrants recalled, the emissaries of the French Republic proscribed, and Corsica thrown into the hands of the English—such was

¹ See Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, vol. ii.

the programme of the insurgents. Some slight successes in Piedmont were all that the French could set off against these reverses.

Committee
of Public
Safety re-
newed.

The vigour of the Revolutionary Government seemed to increase as danger became wider and more imminent. On the 10th of July the powers of the Committee of Public Safety expired, and a new election was held. Barère was re-elected; Danton did not obtain a single vote, but he was in some degree represented by his friends Héault de Séchelles and Thuriot. St. Just, Couthon, and Robert Lindet retained their places; the remaining three, Gasparin, Prieur, and Jean Bon St. André, were Jacobins of the deepest dye. Couthon and St. Just obtained the admission of Robespierre, on the retirement of Gasparin, July 27th, but it was not till the spring of the following year that he attained to supreme authority. Thus was inaugurated the tyranny of absolute and uncontrolled democracy. The number of the Committee was raised to twelve, on the motion of Danton, September 6th; when Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Granet were admitted. The members now divided themselves into smaller committees. Barère and Héault de Séchelles assumed the Department of Foreign Affairs; Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois that of the Interior; Robespierre and St. Just, that of Legislation. The Ministers waited every evening on the Committee for instructions.¹

Robespierre
in power.

The fresh organization of the Committee was soon testified by its measures. On the 1st of August it was decreed that Marie Antoinette, whose son was now taken from her, should be transferred to the Conciergerie and arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal; that the expenses of her children should be reduced to those necessary for two private individuals; that all the Capets should be banished, but Elizabeth not till after the judgment of Marie Antoinette; that the Royal tombs and mausoleums at St. Denis and elsewhere should be destroyed on August 10th; that the expenses and equipages of general officers should be reduced to what was strictly necessary; that only patriotic expressions, or the names of ancient Republicans and martyrs of liberty, should henceforth be employed as watchwords; that all foreigners, belonging to countries at war with France, not domiciliated pre-

¹ Gros, *Le Comité de Salut Public*.

viously to July 14th, 1789, should be arrested, and their papers seized; that the barriers of Paris should be closed, and nobody suffered to pass unless charged with a public mission; that a camp should be formed between Paris and the army of the North; that all Frenchmen refusing to receive *assignats* should be subject to a fine of 300 livres, and on a second offence of double that sum, with twenty years of imprisonment in irons.

The decree against foreigners seems to have been suggested by the finding, as it was asserted, of some papers on the person of an Englishman arrested at Lille, which were said to implicate Pitt in a vast conspiracy to burn several of the French arsenals, to forestall articles of the first necessity, to depress the value of *assignats*, etc. The papers are manifest forgeries, nor was the Englishman on whom they were said to have been found ever produced and examined. Granier, however, proposed in consequence in the Convention, August 7th, that Pitt was the enemy of the human race, and that everybody was justified in assassinating him. At the instance of Couthon, the latter clause was omitted, but the Convention solemnly decreed the former.

On the 10th of August, the anniversary of the capture of the Tuileries, the establishment of the new Constitution was celebrated by a grand public melodramatic *fête*, arranged by the painter David. The Convention having discharged the principal function for which it was elected, ought now to have given place to another Assembly. But this would also have involved the dissolution of the Committee of Public Safety; and neither the Convention nor the Committee was inclined to relinquish its hold on power. Danton had proposed to make the Committee a provisional Government, to grant it fifty million livres; but the Committee found it prudent to accept only the grant. Its establishment had raised a party against it called *Hébertistes*, from Hébert, one of its principal members, who was supported by Chaumette, Vincent, and Ronsin. These men were embittered by seeing Robespierre, with whom they had formerly acted, in possession of supreme power, whilst they themselves were excluded. A few days after the *fête* it was decreed that, till the enemy was expelled from France, all Frenchmen were in permanent requisition for the armies. Bachelors were to enlist, married men were to forge arms and transport pro-

Proceedings
of the Com-
mittee.

visions; women were to make tents, clothing, etc.; children were to scrape lint; old men were to excite the warriors by preaching in public places hatred of Kings and the unity of the Republic. France became one vast camp. To stimulate the Republicanism of the people, it was proposed to publish, under the title of *Annales du Civisme*, the most striking instances of patriotic devotion. The Committee of Public Safety also directed that such tragedies as *Brutus*, *William Tell*, *Caius Gracchus*, etc., should be performed thrice a week, once at the public expense.

The generals, as well as the Girondists, were made to feel the power of the new Committee. Biron, commander of the army of La Vendée, was summoned to Paris to give an account of his conduct. Rossignol, his successor, was intrusted to perpetrate every sort of enormity. "In two months," said Barère, "La Vendée will cease to exist."¹ Custine, on his arrival in Paris, had been arrested, and conveyed to the Abbaye. On the fall of Valenciennes, he was condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, and guillotined August 28th. Robespierre urged on his death, and complained of the dilatoriness of the Revolutionary Tribunal, which he said had "hampered itself with lawyer-like forms," and proposed that it should be reformed. At this time Robespierre first became President of the Convention. On September 5th a decree was passed dividing the "Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal" into four sections, all acting simultaneously and with equal power; increasing the number of judges to sixteen, including the President and Vice-President, the number of the jury to sixty, and the substitutes of the public accusers to five. Chaumette proposed a revolutionary army to traverse the Departments, accompanied by the *guillotine*; and suggested that the gardens of the Tuileries should be used for plants serviceable in the hospitals. Danton, like Robespierre, complained of the slowness of the Revolutionary Tribunal—the head of an aristocrat should fall every day! He also procured two decrees: 1. That there should be an extraordinary assembly of the Sections every Sunday and Thursday, and that each citizen attending them should receive, if he wished it, forty sous; 2. That one hundred millions should be placed at the disposal of the Ministry to fabricate arms. These de-

The Revolutionary Tribunal reformed, Sept. 3rd, 1793.

¹ Von Sybel, iii. 111 (Eng. trans.).

crees were voted with enthusiasm. A deputation from the Jacobins demanded that the Girondists should be speedily brought to justice; a subject which had been agitated in the Jacobin Club a few days before. Towards the close of the sitting, Barère, as member of the Committee of Public Safety, presented a Report embodying the prayers of the various petitions. Besides the measures already noticed, it was decreed that a standing army of 6,000 men and 1,200 gunners should be maintained in Paris to execute revolutionary laws and measures of public safety; that Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Clavière, Le Brun, and his secretary Baudry, should be immediately arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Brissot had been arrested at Moulins. A decree forbidding domiciliary visits during the night was revoked. Barère observed in his Report, that according to the *grand mot* of the *Commune*, terror was to be the order of the day. In this memorable sitting of September 5th, the REIGN OF TERROR was thus distinctly and avowedly inaugurated. The Revolution from its commencement had indeed been a Reign of Terror, and particularly since the massacres of September; but now these atrocities were to be committed orderly and legally, and the means of committing them were permanently organized.

The Reign
of Terror,
1793.

We will here give a few specimens of the legislation of the period. Collot d'Herbois proposed and carried a law that whoever possessed a store of the chief necessities of life without giving notice of them to the authorities, and offering them daily for sale at the prices which they should fix, should be put to death as a usurer and monopolist. Cambon, thinking to raise the value of the paper money by diminishing the quantity in circulation, proposed that 1,500 million *assignats*, bearing the image of the King, should no longer circulate; and as the value of all paper of course immediately fell, Couthon carried a motion that any one passing *assignats* at less than their nominal value should be liable to twenty years' imprisonment in chains, and another that the investing of money in foreign countries should be punished with death!¹

To render despotism complete two things were still wanting: the *loi des suspects*, and the investing of the Government with uncontrolled power.

¹ Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, vol. iii. 172 (Eng. trans.).

The Law of
Suspects.

The *loi des suspects*, passed September 17th, defined suspected persons to be: 1, those who by their conduct, their relations, their conversation, or their writings, had shown themselves enemies of liberty; 2, those who could not prove their means of living, and the discharge of their civic duties; 3, those who had refused certificates of *civism*; 4, public functionaries deprived or suspended by the Convention; 5, *ci-devant* nobles, their husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters, also the agents of emigrants; 6, those who had emigrated between July 1st, 1789, and the publication of the law of April 8th, 1792, notwithstanding that they might have returned into France within the term fixed by that law. Suspected persons were to be arrested and kept under guard at their own cost. Under the extensive and vague definitions of this dreadful law not a man in France was safe. It was, moreover, to be wielded by Robespierre, who had told Garat: "I have no need to reflect. I am always guided by my *first impressions*!" It was ordered that 50,000 committees should be formed throughout France for the purpose of discovering enemies of the Revolution; and about half that number were actually established, composed of five members, each receiving five francs a day.

Supremacy
of the Com-
mittee of
Public
Safety.

The new Constitution was suspended October 10th, on the motion of St. Just, and the Government, till the conclusion of peace, declared *revolutionary*; a term which denoted the suspension of all custom and law, and signified sometimes the sovereign authority of the mob, in this case, the sovereign authority of the Government or Committee of Public Safety. The Committee now had the surveillance of the Executive Council, the Ministers, the Generals, and all Corporations—in short, a dictatorship.

Marie An-
toinette's
death.

After the transference of Marie Antoinette to the Conciergerie, her fate could be no longer doubtful. She was suffered to languish two or three months in that dungeon, deprived almost of the common necessities of life. After her separation from her son, a shoemaker named Simon, of brutal manners, had been appointed tutor to the young Prince, whom he endeavoured to render as low and debased as himself. The Queen was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, October 14th, when Fouquier Tinville revived against her all the calumnies circulated in her earlier

days. Hébert, who next brutally and cynically insulted the descendant of a long line of Emperors, had been a check-taker at the Théâtre des Variétés, had been discharged for dishonesty, and had been convicted of robbing his furnished lodgings. Yet he was now a leading member of the *Commune*! The political charges against Marie Antoinette were, having sent large sums of money to the Emperor, having favoured the Coalition, having exerted an undue influence over her husband, having endeavoured to excite a civil war, etc. Her condemnation was a matter of course, and she was executed on October 16th.

The murder of the Queen was soon followed by the execution of the Girondists. On the 24th of October twenty-one of that party, including Brissot, Vergniaud, and Gensonné, were arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and found guilty on the 30th of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the Republic, and the liberty and safety of the French people. The real cause of their fate was their having opposed Robespierre and the Mountain, and endeavoured to *decentralize* the Revolution, that is, to resist the Paris mob by means of the Departments: but their own conduct, and especially their treatment of the King, deprives them of our commiseration. When their trial had lasted three or four days, a Jacobin deputation having demanded of the Convention that juries should be empowered to put an end to a criminal prosecution whenever they considered themselves satisfied, Robespierre proposed and carried a law (October 29th) that the jury should be interrogated on this point after a trial had lasted three days. On the following morning this law was read to the Revolutionary Tribunal by the Public Accuser, and, after a short deliberation, a verdict of guilty was pronounced against all the prisoners, though not one of them had yet made his defence.

The next victim of note was the Duke of Orleans, who had been kept in arrest at Marseilles since the spring, and had thence been transferred to the Conciergerie. He was condemned on the most inadequate evidence, but it is impossible to feel any pity for him. He met his fate with a hardened indifference, November 7th. Two days after Madame Roland with undaunted courage, exclaimed at the scaffold, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband, who had escaped into Normandy, on hearing of her

Execution
of the
Girondists.

The Duke of
Orleans and
Madame
Roland
executed.

The fate of
Bailly and
the Girond-
ists.

death, committed suicide on the high road near Rouen. Among other victims of this period may be mentioned Bailly, the astronomer and *çi-devant* Mayor of Paris, the deputies Barnave, Kersaint, and Rabaud St. Etienne, the Generals Houchard, Brunet, and Lamartière, and Madame du Barri, the mistress of Louis XV. Of the Girondists who had escaped into the provinces, Salles and Guadet were captured and executed in June, 1794; Barbaroux shot himself near Castillon; Valady, arrested near Périgueux, was executed in that town in December, 1793; the bodies of Pétion and Buzot were discovered half devoured by wolves. A few, as Louvet and Lanjuinais, succeeded in escaping.

The Re-
publican
calendar.

In accordance with a maxim that all that is not new in revolutions is pernicious, was introduced a fantastic alteration of the calendar. As Royalty had been abolished September 21st, 1792, it was resolved that the French era should begin from that event, as the commencement of the first year of the Republic. The year was to be composed of twelve months, each of thirty days, divided into decades, each tenth day being a day of repose, instead of Sunday. The names of the days in each decade were *primidi*, *duodi*, *tridi*, *quartidi*, *quintidi*, *sextidi*, *septidi*, *octidi*, *nonidi*, *decadi*. The five supplementary days inserted at the end of the year, and entitled *sansculotides*, formed a kind of festival, of which the first day was sacred to genius, the second to labour, the third to actions, the fourth to recompenses, the fifth to opinion. New names for the months adapted to their character, were suggested by Fabre d'Eglantine. The first month, which answered nearly to October, was called *Vendémiaire*, followed by *Brumaire*, *Frimaire*, *Nivose*, *Pluviose*, *Ventose*, *Germinal*, *Floréal*, *Prairial*, *Messidor*, *Thermidor*, *Fructidor*. The new calendar was decreed October 24th, 1793, and on the following day, in conformity with it, the *procès verbal* of the Convention was dated 4 *Brumaire an II de la République Française*.¹ It would, however, be unjust to conceal that the Revolutionary Government adopted some useful schemes. The Polytechnic and Normal schools were prepared, the foundations of a civil code were laid, the *Grand Livre*, in

¹ If the French had now introduced, or rather revived, the words *septante*, *octante*, *nonante*, for their present awkward expressions, *soixante-dix*, *soixante-onze*, etc., they would have done some good.

which all the national creditors were inscribed, was opened, a uniformity of weights and measures was established, and the decimal system introduced.

There now remained little to alter or abolish except in the article of religion. Both Robespierre and the Deists, and Hébert and the Atheists, were resolved to set aside Christianity, but they were not exactly agreed as to what they should substitute in its place. The *Commune*, however, in which the Atheists and Materialists ruled supreme, took the lead. Chaumette, the *procureur-général*, who fancied himself a philosopher, was one of the principal leaders in this crusade against Christianity. On the 10th of November he obtained a decree of the *Commune* for inaugurating the "worship of Reason" in the metropolitan Cathedral of Notre Dame. Already, in the month of October, the churches had been desecrated, the images thrown down, and the plate and other ornaments carried off. The Goddess of Reason, represented by an actress, was now installed at Notre Dame. In the nave was erected a sort of mountain, having a temple at the top, with the inscription, *A la Philosophie*. A woman, dressed as the Goddess of Liberty, came forth from the temple, seated herself on a sort of cloud, having at her feet a truncated column with a lamp called the *flambeau de la vérité*. Here she received the homage of a choir of girls dressed in white, whilst a hymn composed by Marie Joseph Chénier was chanted by all the *sans-culottes* present. The Goddess of Reason was now carried in procession to the Convention; Chaumette introduced her by a speech at the bar; the actress, descending from her throne, was embraced by the President, and took a seat by his side. By such absurd and blasphemous farces did these new Republicans, the legislators of a great nation, delude and disgrace themselves.

The worship
of Reason.

These scenes were accompanied with a perfect carnival of atheism, folly, and debauchery. Members of the Convention might be seen dancing the *carmagnole* with girls of the town dressed in sacerdotal habits. The relics of St. Geneviève were publicly burnt in the Place de Grève, and a *procès-verbal* of the proceedings was despatched to the Pope. On November 20th the Section of l'Unité sent an enormous mass of church plate as an offering to the Convention. Their deputies were adorned with priestly vestments, and carried a black flag, typifying the destruction of fanaticism. They sung the air

Profanity
in Paris.

Marlbroug est mort et enterré, and danced in the middle of the hall amid the applause of the Convention. The churches were converted into public-houses, the sculptures of Notre Dame were ordered to be destroyed, and wooden saints, missals, breviaries, and Bibles were consumed in bonfires. The rural districts, however, refused to imitate the madness and profanities of the capital.

Opposed
by Robes-
pierre.

Robespierre disapproved of these proceedings. Although a man of blood, he was also a man of order; although a Deist, he was, like his master Rousseau, for tolerating all religions, including that of the Roman Catholic Church. On November 21st he denounced the Atheists to the Jacobin Club as more dangerous enemies of the Revolution even than the priests and Royalists, and stigmatized their tenets as subversive of all political society. "Atheism," he said, "is aristocratic, while the idea of an Omnipotent Being watching over innocence and punishing triumphant crime is altogether popular." He adopted the phrase of Voltaire, that if a God did not exist it would be necessary to invent one; and he concluded by moving that Society should be purged of the traitors concealed in its bosom, and the Committees reorganized. These propositions were unanimously adopted. After this speech the indecent scenes which had disgraced Paris were no longer exhibited. One of the motives of Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety for suppressing them was the scandal which they created in foreign countries. Danton supported Robespierre, and Hébert and Chaumette found themselves compelled to make a sort of public recantation of their atheistical tenets.

Insurrec-
tion in La
Vendée,
1793.

While such was the state of Paris, the Revolutionary Government was gradually triumphing over its enemies in the provinces. The insurgents of La Vendée had been tolerably successful up to October. Robespierre's *protégé*, Rosignol, proved totally incompetent for the command of the army sent against them, and sustained some defeats; but he carried out to the letter his instructions to burn and destroy all that he could. His successor, Lechelle, was a man of the same calibre; but Kléber, Marceau, and Westermann, though nominally under his command, acted independently of him, and inflicted on the Vendéans a succession of defeats at Chatillon-sur-Sèvre, La Tremblaye, and Chollet, where Bonchamp was killed, at Granville, at Le Mans, and finally dis-

persed them at Savenay, December 22nd. An English expedition under Lord Moira fitted out for their aid arrived too late. Henri de Larochejaquelein was killed in a skirmish in the following March by two Republican grenadiers, whose lives he was endeavouring to save. La Vendée was converted into a smoking desert.¹ In the south Marseilles had opened its gates to Carteaux, August 25th. But this success decided the revolt of Toulon, a step which the inhabitants had been some months contemplating. Having opened communications with Admiral Hood, who was cruising off that port, the English fleet, accompanied by a Spanish and a Neapolitan squadron, entered the harbour August 27th, and took possession of the place, after a short resistance from a few of the French vessels. On the following day Admiral Hood published a Declaration that he took possession of Toulon in the name of Louis XVII. Two English regiments from Gibraltar, under General O'Hara, and between 12,000 and 13,000 Spanish, Piedmontese, and Neapolitan troops, were subsequently introduced into the town,² and the forts around it were occupied. Lyons had been besieged by Kellermann since August 8th. The operations were really conducted by Dubois Crancé, but little progress was made till the end of the month, when the besieging force was largely increased and 100 guns brought into play. The hopes of the inhabitants rested on a diversion to be made by a Piedmontese corps, which, however, was defeated by Kellermann; and Lyons, after sustaining a terrible bombardment, and being reduced to the extremity of famine, was compelled to surrender, October 9th. On the 12th the Convention decreed that the portion of the town inhabited by the rich should be demolished, that its name should be effaced from the towns of the Republic; that what remained of it should henceforth be called *Commune Affranchie*; and, in the mock sublime of that epoch, it was ordained that a column should be erected on

¹ For the war of La Vendée, see Chassin, *La préparation de la guerre de Vendée* and *La Vendée patriot.*

² The exact numbers of the garrison were 6,521 Spaniards, 2,421 Englishmen, 4,334 Neapolitans, 1,584 Piedmontese, 1,542 National Guards of Toulon—altogether more than 16,000 men. See Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, B. i. S. 488 ff. (vol. iii. p. 244, Eng. tr.); where will be found new and more correct particulars respecting the occupation of Toulon by the allies, from the account given by an eye-witness to the King of Prussia.

the ruins with the inscription, "Lyons made war upon liberty: Lyons exists no more."

The reduction of Lyons was soon followed by that of Toulon. The force of the allies was weakened by those dissensions which attended all the operations of the Coalition. The inhabitants of Toulon were divided into the two parties of Constitutionals and Royalists. As the former were the more numerous, and possessed all the municipal offices, the English consulted their views. The Spaniards, on the other hand, adopted all the more warmly the minority, whose religious and political principals coincided with their own. This party demanded the recall of the clergy, and that the Count of Provence should be summoned to Toulon as Regent of France; but as these measures were opposed by the Constitutionalists, they were declined by Admiral Hood. The Spaniards then demanded that the Toulon fleet should be delivered to their Sovereign as a member of the House of Bourbon, although by the capitulation of the town it had been expressly given into English keeping, and the demand was therefore refused. These bickerings laid the foundation of a rupture between Spain and England. The English Government, in conformity with its principle of not prescribing any particular form of government to the French, had even disapproved of Admiral Hood's act in taking possession of Toulon in the name of Louis XVII. The siege of Toulon was first undertaken by Carteaux, a *ci-devant* painter. He was accompanied by the deputy Salicetti, a Corsican, who retained at Toulon his countryman, Napoleon Bonaparte, then a young captain of artillery. The siege made little progress till after the reduction of Lyons; the troops from which place, together with large draughts from the army of Italy, raised the besieging army to more than 60,000 men. The command of this force was now given to Dugommier, an experienced general; but the Convention appointed five commissaries to watch over him, namely, Barras, Fréron, Salicetti, Augustine Robespierre (Maximilian's younger brother), and Ricord, with instructions that Toulon *must* be taken, pointing clearly to the alternative of the *guillotine*. The attack was ultimately conducted after Bonaparte's plan, who saw that a fort occupied by the English on a tongue of land separating the inner and outer roadsteads, was the key of the whole position. The fort was attacked by a picked French column,

Admiral
Hood at
Toulon,
Dec., 1793.

on the night of December 16th, and, after a desperate resistance, taken. As some of the surrounding forts had also been reduced by the Republicans, General O'Hara, the commander-in-chief, who, with Lord Hood and Sir Gilbert Elliot, formed a directorial commission, found himself compelled to evacuate Toulon; but not before the arsenal and a large part of the French fleet had been burnt, under the conduct of Commodore Sir Sidney Smith. Three ships of the line and twelve frigates were carried off by the English. About 4,000 Toulonese were put on board the allied fleets. The Republican Commissioners, Fréron, Barras, and the younger Robespierre, took a horrible vengeance on the citizens, and within three months butchered more than 3,000 persons.¹

Elsewhere, also, the Republican Government signalized its triumphs by a series of the most horrible massacres, executed by its proconsuls. At Bordeaux, which had embraced the Girondist cause but for a moment, Tallien and his colleague, Ysabeau, caused 108 persons to be guillotined. Here these two proconsuls lived in state, with a guard at their door, and, while the town was almost in a state of famine, required to be served with the finest wines, the most exquisite delicacies. Tallien acquired a fortune by his speculations. These atrocities were more than rivalled by Fréron and Barras at Marseilles, and Collot d'Herbois and Fouché at Lyons. At Marseilles was established a Commission of Six, divided for the sake of expedition into two courts, without public accuser or jury. The persons accused, having been asked their names, professions, and fortunes, were sent down to the executioner's cart, which was always standing before the Palais de Justice, and the judges appearing on the balcony, pronounced sentence of death. The head of this horrible tribunal, a young man of twenty, condemned 160 persons in ten days. Fréron, in pursuance of his idea, "that every rebel city should disappear from the face of the earth," mutilated most of the public buildings and monuments of Marseilles, and called it, "the nameless town." He and Barras appropriated 800,000 francs, which they ought to have paid into the treasury, as the spoils of this city, on pretence that their carriage had been overturned in a ditch. At Lyons Couthon at first seemed inclined to show some mercy; but he was superseded towards the end

Atrocities
at Mar-
seilles,
Lyons, etc.

¹ Von Sybel, vol. iii. p. 249 sq. (Eng. transl.).

of October by Collot d'Herbois and Fouché, who suppressed the rising with great cruelty. About forty houses were demolished by artillery, and a great many more damaged; but to raze Lyons to the ground was found to be too vast an undertaking.

The
Noyades
at Nantes.

But all these atrocities were outdone by the infamous Carrier, at Nantes. His first act on arriving at Nantes, October 8th, when the Vendéan war was still going on, was to form the *Campagnie de Marat*, to make domiciliary visits, and arrest suspected persons, of whom 600 were thrown into prison. He threatened to throw half the town of L'Orient into the sea, and ordered General Haxo to exterminate all the inhabitants of La Vendée, and burn their dwellings. The *noyades*, or drownings, commenced towards the end of *Brumaire*. Priests sentenced to transportation were placed in a vessel, with a sort of trap-door, which proceeded down the Loire, and, the bolts being withdrawn, the unhappy victims were drowned. The lowest estimate of the victims of Carrier's blood-thirstiness during the four months of his operations at Nantes amounts to 15,000.¹

Siege of
Dunkirk,
1793.

We will now return to the campaign of 1793. After the fall of Valenciennes, a rapid march on Paris would probably have proved successful. The immense northern frontier of France was defended only by a few isolated camps, while the allies had nearly 300,000 men between Basle and Ostend. But their conduct was guided first by their own selfish and separate interests, and next by the ancient routine maxims of strategy, which required the reduction of the frontier fortresses. Prince Coburg, therefore, resolved to reduce Quesnoy, and the Duke of York had instructions from London to lay siege to Dunkirk. From Paris as a centre Carnot² directed all the operations of the French armies on the vast circumference threatened. The Duke of York sat down before Dunkirk towards the end of August, 1793. His total force, including 12,000 Austrians under Alvinzi, amounted to about 36,000 men. These were divided into two corps, one of siege, the other of observation; the first being com-

¹ Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, B. ii. S. 499 (vol. iii. p. 257 (Eng. tr.), and Chassin, *La Vendée patriot*.

² Carnot's military genius devised that new system of warfare which, by rapidly concentrating a superior force on a given point, effected such wonders in the hands of Napoleon.

manded by himself, while the other, under Marshal Freitag, was posted at Hondschoote. Houchard, an ignorant, incapable man, had succeeded Kilmaine in the command of the French army of the North. He was popular with the soldiery; but the fate of Custine rendered him somewhat solicitous about his own. This feeling was increased by a visit from the terrible Billaud Varennes, who caused twenty-two adjutants-general to be arrested in one night! Next morning Houchard found himself without a staff. By orders from Paris, Houchard attacked Freitag at Hondschoote, September 8th, and completely defeated him. Freitag was slain in the engagement, but Walmoden, who succeeded him, effected a retreat to Furnes. The Duke of York was now in a perilous situation. He was encamped in a sort of peninsula: instead of an English fleet, which he had expected, a French squadron had arrived, and molested his right flank; if the victorious enemy advanced, he must either lay down his arms or be driven into the sea; he was, therefore, compelled to raise the siege precipitately, abandoning fifty-two guns and his baggage. It was generally thought, even in England, that had Houchard pushed on, the Duke and his whole army must have been captured;¹ but that general suffered him to form a junction with Walmoden at Furnes, where they presented too strong a front to be attacked. Houchard contented himself with dispersing an isolated Dutch force at Menin, September 13th. Advancing thence, two days after, to meet the Austrian General Beaulieu, his troops were seized with one of those unaccountable panics so frequent in the wars of the Revolution. Cries having arisen of "We are betrayed! *Sauve qui peut!*" the French fled in disorder to Lille. For this misfortune, and for not having attacked the Duke of York, Houchard was deprived of his command and subsequently guillotined. He was succeeded by Jourdan.

Le Quesnoy surrendered to the Austrians September 9th, after a siege of fourteen days. Prince Coburg now determined to close the campaign by the reduction of Maubeuge and Landrecies, which would render him master of the valley of the Sambre, and to march on Paris the following year.

Battle of
Wattignies,
Oct. 16th,
1793.

¹ *Ann. Register*, 1793, p. 192. All French military authorities, Jomini, Soult, etc., are of the same opinion. Von Sybel, iii. 201.

But Jourdan, acting under the directions of Carnot, who was present, saved Maubeuge by defeating the Austrians at WATTIGNIES, a neighbouring height, after a battle which lasted two days (October 16th). General Ferrant, Commandant of Maubeuge, who had neglected to assist the army of liberation, was arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal and executed. But the victory of Wattignies was followed by no results. General Davesnes having failed through sheer incapacity in an attempt to invade maritime Flanders, expiated with his head his want of success; and Jourdan himself was deprived of the command for not passing the Sambre after his victory. The retreat of the Austrians was unmolested, and they soon after took up their winter quarters in the environs of Le Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé. The Duke of York did the same at Tournai, covering Flanders, while the French established themselves at Guise.

Quarrels of
the Allies.

Towards the Rhine, the Prussians, after the capture of Mainz, had remained almost entirely inactive, notwithstanding the pressing invitations of Wurmser, the Austrian general in Alsace, to join him in vigorous operations. The views of the Prussians were fixed on Poland, and the French campaign was little more than a blind to their projects in that quarter. A temporary disappointment there, coupled with some discussions with Austria, induced Frederick William suddenly to abandon his allies. Austria had wished to reap the Bavarian succession after the death of the Elector Charles Theodore, who had no legitimate children; but had been induced to relinquish the project through the repugnance to it of the Bavarians themselves, the opposition of the next heirs, the Princes of Zweybrücken, as well as of Prussia, the representations of England, and lastly also, the unwillingness of Charles Theodore himself to consent. Although Austria had abandoned this claim, yet, as her decision was unknown to Prussia, she brought it forward in some negotiations which took place at the King of Prussia's head-quarters towards the end of August, with the view of merely covering some demands for a share of Poland, and making a merit of relinquishing Bavaria. The discovery of this duplicity excited the King of Prussia's indignation, which was increased by the knowledge that Austria intended seizing Alsace for herself. Frederick William's ill humour was further increased

by news from Poland to the purport that the negotiations for securing his share of that country were going on anything but favourably. He now recollected that he had promised his aid in the French war solely for the campaign of 1793, and that only on condition of acquisitions in Poland; and about the middle of September he announced to the Austrians his intention of quitting the Coalition.¹ In this step he completely disregarded the treaty which he had entered into with England only two months before for the better prosecution of the war with France. Towards the end of September, Frederick William II. withdrew from his army, alleging the necessity of joining his troops assembling on the frontiers of Poland.² Thus was the first blow struck at the Coalition.

The French had made two ineffectual attempts to pass the Rhine; they had also been repulsed with great loss in an attack upon the Duke of Brunswick's position at Pirmasens, September 14th; but neither this success nor the remonstrances of the British Ambassador, could stimulate the Duke to action. At length he was induced to join Wurmser in an attack upon the French lines between Weissenburg and Lauterburg, October 13th; when the French, defeated at every point, were compelled to evacuate those two places, and to make a hasty retreat towards the Geisberg. Wurmser entered Hagenau October 17th; but he also displayed some remissness, and allowed the French to escape to Strassburg. This town would probably have opened its gates to the Austrians if Wurmser would have assured the inhabitants that possession of it should be taken in the name of Louis XVII.; but such an arrangement was contrary to the policy of the Austrian Cabinet, which aimed at the recovery of Alsace. But the plot was discovered. St. Just and Lebas arrived at Strassburg October 22nd, as Commissioners of the Convention. St. Just immediately began to display his power. The day after his arrival he degraded the Commandant Lacour to the ranks, for having struck a soldier in a moment of excitement. On the 24th he proclaimed that "If there are in the army any traitors, or even any men indifferent to the people's cause, we bring with us the sword to strike them!" He

St. Just at
Strassburg.

¹ For these affairs see Von Sybel, Book vii. ch. 6.

² For the affairs of that country see next chapter.

erected the military tribunal attached to the army of the Rhine into a special and *Revolutionary* Commission; and he ordered General Eisenberg and a number of officers who had been surprised by the enemy and fled, to be shot in the redoubt of Hähnheim. Thus the Reign of Terror prevailed even in the camp. St. Just, who has been characterized as having a head of fire with a heart of ice, was its fitting instrument. The citizens of Strassburg were treated like the soldiery. The property of the rich, even their beds and apparel, was confiscated for the use of the army. A forced loan of nine millions (£360,000), payable in twenty-four hours, was exacted from a certain list of persons.

Wurmser had engaged in the siege of Landau, in which he expected the co-operation of the Prussians. But the Duke of Brunswick having failed in an attempt upon the castle of Bitsch, in the Vosges, took occasion to effect a retreat, which he had long contemplated, and retired to Kaiserslautern. He was followed by the French, under Hoche, who, however, after some engagements (28th, 29th, and 30th of December), were forced to retreat. The Duke of Brunswick's movements having exposed the Austrian right, Hoche despatched a division of 12,000 men through the Vosges to take them in flank, while Pichegru attacked them in front. Hoche himself assailed and dispersed without a blow the Palatine and Bavarian troops at Werdt, December 22nd, 1793. Wurmser was now compelled to retreat in disorder to the Geisberg; the armies of the Rhine and Moselle formed a junction, while the retrograde movement of the Austrians had also united them with the Prussians. But the Austrians being attacked and defeated by the French at the Geisberg, December 26th, Wurmser, disgusted with the conduct of the Prussians, resolved to abandon them, and crossed the Rhine between Philippsburg and Mannheim, December 30th; when the Prussians fell back towards Mainz. Thus, as the result of the campaign in this quarter, the French reoccupied the lines of Weissenburg, raised the blockade of Landau, recovered Alsace, and took up their winter quarters in the Palatinate.

On the Spanish frontier, where the French were not able to employ an adequate force, the campaign of 1793 left the Spaniards in possession of St. Elmo, Collioure, and Port Vendre, on the eastern side of the Pyrenees. On the western,

The
Austrians
driven
back,
Dec., 1793.

Spain,
Italy,
India, and
the West
Indies.

nothing important was done, and the Spaniards maintained their positions. On the side of Piedmont, Masséna succeeded in holding the Austro-Sardinian army in check. The French arms were for the most part unsuccessful in the colonies. In the East Indies Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and one or two smaller settlements fell into the hands of the English, who also captured in the West Indies, Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, but failed in attempts upon Martinico and St. Domingo. In the last named island, the negroes had risen against their masters; the Commissioners Santhonax and Polverel, despatched thither by the Republican Government with unlimited powers, sided with the insurgents, admitted the coloured population to a sudden and complete participation in all political rights, and rendered the colony one vast scene of desolation.

As the Revolution proceeded, parties continued to separate. The *Gironde* had supplanted the Constitutionalists, and had in its turn been overthrown by the *Montagne*. The Revolution, it has been said, like Saturn, devoured its own children. In the democratic residuum still left we find three distinct Factions. First, the ultra-democrats, called *Hébertistes* and *Enragés*, who were for terror in all its wildest excesses, for atheism in its most absurd and blasphemous forms. In contradistinction to this faction had sprung up what was called *le parti de la clémence*, or party of mercy, at the head of which was Camille Desmoulins; and, strange to say, Danton also seemed to incline to it. Danton was not *incorruptible*, like Robespierre, but he had more of human nature in his composition. He had made a comfortable fortune by his patriotism, had married a young wife, and was inclined to enjoy the position he had achieved. Between these two parties stood that of Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, who desired a sort of political and regulated terror, which they disguised under the sacred name of justice.¹ Being now members of the Government, they had become more conservative without

Republican
factions.

¹ The Terrorists had begun to discover that their favourite method would not accomplish everything. Thus, St. Just observes in his *Institutions*: “*La terreur peut nous débarrasser de la monarchie et de l’aristocratie; mais qui nous délivrera de la corruption?*” And again: “*L’exercice de la terreur a blasé le crime, comme les liqueurs fortes blasent le palais.*” Mingled with some sensible remarks, the *Institutions* of St. Just present the most monstrous specimens of

being a whit less cruel; and they were indignant at seeing the direction of the populace, by means of which they had themselves risen, taken out of their hands by men like Hébert and his companions. As the year 1793 drew to a close, it became evident that a deadly struggle between these parties was at hand.

Robespierre
and Camille
Desmou-
lins.

Robespierre at first showed symptoms of adhesion to the "party of mercy." Camille Desmoulins, who had been his schoolfellow, had started a journal called the *Vieux Cordelier*, in which he advocated the principles of the old Cordelier Club, now governed by Hébert's party. Robespierre had saved Danton as well as Desmoulins from being expelled from the Jacobins; had patronized the *Vieux Cordelier*, had even revised the first two numbers. But the brilliant and fickle author soon overstepped the bounds of discretion. In his third number, he not obscurely likened the atrocities of the Reign of Terror, which he ascribed to the treacherous plans of the Hébertistes, to some of the worst passages in the history of the Roman Emperors; and, under pretence of denying, betrayed his real design by protesting beforehand against any comparison which malignity might draw between the present times and those whose pictures he had borrowed from Tacitus. By this language he offended a large number of the Mountain, who had participated in, or approved of these atrocities. In his fourth number he went still further. He demanded a *Committee of Clemency*, the flinging open of the prisons, and the liberation of 200,000 *suspects*. Unluckily, on that very day, Robespierre had proposed in the Convention a *Committee of Justice*, the new name for Terror; which, however, was not adopted.

The
Hébertistes
extermin-
ated,
March 24th,
1794.

It is probable that Robespierre had patronized for a while the Party of Clemency only that he might the more securely overwhelm that of the *Hébertistes*. The contest, however, was initiated by the Cordelier Club, then under the influence of Hébert and Collot d'Herbois, by sending several insolent deputations to the Convention. Robespierre, by defending Camille Desmoulins, seemed to have incurred the dangerous charge of *modérantisme*. He explained and defended his views in his *Report on the Principles of the Revolutionary*

fanaticism and absurdity. Among other regulations, he was for making every proprietor rear four sheep annually for every acre he possessed. France would have been devoured by its own flocks.

Government, presented to the Convention in the name of the Committee of Public Safety, December 25th, 1793. He there described the course of the Government as lying between two extremes, weakness and *modérantisme* on the one hand, rashness and excess on the other; and he evidently hinted at the denunciation of Hébert and Baron Cloutz. But at this time he had begun to quail under the attacks of Hébert and the Cordeliers. He publicly denied having taken any part in Camille Desmoulins' Journal, and even proposed that it should be burnt. He also turned upon his former coadjutor, Fabre d'Eglantine, who was placed in confinement. And to show that the charge of *modérantisme*, or clemency, was an unjust imputation, he concluded by proposing a decree for accelerating the judgment of foreigners and generals charged with crimes like those of Dumouriez, Custine, Lamarlière, and Houchard.

The *Hébertistes* thought of trying their strength by an insurrection. They took occasion of the distress produced by the severe winter to spread pamphlets, attributing to the Convention all the miseries of Paris; but they failed in their attempt to excite the *Commune*, and consequently to raise the mob, which now looked up exclusively to the Committee of Public Safety. Among the citizens of a better class there was but one voice of scorn and horror for Hébert and his companions; while at the decisive moment, Henriot, the military leader of the *Commune*, went over to Robespierre. On the night of March 13th, 1794, after a speech by St. Just in the Convention, Hébert, and the leaders of his party, Chaumette, Vincent, Cloutz, Ronsin, and others, were arrested. Their trial, which lasted three days, was, like the others of that epoch, a mere parody of justice; but though the charges brought against them were futile, most of them richly deserved their fate. They were executed, March 24th, to the number of nineteen. Their execution was followed by considerable changes. The *Commune* was reconstructed; Pache, the Mayor, was replaced by Lescot Fleuriot; the revolutionary army was disbanded; and the Cordelier Club was broken up.

The Dantonists were the next victims. Danton had been troublesome by demanding an examination of the conduct of public functionaries, and that the Committees should give an account of their acts. As if a Government which had declared

Danton
and others
executed,
April 5th,
1794.

itself *revolutionary*, that is irresponsible, was to be questioned! Tallien brought about an interview between Robespierre and Danton, in which the latter is said to have shed tears. On the very same day that Robespierre had determined on his death, he took Danton in his carriage for an excursion beyond the barriers!¹ Camille Desmoulins was included in the proscription. It is probable that he owed his fate to the spite of St. Just. On the night of March 30th, Danton, Desmoulins, Phillippeaux, and Lacroix were arrested, after a deliberation of the two Committees united. Legendre next day demanded that they should be tried at the bar of the Convention. Robespierre opposed, and St. Just gave them the *coup de grâce* in an harangue in which he had the effrontery to say that he denounced them as the last partisans of royalty! Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, Delaunay, Julien (of Toulouse), were also at this time prisoners at the Luxembourg, on a charge of forgery, and they were tried with the Dantonists, April 2nd; also Hérault de Séchelles and Westermann. Danton's defence was audible on the other side of the Seine. But it was to no purpose; the prisoners were of course foredoomed. The trial was stopped on the fourth day, and the jury brought in a verdict of guilty, though not a fourth part of the prisoners had been heard in their defence. From their violence, and the symptoms displayed by the audience, the Court was afraid to pass sentence on the accused at the bar; it was read to them by their jailer. They were guillotined April 5th.

Triumph
of Robes-
pierre.

By the defeat of the two factions of Dantonists and Hébertistes, the Committee of Public Safety seemed to have acquired irresistible power. The triumph of Robespierre was complete. The Convention decreed the dissolution of the Ministerial Council, and the formation in its stead of twelve Committees, for the discharge of the various functions of government. Robespierre filled these boards with obscure persons. The Municipality was also reformed, and the posts in it distributed according to Robespierre's bidding. The tribunals of the Departments were suppressed, and that of Paris became the sole one. Society was to be reorganized, and every individual brought under the immediate control of Government. But in this plenitude of power Robespierre

¹ Von Sybel, vol. iii. 296 (Eng. transl.); Robinet, *Danton*.

trembled for his existence. The members of the governing Committee looked upon one another with hatred and suspicion, as if each were plotting against his colleague's life, whilst all were regarded by moderate people with abhorrence. A strong body of men slept in Robespierre's house, and, armed with clubs, accompanied him in his walks. At meals, two pistols were placed by his plate, and he ate nothing that had not been previously tasted.¹ To show that the Government could not be charged with *modérantisme*, the executions kept their usual course. Good and bad were involved in a like fate. Among the victims of this period may be mentioned Dépresmenil, Le Chapelier, the venerable Malesherbes, Lavoisier the chemist, General Dillon, Chaumette, Gobel, the apostate bishop. The execution of numbers of women outdoes the other brutalities of the Reign of Terror. The wives of Danton and Camille Desmoulins, the Princess Elizabeth, the saint-like sister of Louis XVI., were sent to the scaffold. Robespierre is said to have told Maret, the bookseller, that he had wished to save Madame Elizabeth, but that Collot d'Herbois prevented it. The latter, who had been an unsuccessful actor and indifferent writer, was the only one of Hébert's faction who had obtained a seat in the Committee of Public Safety.

Robespierre, having triumphed over the Atheists, proceeded to establish the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul by a decree of the Convention! (18th *Floréal*, May 7th, 1794). It was not, however, the God of the Scriptures, but the God of Reason, substituted for the Goddess of Reason.² The new Calendar was retained, by which Sundays were abolished, and, in their stead, every tenth day was set apart for worship. A fête, planned by David the painter, was got up in honour of the new Deity, intended to outrival that of the Hébertistes (June 8th). An amphitheatre was erected in the gardens of the Tuileries, with seats for the members of the Convention, whilst over the basin was erected a group of monsters representing Atheism, Egotism, Discord, and Ambition. Robespierre, who might himself be called the incarnation of the last three, caused himself to be named President of the Assembly for the

Fête of the
Supreme
Being.

¹ Von Sybel, vol. iii. p. 299 (Eng. transl.).

² Aulard, *Le Culte de la Raison, et le Culte de l'Etre Suprême*.

occasion, and dressed himself in a sky-blue coat. The members of the Convention walked in procession to the Champ de Mars, dressed in the uniform of representatives *en mission*, with feathers in their hats, and a three-coloured sash. In the midst of them was an antique car, drawn by eight oxen with gilt horns, and carrying a trophy composed of instruments of art. Robespierre, as President, marched at the head of the deputies; his colleagues in the Committees kept as far behind him as they could, in order, it is said, to make his position appear the more invidious; for they had already resolved on his destruction. In the centre of the Champ de Mars rose a symbolical mountain, on which the deputies took their seats, and a hymn to the Supreme Being was sung, composed by the same Marie Joseph Chénier,¹ whose facile muse had a little while before celebrated the triumph of atheism. Robespierre was at the height of his glory. But his fall and that of his supporters was not far distant.

Law of 22nd
Prairial.

St. Just had given offence by his haughtiness; he had had a violent quarrel with Carnot, and a complete schism had taken place in the Committee of Public Safety. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon now stood alone. The treatment Robespierre had met with at the fête determined him to strike the terrorists of the Committee of General Security, and the Commissioners of the Convention who had rendered themselves notorious by their cruelties, such as Fouché, Fréron, Tallien, Carrier. With this view he introduced the terrible law called the "Law of 22nd *Prairial*" (June 10th), intended to accelerate the trial of the conspirators. By this law the Revolutionary Tribunal was again re-formed. It was now to consist of a president, three vice-presidents, a public accuser and four substitutes, twelve judges, and fifty jurymen; and for practice it was to be divided into sections of twelve members, each section having not fewer than seven jurors. Its object was said to be to punish the enemies of the people; in which category were included those who had sought to create dearth, to inspire discouragement, to spread false news, to mislead public opinion, to corrupt the public conscience, to alter the energy and purity of revolutionary

¹ André Chénier, his brother, also a poet, and a much better one, was guillotined July 25th.

and republican principles, etc., etc. The accused were not to be allowed counsel; it was not necessary to call witnesses; the decision was left to "the conscience of jurymen enlightened by the love of their country." There was no appeal, and the sole punishment was death! By Article 20, all previous laws relating to the Tribunal were abrogated. This would do away with the law which forbade any member of the Convention to be brought before the Tribunal, unless a decree of accusation had been previously obtained against him; and thus the Convention would be placed at the mercy of Robespierre and his two colleagues; since the signatures of three members of the Committee of Public Safety sufficed to send a man to trial. The Convention took the alarm, and though Robespierre and Couthon succeeded in carrying the article, it was not till after a long and warm discussion which served to expose their motives. Robespierre and Couthon were next day called to a severe account by the rest of the Committee, who had not been consulted, when a violent scene ensued. Billaud Varennes charged Robespierre with wishing to guillotine the members of the Convention; Robespierre retorted by accusing Billaud of counter-revolutionary projects. Stormy scenes also took place in the Convention. Bourdon and Tallien were so alarmed by Robespierre's threats that the former took to his bed for a month, while the latter wrote him a humble letter of submission.

After this Robespierre ceased to attend the Committee. This was a mistake, as it enabled his adversaries all the better to combine against him. It was evidently a political move, though a mistaken one. As he had overcome the *Hébertistes* or *Enragés* by means of the *indulgens*, and the *indulgens* by the cry for "justice," so now he wanted to overthrow his opponents in the Committee by reconciling himself with the moderate party and the remnant of the Girondists. In a speech at the Jacobins, 13th *Messidor* (July 1st), he denounced the system of terror, at the same time proclaiming unceasing war against all counter-revolutionists. In another address at the same place, 23rd *Messidor*, he pursued the same subject, and demanded that Fouché should be brought to account for his atrocities at Lyons. In an artful passage of the former speech, he complained that the calumnies forged against him in London were repeated by his enemies in Paris; thus insinuating that all who said

Robespierre
quits the
Committee.

anything to his prejudice were implicated in the great foreign conspiracy recently invented and denounced.

The story of this conspiracy had been got up on occasion of an attempt to assassinate Collot d'Herbois by a man named Admiral, and was subsequently applied to a suspected design of a young woman named Cécile Rénault on the life of Robespierre. No satisfactory evidence was produced against Cécile; she had, however, avowed that she preferred a king to 50,000 tyrants, and that she had gone to Robespierre's house to see what a tyrant was like. The Committee of General Security contrived to involve fifty-two other persons of all ranks, ages, and sexes in this pretended conspiracy. It is said that Robespierre had nothing to do with their trial, that it was, in fact, got up by his enemies to place him in an invidious light; that in order to forward this object, Fouquier Tinville, the Public Accuser of the Revolutionary Tribunal, at the suggestion of a member of the Committee, ordered fifty-four red shirts, the costume of parricides, to be prepared for the condemned persons. The procession of the victims (June 17th, 1794) was all the more striking, as the guillotine had now been removed to the Barrière du Trône, and the carts had consequently to pass through the Faubourg St. Antoine. This affair of the *Chemises Rouges*, as it was called, was soon followed by that of a pretended conspiracy in the prisons. The Committee of Public Safety authorized Hermann, a Commissioner of Civil Administration, to investigate plots in prisons, by an *arrêté*, dated 7th *Messidor* an II (June 25th, 1794), and signed by Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Barère. Robespierre, therefore, appears to have retained the power of signing decrees, though he had now absented himself from the Committee; but we are not aware that any later signature can be produced. An *arrêté* for the execution of some prisoners, though signed by St. Just, 2nd *Thermidor* (July 20th), bears neither the name of Robespierre nor of Couthon. One of the substitutes of the Public Accuser charged Hermann with proposing to the Committee "to sweep out the prisons in order to depopulate France and make Robespierre dictator." A list was made out of 159 persons confined in the Luxembourg, including the Prince d'Hénin, the Duke de Gêvres, thirty-nine nobles, the ex-prior of the Chartreux, several general and other officers, bankers, etc. They were nearly all condemned and

The
Chemises
rouges.

executed 19th, 21st, 22nd *Messidor* (July 7th, 9th, 10th). These executions were followed by that of several prisoners in the *Carmes*.

It is impossible to ascertain Robespierre's share in these atrocities after his withdrawal from the Committee. It is, however, certain that after that event the number of executions vastly increased. In the forty-five days which elapsed from the assumed date of his retirement (June 11th) till his overthrow on the 9th *Thermidor* (July 27th), 1,285 persons were guillotined, while during the forty-five days immediately preceding, only 577 persons had suffered. It was after his retirement that people were sent to the guillotine in what were called *fournées* or batches, by which speedy method one person was often executed in mistake for another. We must recollect, however, that Robespierre had at least facilitated this wholesale butchery by his law of 22nd *Prairial*.

The Committees of Public Safety and of General Security endeavoured to persuade the Convention that they were all embarked in a common cause; that a massacre of the deputies was intended, and they tried to convince each individually of his personal danger. Robespierre and Couthon, on the other hand, in their speeches at the Jacobins, professed the greatest respect for the Convention. Every means was used to show Robespierre in an invidious light as a would-be dictator and a patron of superstition and priestcraft. With the last view, a false and ridiculous story was invented of his being a disciple of one Catharine Theot, a crazy old woman, who, like Joanna Southcott in England, gave out that she was the mother of God. The Convention was convulsed with laughter at the story, whilst Robespierre gnashed his teeth with rage. With respect to the political charge, St. Just actually proposed in a meeting of the two Committees (July 23rd) that Robespierre should be named Dictator. The anecdote is recorded and believed by the republican editors of the *Histoire Parliementaire*, on the authority of a man who had heard it from Barère, and is confirmed by Barère's *Mémoires*,¹ published subsequently to the *Histoire Parliementaire*.

Plot against
Robes-
pierre.

Robespierre might probably have overcome his enemies by

¹ T. ii. p. 213 sq. See also Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, B. iii. S. 218 ff. (vol. iv. p. 53 Eng. transl.).

an insurrection, for Lescot Fleuriot, the Mayor of Paris, and Henriot, the Commander of the National Guard, were devoted to him. But Robespierre had never openly approved this mode of action, though he had sometimes secretly stimulated it. He relied on his *moral* influence, and imagined that he should overcome all opposition by the speech which he had prepared. The Committee endeavoured to come to an agreement with him and his party, and had sent for him for that purpose, 5th *Thermidor* (July 22nd). But a reconciliation was found to be impracticable.

Plot to
murder
Robes-
pierre.

After the failure of this attempt at accommodation, nothing remained but a trial of strength in the Convention. Robespierre's enemies bound themselves by an oath that they would assassinate him in the midst of the Assembly, if they failed in persuading it against him. Robespierre began the attack by a long speech, 8th *Thermidor* (July 26th), in which he explained and defended his principles, and repelled the charge of aiming at a dictatorship. He concluded by proposing to purge and renew both the Committees, to constitute a United Government under the Convention, and to punish traitors. His speech, though elaborated and written with great care, was very ill suited to his purpose. It consisted of vague and general charges, and was but the preface to a Report to be delivered the following day by St. Just, in which their opponents were to be personally denounced. Hence it excited general alarm, nor would Robespierre respond to the cries of "Name! Name!" The manner in which his speech was received seems to have alarmed Robespierre himself. He read it in the evening at the Jacobins, where it was heard with great applause; but he called it his "testament of death," talked of drinking the hemlock. His friends exhorted him to try an insurrection, but he declined. On the same evening some emissaries of the Mountain persuaded several members of the Right to join them, and thus to escape the guillotine and put an end to the Reign of Terror.¹

The 9th
Thermidor.

On the morning of 9th *Thermidor* (July 27th), St. Just mounted the tribune of the Convention and began to read his Report. He had announced his intention to do so overnight

¹ *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiv. p. 5; Durand de Maillane, *Hist. de la Convention*, ch. x.

in the Committee of Public Safety, and had not concealed that he should attack some of its members. He had scarcely read a few lines when he was violently interrupted by Tallien and Billaud Varennes,¹ who denounced the designs of Robespierre and his accomplices, and accused them of a plot to massacre the Convention. These remarks were received with loud and general applause. Robespierre rushed to the tribune, but his voice was drowned with cries of *A bas le tyran!* Tallien violently exclaimed, that if the Convention had not the courage to decree the accusation of the "new Cromwell," he would stab him to the heart; at the same time drawing forth and brandishing a dagger. He then demanded that Henriot and his *état-major* should be accused, that the Assembly should sit in permanence. Both were decreed by acclamation, amidst cries of *Vive la République!* as well as the arrest of Dumas, Boulanger, and Dufraise, three of Robespierre's boldest partisans. Robespierre, who still remained at the tribune, made several ineffectual attempts to obtain a hearing; his voice was always drowned by cries of *A bas le tyran!* and by the bell of the President Thuriot. His arrest was now decreed amid cries of *Vive la liberté! Vive la République!* His brother Augustine demanded to share his fate. Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas were also ordered to be arrested.

When the news of the arrest of the five members reached the General Council of the *Commune*, which had assembled about six o'clock in the evening, they drew up a proclamation calling upon the people to rise, ordered the *tocsin* to be rung, the Sections to be convoked, and the cannoniers to repair to the Hôtel de Ville. The Jacobin Club also declared themselves in correspondence with the *Commune*. Henriot had been arrested by two members of the Convention; Coffinhal and Louvet were therefore sent in his place to liberate the prisoners. They brought Robespierre to the Town Hall about nine o'clock in the evening. By orders from the *Commune* the *concierge* of the Luxembourg had refused to receive him, and he had therefore gone to the Bureau of Police, with the view, apparently, of obtaining a trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal; and, as he hoped, a triumphant

Robespierre
at the Hôtel
de Ville.

¹ The Report was laid on the bar, and will be found in the *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiv. pp. 6-20. It accused, *by name*, only Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes.

acquittal, like Marat. The other prisoners were also successively brought to the Town Hall. Meanwhile the Convention had resumed its sitting, and Henriot, who had also been liberated by Louvet and Coffinhal, had proceeded thither with his *état-major* and some cannoniers, with the intention of shutting up the Chamber. On his arrival, the President, putting on his hat in sign of distress, exclaimed, "The moment is come when we must die at our posts!" The deputies responded with cries of approbation, and the spectators showed the same enthusiasm. Henriot, having in vain exhorted the cannoniers to fire, took fright and returned at full gallop to the Hôtel de Ville. The Assembly now proceeded to outlaw him, as well as the five arrested members, and all functionaries who should take part against the Convention.

It soon became evident that the tide of public opinion had turned. At the summons of the *Commune* the Sections had assembled about nine o'clock in the evening, and the insurgents had desired them to march their battalions to the Hôtel de Ville. But they were in a state of uncertainty; only some vague accounts had reached them of a quarrel between the Convention and the *Commune*, and therefore for the most part they sent but a few men to the Hôtel de Ville; while, on the arrival of a summons from the Convention, their battalions proceeded thither, defiled through the hall, and swore to protect the Assembly. As the Sections of the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau alone showed any willingness to respond to the appeal of the *Commune*, the Convention found itself strong enough to begin the attack. Barras and Fréron were despatched before midnight with two columns against the Hôtel de Ville; while a sufficient guard, with artillery, was left to protect the assembly. Meanwhile, at the Hôtel de Ville, the Council of the *Commune*, with Robespierre and the other outlawed deputies, were sitting in conclave. An insurrection was debated. Robespierre was at first irresolute; but as the night wore on, and no other hope appeared, he reluctantly consented to a rising.

The case did not seem altogether desperate. The Place de Grève was filled with armed men and cannons; the aid of the Sections was confidently anticipated, from their having sent deputations. But soon after midnight rumours began to arrive of their defection; emissaries from the advanced guard

of the Conventional forces began to penetrate among the armed masses in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and raised the cry of *Vive la Convention!* which was answered by several voices; the proclamation of outlawry was read, on which the crowd dispersed. When Henriot descended, he found that all his troops and cannoniers had vanished. At the same time the heads of Barras and Fréron's columns were beginning to appear; presently they surrounded the Hôtel de Ville, with loud shouts of *Vive la Convention Nationale!* Some of them penetrated into the Council Chamber, when a strange sight presented itself. The elder Robespierre was seen, his jaw broken by a pistol-bullet; Lebas had blown out his brains; Augustine Robespierre had thrown himself out of window, but survived the fall; Couthon had contrived to escape from the Council Chamber, but was seized by the mob and nearly thrown into the Seine; Coffinhal, accusing Henriot of cowardice, had thrown him out of window into a drain; he himself succeeded in escaping and concealed himself two or three days in an island in the Seine, but was ultimately captured; St. Just alone awaited his fate with tranquillity. Robespierre was conveyed to the apartments of the Committee of Public Safety, where, stretched on a table, wounded and dejected, he was exposed to the gaze and maledictions of the spectators.¹ In the course of the forenoon he was transferred to the *Conciergerie*, and thence brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, together with his accomplices. After their identity had been proved, they were sent to the scaffold, about five o'clock in the evening of 10th *Thermidor*.

Robespierre had few or none of the qualities which are commonly supposed to characterize the leaders of great revolutions. He had neither commanding ability, nor personal courage, nor the popular manners and address which conciliate friends and partisans; his person was small and mean, his voice shrill and disagreeable, his countenance repellent, his habits selfish and egotistical in the extreme. He dressed himself with scrupulous neatness; continued to wear hair-powder, though the disuse of it was a distinctive mark of Jacobinism; abhorred the *bonnet rouge* and the slang of the Revolution. He had the profoundest sense of his own talents, and of his own virtue. To what then must be attributed the

Death and
character
of Robes-
pierre.

¹ *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiv. p. 94.

influence of such a man, in those turbulent times? First, he seemed to be the living image of Rousseau's sentimentality, which played so great a part in the Revolution. His discourses were made up of commonplaces from Rousseau about the rights of man and the sovereignty of the people, which he continuously and monotonously repeated, without adding a single new idea of his own. But amidst these commonplaces there was always a particular passage of sentiment and pathos respecting himself, his merits, the labours of his painful career, his personal sufferings. By dint of labour he had acquired a style which bore some distant resemblance to Rousseau's. He was not covetous of money, and it is said that at his lodgings were found only an *assignat* of fifty livres, and some orders of the Constituent Assembly for his pay as deputy, which he had not used. His passion was not avarice but ambition, springing from boundless egotism and pride. His honesty, cautiousness, cunning, and perseverance were among the chief means of his success. Intensely jealous of anyone who enjoyed popularity, he had the art to destroy his opponents without exposing himself, by setting them against one another, and then withdrawing from the scene of danger. He had no compunction in sacrificing human life to any extent. In his case, however, this does not appear to have arisen, as with Collot d'Herbois, Fouché, Carrier, and others of the period, from a mere savage thirst for human blood, but because he thought such a course a necessary means for carrying out his fanatical policy.

End of the
Reign of
Terror,
1794.

With the death of Robespierre the Reign of Terror may be said to have ended. From the first establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal, down to the 9th *Thermidor*, between 2,000 and 3,000 persons had perished by the guillotine in Paris.¹ More than a third of these victims were persons belonging to the lower classes, such as workmen, soldiers, sempstresses, and women servants. Bailleul, who was seven months in the *Conciergerie*, says that almost all the persons who perished under his eyes belonged to the class of citizens, and even smaller citizens. During this period the public executioner was accustomed to apply daily to the Revolutionary Tribunal, to know how many carts would be required. But the Reign of Terror also interfered tyrannically in all the affairs of life.

¹ According to the *Hist. Parl.* (t. xxxiv. p. 97) 2669.

The journals were subjected to a censorship; letters were officially and publicly opened at the post-office; the taxes were unjustly levied; requisitions for money, horses, and other articles were arbitrarily, and often fraudulently, made by the public officers under terror of the guillotine. Nobody, not even the Treasury, could tell the sums levied. To be rich was often a cause of accusation, and always a certain ground of condemnation.

It has been thought that if the *coup d'état* of the 9th *Thermidor* had been favourable to Robespierre, the French Republic would have terminated with him instead of Napoleon, and that, once in possession of supreme power, he would have used it with moderation. This is unlikely, as though he had the art to supplant his enemies, he had neither the genius nor the courage which would have enabled him for any considerable time to have been the ruler and dictator of a great nation. The facility with which his overthrow was effected shows that his influence was already on the wane; and it seems probable that nothing but a military despotism could have rescued France from the anarchy into which she had fallen.

Necessity
for a
military
despotism.

CHAPTER LVII

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE, 1787-1796

THE first partition of Poland and the Constitution of 1775, guaranteed by Russia, had placed it at the mercy of that Power, more especially by means of the Permanent Council, composed of Russian partisans, and directed by the Russian ambassador. King Stanislaus Poniatowski himself was the mere creature of the Empress Catharine II., and had disgusted the Poles by the subserviency which he displayed towards her and Potemkin. Poland, in short, was administered almost as if it already formed a Russian province. Rumours were afloat of a fresh partition, which should reduce it in reality to that condition, when the breaking out of the war between Russia and the Porte, in 1787, seemed to offer an opportunity for throwing off the Russian yoke. The patriot party, led by Ignatius and Stanislaus Potocki, Kollontay, Kosciuszko, Malachowski, and others, determined to embrace it.¹

Catharine II., desirous that the Poles should assist her in her war against the Turks, proposed an alliance for that purpose to Stanislaus Augustus and the Permanent Council. Such an alliance, however, was contrary to ancient treaties subsisting between Poland and the Porte; and King Stanislaus, however willing to assist his mistress, was unable to do so without appealing to the constitutional, or four years' diet, which was to meet in October, 1788. A complete change had now been effected in the political aspect of Europe through

¹ See for the affairs of Poland, Oginski, *Mém. sur la Pologne et les Polonais* depuis 1788 jusqu'à 1815; Adam Czartoryski, *Mémoires et Correspondance*; Kalinka, *Der Vierjährige Polnische Reichstag* (1788-1791); Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*; Smitt, *Suwarrow und Polens Untergang*; Sybel, *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit* (trans.).

the triple alliance between Great Britain, the United Provinces, and Prussia, with a view to oppose the designs of Russia and Austria; and the Polish patriots, reckoning on the aid of Prussia and her allies, resolved to make a stand for liberty. Great efforts were made by men of talent and energy to be elected as nuncios to an Assembly which, it was believed, would alter and fix the destinies of their country. Their first triumph was to convert the Diet, the day after it met, into a Confederation, thus obviating the *liberum veto*, and leaving matters to be decided by a majority of votes. A note presented to the Diet by Count Bucholtz, the Prussian Minister, October 12th, strongly protesting, in the name of his master, against the alliance proposed by Russia,¹ inspired the patriots with unbounded confidence, especially as the Prussian Cabinet appeared resolved to support its policy by arms; and the Russian ambassador found himself compelled to withdraw his proposal of an alliance.

Encouraged
by Prussia.

Thus encouraged, the Diet, in spite of the threats of Russia, abolished the Permanent Council, January 18th, 1789, increased the army, and instituted a Council of War, independent of the King. But further reforms were too long delayed. It is probable that if the Constitution of May 3rd, 1791, had been established a year or two earlier, before the union of Prussia and Russia, with regard to the affairs of France, had altered all Frederick William's views as to Poland, she would not have lost the Prussian alliance, and that her liberties might have been saved. There was, however, another condition necessary to secure the continued friendship of Prussia. That Power had long coveted the possession of Dantzic and Thorn. In April, 1789, the Marquis Lucchesini was sent to Warsaw to negotiate for the cession of those places, with instructions to denounce as an imposture the idea that Frederick William desired a fresh partition of Poland. Certain compensations were to be offered to the Poles, and especially an advantageous treaty of commerce with Prussia, England, and Holland. Several of the patriot party were of opinion that the cession should be made.² It was advocated by the English Ministry, though not by the merchants of England; and probably it might have secured the Prussian alliance, and have deprived that country of any

The
Permanent
Council
abolished.

¹ *Mém. Oginski*, t. i. p. 35 sqq.

² *Ibid.* p. 34.

Treaty
between
Prussia and
Poland,
March 29th,
1790.

motive for a second partition of Poland. But it was opposed by a numerous party in the Diet, and especially by those who were in the interest of Russia. Prussia, in consequence, abandoned the project for the present, but she still kept her eyes fixed in that direction. Meanwhile, as a war with Austria appeared imminent, Frederick William, towards the end of 1789, expressed his desire of forming an intimate connection with the Poles; and urged them to fix, as soon as possible, their form of government. In January, 1790, the Prussian Minister signified that his Court approved of all the reforms hitherto adopted by the Diet; proposed a defensive alliance, coupled with a reduction of duties on Polish commodities; and though he concealed not how much the cession of Thorn and Dantzic was desired, he did not insist upon that point, and all mention of it was omitted in the defensive treaty concluded at Warsaw, March 29th. In the treaty concluded between Prussia and the Ottoman Porte in the previous January, it had been agreed that Galicia, which had fallen to the share of Austria in the first partition of Poland in 1772, should be wrested from her; and the Cabinet of Berlin was inclined to restore this province, or, at all events, a part of it, containing the salt works of Wieliczka, to the Poles, as an equivalent for the cession of Dantzic and Thorn. But the majority of the Diet were averse to cede those ports, especially Dantzic, the key of the Vistula, and the subject was therefore dropped.¹ The sixth article of the Treaty of Warsaw is the most important, as having direct reference to Russia.² It purported that if any foreign Power whatever, in consequence of preceding acts and stipulations, should assume the right of meddling in the internal affairs of the Polish Republic, his Prussian Majesty would first employ his good offices to prevent any hostilities that might arise from such a pretension; and that if these should fail, and Poland should be attacked, he would consider himself bound to afford the assistance stipulated in the present treaty, by which it was agreed that Prussia should furnish 30,000 men.

Meanwhile the framing of the new Constitution was pro-

¹ The correspondence between the Kings of Prussia and Poland on this subject will be found in Herzberg, *Recueil*, t. iii. p. 12 sqq. and in Martens, *Recueil*, t. v. p. 125 sqq. (2nd ed.).

² See Koch et Schöll, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiv. p. 119. The treaty is in Martens, *Recueil*, t. iv. p. 471.

ceeding very slowly, and it was not promulgated till May 3rd, 1791.¹ The principal articles of it were, that the Roman Catholic faith should be the religion of the State, though dissenters were allowed the exercise of their worship, and full participation in all civil rights; the *liberum veto* was abolished; and, what was most important of all, the Crown was declared hereditary. The discussion of this article had been attended with great difficulties. To many of the Poles, to abandon the right of election seemed to be to sacrifice their liberties, especially as every noble might aspire to the Throne. The succession was settled, upon the death of King Stanislaus, upon Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, and, in the event of his decease without male issue, on the husband whom he might select for his daughter, with the consent of the States. Should the reigning House become extinct, then the elective right was to revert to the nation. The Elector of Saxony, however, was far from being dazzled with the splendid but precarious offer of the Polish Crown. He replied evasively, and delayed a definitive answer till April, 1792; when he gave a conditional assent, dependent on the approval of the neighbouring Courts, and on certain changes to be made in the Constitution.² The Constitution of May 3rd, and especially the article respecting the hereditary succession of the Crown, was far from being popular. This article was carried in the Diet only by a small majority, while of sixty *Dietines* or provincial Diets, only ten adopted it. Yet the elective right had mainly contributed to nourish anarchy in Poland, and to afford the neighbouring Powers a pretence for interfering in its affairs. The Russian party, by way of thwarting the designs of Prussia on Dantzic and Thorn, had contrived to obtain the insertion of an article prohibiting, under any circumstance, the transfer of any portion of the territory or sovereign rights of Poland to a foreign Power. The Prussian Cabinet was much opposed to the new Polish Constitution. They dreaded that, as the Kingdom was to become hereditary, it might, by a marriage with the Elector's daughter, fall into the hands of a Russian or Austrian Prince, or of a small German Prince entirely dependent on Austria or Russia. But Frederick William at that time

Polish Constitution of May 3rd, 1791.

¹ A *résumé* of it will be found in Koch and Schöll, t. xiv. p. 125, and in Oginski, *Mém.* t. i. p. 130 sqq.

² Oginski, *ibid.* p. 140.

dreaded a breach with Russia, and was therefore desirous of conciliating the Poles; and he consequently both directly,¹ and through his Ambassador, Lucchesini, announced, both at Warsaw and Dresden, his satisfaction at the happy revolution which had been accomplished. These, however, as appeared from the result, were mere perfidious compliments, on which the Poles laid too much stress.

The Empress Catharine II., on the other hand, viewed the proceedings of the Poles with a displeasure which she did not attempt to conceal. Although the new Constitution substituted an hereditary for an elective monarchy, and maintained the nobility and their privileges, yet the patriot nobles, by their liberal measures, and especially by demanding the citizenship of Warsaw, seemed to adopt the doctrine of equality; and Catharine pretended to recognize in the enthusiasm which reigned in Poland, the germ of those principles which agitated France, and menaced every throne in Europe. The altered state of things at the commencement of 1792 enabled her to wreak her vengeance on the unhappy Poles. The Courts of Berlin and Vienna were now reconciled, and jointly occupied in the war against France, while the Peace of Jassy, between Russia and the Turks, to which the English and Dutch had acceded, enabled Catharine to dispose freely of her forces. Her first plan was to occupy Poland; but from this she was deterred by the good understanding between Austria and Prussia. It was necessary, therefore, to conciliate those Powers, as well as to offer them some allurements for the prosecution of the French war, which interested her much, though she took no part in it. Both the German Powers wanted compensation for their risks and expenses in the war against France; Prussia desired a Polish province, and the imagination of the Austrian Emperor Francis II. was inflamed by Catharine's suggestion of an exchange of Belgium for some Bavarian territory.² It was not difficult for Catharine to get up a strong party in Poland itself, where she had already numerous adherents, and where many of the grandees were disgusted at being excluded by the new Constitution from all chance of the throne. Among these last the principal were Felix Potocki,

Machina-
tions of
Catharine
II.

¹ Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, vol. i. p. 340 sq. (Eng. transl.).

² *Ibid.* Book vi. ch. 2.

Severin Rzewuski, and Branicki, the Crown General. These nobles were invited to St. Petersburg, and formed with the Russian Cabinet a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Polish Constitution. King Stanislaus, the slave of Catharine, lent himself to the same design. All the projected reforms were delayed; the public offices were filled with the open or secret adherents of Russia; Branicki was appointed Minister at War, and all preparations for defence were neglected.

The result of these plots was manifested by the CONFEDERATION OF TARGOWITZ, May, 1792, formed with the avowed object of restoring what may be called the Russian Constitution of 1775. About the same time Catharine published a sort of manifesto, in which she declared the new Constitution illegal and dangerous, and intimated to the Poles that they must return to their ancient laws, or she would constrain them by force. The manifesto of the Confederation had also been prepared at St. Petersburg, and Potocki, Branicki, and Rzewuski only returned into Poland with the Russian troops. The majority of the Poles, however, still continued to retain their confidence in King Stanislaus and in the King of Prussia. The Diet, after publishing a Declaration in answer to that of Russia, and declaring their intention to defend their rights, adjourned themselves, May 30th, for an indefinite period, and thus put themselves in the power of Stanislaus and his ministry. Stanislaus for a while kept up appearances, and he addressed a letter to Frederick William II. calling on him for the aid stipulated by the Treaty of Warsaw (May 31st). The Prussian King, in his answer (June 8th), stated what was true enough as to his private sentiments, but not as to his public acts, that he had never approved of the new Constitution, though he had done nothing to hinder it; that, but for this Constitution, and the measures taken to uphold it, Russia would never have resorted to coercive measures; that, whatever his friendship for Stanislaus, the state of things had completely altered since the defensive alliance was made; that the present conjuncture, having arisen since the Constitution of May 3rd, could not be brought under the obligations of the Treaty of Warsaw; that consequently he was not bound to oppose the present attacks of Russia, so long as the patriotic party persisted in their views; but if this party would reconsider them,

Confederation
of
Targowitz,
May, 1792.

he would unite with Russia and Austria in endeavouring to conciliate matters.

Prussian
treachery.

It is true enough that the French declaration of war against Austria, and the alliance of Prussia with the latter Power, had made a great alteration in the state of things, though hardly enough to release Frederick William from his solemn obligations. It has been alleged in his defence that he was alarmed at the resemblance between some of the speeches made in the Diet and those of the French revolutionists; and that to carry on a war with Russia and France at the same time was an absolute impossibility. We have, however, before had occasion to remark, that the war with France was little more than a screen and pretence for Prussia's selfish designs upon Poland. In fact, months before Catharine had avowed her designs, and when the war between Austria and France, though imminent, was not yet declared, the Cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburg had already come to an understanding upon the affairs of Poland; and Catharine had offered Frederick William a share in the second partition of that country, provided that, in conjunction with Austria, he should consent to march against France.

Kosciuszko.

King Stanislaus issued a proclamation, July 4th, calling on the Poles to defend their independence, and asserting that he was resolved to share their fortunes. Yet, instead of proceeding to the camp, he remained at Warsaw, though the Russian army, 100,000 strong, had entered Poland in May. He had, indeed, already entered into a secret understanding with Russia; and had written a letter to the Empress proposing to her Prince Constantine as his successor, imploring her to take a compassionate view of his situation. He had also prevented the Polish army, of which his nephew Joseph Poniatowski was commander-in-chief, from undertaking anything important, had in fact forbidden his nephew to venture upon a battle. Yet the Poles had proved in several skirmishes that they had not degenerated from their ancient valour. In these affairs, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who had received his military education in France, and completed it under Gates and Washington in the American war of liberation, distinguished himself by his valour and conduct. His exploit at Dubienka, July 17th, where, with 4,000 Poles, he had maintained his post against the efforts of 18,000 Russians, showed what might have been accomplished by courage

and resolution. Yet a few days after (July 23rd) Stanislaus acceded to the Confederation of Targowitz. Felix Potocki was proclaimed Marshal of the Confederation, August 2nd, which was now called the "Confederation of the Crown;" an armistice was concluded, the command of the Polish army was restored to the ancient generals, the troops assembled near Warsaw were dismissed, and the Russians occupied Praga, a suburb of that city. The confederates of Targowitz being now masters of the Government, appointed an executive Commission of six, who assumed the sovereign power, and left the King not a shadow of authority.

The Prussians were now to play their part. A treaty for the partition of Poland had been signed between the Cabinets of Berlin and St. Petersburg, January 4th, 1793, and soon after a Prussian army occupied Great Poland. On January 16th, Prussia published a Declaration stating that the grounds for this step were, the disturbances that had arisen in Poland in consequence of the new Constitution, established without consulting neighbouring Powers; the secret agitations still kept up, to the danger of the public peace; and especially the propagation of French principles in Poland, which excited in the King of Prussia apprehensions for the safety of his own dominions. Under these circumstances, being about to undertake another campaign, he had come to an agreement with the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg that it would be impolitic to leave an enemy behind him; and it only remained for the well-disposed inhabitants to deserve his protection by their quiet behaviour. This was followed by another Declaration, directed against Dantzic, February 24th, and charging the inhabitants with having displayed for a long series of years, an unfriendly feeling towards Prussia, harbouring the dangerous sect of Jacobins, supplying the enemy with provisions, etc. Nothing could be more unfounded than these charges against the Poles of entertaining French revolutionary principles. So far from there being any Jacobin clubs in Poland, her most distinguished orators denounced the French levellers, who in turn abused the Poles, and ridiculed their new Constitution. Prussia was in every sense of the word the aggressor, without the shadow of a legal pretext.¹ The Council and citizens of

Treaty
for the
Partition
of Poland.

¹ Von Sybel, *Revolutionszeit*, ii. p. 420 (Eng. transl.); Oginski, *Mém.* t. i. p. 226.

Dantzic offered to surrender, on condition that their ancient constitution should be preserved, and that the fortifications of the town should remain in possession of the municipality, and be garrisoned by their troops. These terms were refused, Danzig was blockaded by General Von Raumer, March 8th, the outworks were gradually taken, and on April 8th it opened its gates.

Russia and Prussia seize Polish territory.

Frederick William had on the 25th of March, announced to the States and inhabitants of the Palatinates of Posen, Gnesen, Kalisch, Sirada, Lentschitz, Rawa, Plotzk, the town and convent of Czenstochowa, the districts Wielun, Cujavia, Dobrzyn, the towns of Dantzic and Thorn, that they were henceforth to consider themselves Prussian subjects. They were invited to assemble as soon as possible in a Diet, in order to settle these matters in an amicable manner. But, without waiting for its decision, they were to regard Frederick William as their Sovereign, and to present themselves to do homage to him. A proclamation of the Russian general, of a similar tenor, appeared April 7th, announcing that he took possession for the Empress of the counties of Poloczko, Vilna, Novogrodek, Brzesc, the greater part of Volhynia, of what remained of Podolia, and of the Palatinates of Kiew and Bracklaw. The provinces now seized by Frederick William were put on the same footing with those previously acquired, and received the name of *South Prussia*. Homage was done to that Sovereign at Posen, May 3rd.

Diet of Grodno.

The Diet of Grodno, which was to sanction the cessions to the two Powers, assembled June 17th, 1793. The Permanent Council had been previously re-established at the instance, or rather by the threats, of Sievers, the Russian ambassador. The Diet exhibited the greatest reluctance to enter into the treaties demanded by Russia and Prussia for the dismemberment of Poland; and they appealed against them, but of course without effect, to all the Courts with which the Republic was connected. Finding themselves at length compelled to submit, they endeavoured to make a separate treaty with Russia, in the hope that Catharine would defend them against the claims of Frederick William; and some authors have asserted that the Russian Empress made them a promise to that effect, although the two Courts had declared that they would treat only jointly. However this may be, the Diet could at first be brought only to appoint a deputa-

The second partition of Poland, 1793.

tion to treat with Russia. The treaty with that Power, signed July 13th, and ratified by the Diet, August 17th,¹ transferred to Russia the provinces already named, comprising a surface of 4,553 geographical square miles, and a population of more than three million souls.

The treaty of Grodno with Prussia was signed September 25th, 1793.² The provinces before enumerated, provisionally seized by Frederick William II., were ceded to that Sovereign. They contained 1,061 square miles of territory, peopled by more than three and a half million souls.

The Confederation of Targowitz having fulfilled its purpose, Catharine caused it to be annulled, and the old Constitution was nominally restored, September 15th. The Prussian treaty was almost immediately followed by a treaty of alliance between the Polish Republic and the Empress Catharine, October 16th.³ This convention, under the names of an indissoluble union and defensive alliance, virtually rendered the Poles subject to Russia. The King and Republic of Poland engaged to leave the direction of military and political matters to the Empress and her successors; her troops were to have free entry into Poland; and the Republic was to conclude no treaties with foreign Powers, nor even to negotiate with them, except in concert with Russia.

Among the last acts of the Diet of Grodno were a revision of the Constitution, the restoration of the King to the prerogatives of which he had been deprived by the Confederation of Targowitz, and the readjustment of what remained of Poland into eleven Palatinates, eight in Poland and three in Lithuania. It separated November 24th, after annulling all the acts of the Confederation of Targowitz, and thus, among other things, re-establishing a military order for those who should distinguish themselves in a war against Russia! For suffering these decrees to pass, through inadvertence, Sievers was superseded in the Russian embassy by General Igelström, a man of still more violent character. Igelström compelled the King and Permanent Council to cancel the Decrees by what was called a *Universal*, January 10th, 1794.

After the disastrous campaign of 1792 several of the Polish patriots, as Kollentay, Ignatius Potocki, Kosciuszko, and

The 1791
Constitu-
tion de-
stroyed.

Fresh in-
surrection.

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. v. p. 530.

² Martens, *ibid.* p. 544.

³ Martens, *ibid.* p. 536.

others, had retired into Saxony. But they were still animated with the hope of rescuing their country from oppression ; and it was not long before an arbitrary act of the Russian ambassador seemed to offer an opportunity for accomplishing their purpose. Igelström had directed the Permanent Council to reduce the Polish army to 15,000 men. This measure, besides wounding the national feelings, was unjust in a pecuniary point of view. Many officers had purchased their posts, and depended on them for subsistence ; some were in advance for the pay of the soldiers, others had enlisted them at their own expense. This offence was given at a moment when the national feeling was already in a state of fermentation. Much excitement and turbulence had been displayed in the *Dietines* assembled in February, 1794, for the elections under the new Constitution. The symptoms were so alarming that Igelström deemed it necessary to form a Russian camp near Warsaw, to retain that city in obedience. The insurrection of 1794 was commenced by Madalinski, a general of brigade, stationed at Pultusk, about eight leagues from Warsaw. Madalinski, having been ordered to reform his corps according to the new regulations, refused to do so till they had received their pay, which was two months in arrears ; and he marched towards Cracow, skirting the provinces recently annexed to Prussia. Kosciuszko, who was at Dresden, hearing of this movement, hastened to Cracow, where he was proclaimed generalissimo, March 24th, 1794. The Russian garrison of that place had marched against Madalinski. Kosciuszko, having assembled the citizens, proclaimed the Constitution of May 3rd, 1791, amidst the greatest enthusiasm. He also issued a proclamation, calling on the whole nation to assert their independence, and employed himself in organizing his little army, to which he added a number of peasants armed with scythes. With these tumultuary forces he attacked and defeated a body of 7,000 Russians at Raslawice, April 4th ; an affair, indeed, of no great importance, but which encouraged the troops with hopes of further victories.

Kosciuszko
General-
issimo.

The King and Permanent Council, in a *Universal* published April 11th, declared the leaders of the insurrection rebels and traitors, ordered them to be brought to trial, exhorted the Poles to obedience, warned them by the example of France of the dangers of rebellion. To this, however, little heed was

given. The forces of Kosciuszko increased daily, and Igelström, distrusting the garrison of Warsaw, first occupied the castle and other posts with Russian soldiers; subsequently, being compelled to weaken his troops there by detaching some of them against the insurgents, he resolved to disarm the Polish garrison. But this scheme got wind, and the insurrectionary leaders resolved to anticipate it. On the night of April 16th, the Polish garrison and the citizens of Warsaw flew to arms and massacred the Russians wherever they were found in small numbers. A fight ensued in the streets, the Russians retreating from one quarter to another, till at last, after a resistance of thirty-six hours, which cost the Russians more than 4,000 men, killed, wounded, or made prisoners, Igelström, with the remainder of his troops, succeeded in escaping from the town, and took refuge in the Prussian camp in the vicinity.¹ The citizens of Warsaw now signed the new Confederation, and recognized Kosciuszko as their commander-in-chief; King Stanislaus was deprived of his authority, but treated with the respect due to his rank.

The news of this insurrection was the signal for a rising in Lithuania. The citizens of Vilna flew to arms on the night of April 23rd, and massacred or made prisoners nearly all the Russian garrison. A similar scene took place at Grodno. A criminal tribunal erected at Vilna condemned to death the Bishop Kossakowski, a partisan of Russia. The insurrection now spread rapidly through all the Palatinates. The entire Polish army declared for Kosciuszko; the regiments which had entered the Russian service deserted *en masse*, and ranged themselves under his colours. An ordinance, published at the camp of Polanice, May 10th, 1794, established a National or Supreme Council of eight members for the government of the Republic. The King was entirely set aside, though suffered to retain his title. Kosciuszko himself had been invested with dictatorial power, which he employed only for the good of his country.

General risings.

Colonel Manstein now persuaded Frederick William II. to enter Poland with his army, neglecting the campaign on the Rhine; and, though Count Haugwitz and Marshal Möllendorf protested against so open a breach of the treaty recently

A fierce struggle.

¹ The Poles lost only 356 men killed and wounded. Von Sybel, vol. iii. p. 391 (Eng. Tr.).

concluded with England and Holland at the Hague, it was decided that, in the French war,¹ Prussia should do only what was absolutely unavoidable. The Prussian troops invaded Poland in various quarters, and on June 3rd, the King himself entered the territory of Cracow with reinforcements, intending to form a junction with a Russian corps under General Denisoff. Kosciuszko, to prevent this, attacked Denisoff at Szczekociny, June 6th. He was not aware that the Prussians were so near at hand till they fell upon his left wing, and by their superior numbers compelled him to retreat with considerable loss. He now withdrew to Gora, a town about ten leagues from Warsaw, where he intrenched himself. In order to animate the Poles, the Supreme Council published a declaration of war against Prussia, June 12th, signed by Ignatius Potocki. On the 15th Cracow surrendered to a Prussian corps; an event which induced the Emperor Francis II. to declare himself. A change had taken place in the counsels of the Court of Vienna, now directed by Thugut. Early in June, Francis resolved to abandon his Belgian provinces, and to seek compensation in Bavaria and Poland. Catharine had invited him to intervene in the affairs of Poland by way of counterpoise to Prussia, whose ambitious designs she was desirous of limiting. Having quitted his army, and returned to Vienna, he directed General D'Arnoncourt to announce by a proclamation, June 30th, that to avert the danger arising to the Province of Galicia from the disturbances in Poland, he had been ordered to enter that country with his forces. A *corp d'armée* of 17,000 Austrians accordingly marched on Brzesc and Dubnow.

Kosciuszko had retired from Gora to Warsaw. That city was unfortified, and Kosciuszko covered it on its western side by an intrenched camp. He had been followed by Frederick William, who took up a position at Vola, about a league from Warsaw. Many assaults had been delivered, Kosciuszko's intrenchments were falling gradually into the hands of the Prussians, and the capture of Warsaw appeared imminent, when Frederick William suddenly departed (September 6th). The reason for his retreat was the breaking out of an insurrection in the provinces recently annexed to Prussia. The Prussian yoke was much more intolerable to the Poles than the

Siege of
Warsaw.

¹ Von Sybel, iii. 399 sq. (Eng. Tr.).

Russian. All civil employments in the subjugated provinces were filled by Germans; the inhabitants were subject to a civil and criminal code, published in German, and were forced to learn that tongue. The withdrawal of the Prussian troops for the siege of Warsaw affording an opportunity, an insurrection broke out in Siradia, August 23rd, and soon spread to the other provinces of Great Poland. The towns of Posen, Petrikau, and one or two others, having Prussian garrisons, were alone retained in obedience. Kosciuszko took advantage of the rebellion to despatch Dembrowski with a considerable corps into West Prussia. Dembrowski seized the town of Bromberg and the magazines collected there, and compelled the inhabitants to take an oath of fealty to the Polish Republic; an exploit which occasioned such alarm at Berlin that Prince Hohenlohe with his *corps* was recalled from the Rhine.

But this success was only partial and temporary. A Russian army under Knoring and Souboff had assembled in Lithuania, and as it advanced, that of the Poles melted away. The Lithuanians under General Chl winski were entirely defeated August 12th, Vilna was compelled to open its gates, and the whole province was speedily recovered by the Russians. Early in September, Suvorov, recalled from the Turkish frontiers, entered Vollhynia with 20,000 men, and directed his march upon Warsaw. On the 18th he dislodged the Polish general Sierakowski, posted with 15,000 men at Krupezyce, near Brzesc, and defeated him next day on the banks of the Bug. The Poles lost 6,000 men and thirty guns on this bloody day. Suvorov having formed a junction with Prince Repnin, who was marching on Warsaw from Grodno, Kosciuszko hastened to oppose them. At Maciejowice he met the corps of General Fersen, who was waiting for Repnin and Suvorov, and immediately attacked him, October 10th. But the reinforcements which Kosciuszko expected did not arrive; the Russians, irritated by the carnage at Warsaw, fell upon the Poles, and made a terrible slaughter. As the fate of the day hung doubtful, Kosciuszko, with his principal officers and the * lite* of his cavalry, dashed into the thickest of the fight, when his horse having fallen with him, he was made prisoner.¹

*Finis
Poloni  !
1795.*

¹ Kosciuszko was liberated on the accession of the Emperor Paul. After passing some time in America and England, he established

He had received some severe wounds, and was long insensible. On recovering his consciousness he is said to have uttered the words, *Finis Poloniæ!* On this fatal day, 3,000 more prisoners, including many distinguished officers, and all the artillery and baggage, fell into the hands of the Russians; the field of battle was strewed with the bodies of 6,000 Poles.

The news of the disaster struck Warsaw with consternation. Nevertheless the revolutionary leaders resolved not to abandon the national cause. The command-in-chief was confided to Wawrzecki, and Prince Poniatowski was directed to march to the aid of Dembrowski and Madalinski, who were returning from their expedition into Prussia. Poniatowski, by attacking the Prussians at Sochaczyn, October 22nd, occasioned a diversion which enabled the two generals to effect their retreat to Warsaw.

De Favrat, the commander of the Prussian army, crossed the Vistula at Viszgorod, and surrounded Warsaw on the western side, while the Russians, under Derfelden and Fersen, invested the suburb of Praga, on the right bank of the Vistula. They were joined towards the end of October by Suvorov. Praga, though defended by 100 guns, was assaulted and taken by the Russians, and being chiefly built of wood, was almost entirely destroyed by fire, November 4th.¹ In Warsaw the magistrates were desirous of capitulating, but the troops would not hear of it. At length the National Council and General Wawrzecki replaced the sovereign power in the hands of Stanislaus; the latter retired with the troops and 122 guns, November 7th; and two days after, Suvorov, after repairing the bridge over the Vistula, which had been burnt, entered Warsaw. Such was the end of the Polish insurrection of 1794. The more distinguished patriots were proscribed, their estates were confiscated, and those who had been captured were thrown into dungeons at St. Petersburg, while some thousands of Poles were transported to Siberia.

Russia, Austria, and Prussia now quietly divided their prey, and Poland was blotted out from the map of Europe. It was arranged by the Convention of St. Petersburg, January 3rd, 1795, that besides the Duchy of Courland, a former fief himself at Fontainebleau, and subsequently in Switzerland, where he died in 1817.

¹ See Von Sybel, iv. p. 147 note.

Surrender
of Warsaw.

Third par-
tition of
Poland,
1795.

of Poland, Russia should have the Duchy of Semigallia, the district of Pilten, Samogitia, part of the Palatinates of Troki and Chelm, the remainder of those of Vilna, Novogrodek, Brzesc, and Volhynia. To Austria were assigned the town and greater part of the Palatinate of Cracow, the Palatinates of Sandomierz and Lublin, and part of those of Chelm, Podlachia, and Masovia. The lot of Prussia was the remains of the Palatinates of Rawa and Plotzk, part of Masovia, including Warsaw, which the Prussians had not been able to take, and portions of Podlachia, Troki, and Cracovia. Each of these three shares contained a population of about 1,000,000 souls, some a little more or less. This division was confirmed by a threefold treaty between the Powers, signed at St. Petersburg, October 24th, 1795.¹ Disputes had, however, arisen between Austria and Prussia about the division of Cracovia, the situation of which renders it important as the key both of Galicia and Silesia. The Prussians were in possession of Cracow, and seemed disposed to retain it by force. The point was reserved for future negotiation under the arbitration of the Empress. It was only through her threat to retain Warsaw that the Prussians were brought to evacuate Cracovia. The Austrians entered that province in January, 1796, when the Russians retired from Warsaw, and a Prussian garrison was admitted. The demarcation of Cracovia was finally regulated under Russian mediation, October 21st, 1796.²

In October, 1795, King Stanislaus, who had been sent into a kind of banishment at Grodno, was directed to lay down the crown of Poland, which he had worn since 1764. He signed the Act of Abdication, November 25th.³ A pension of 200,000 ducats was assigned to him. After the accession of Paul I. he took up his residence at St. Petersburg, in which city he died February 12th, 1798. Pierre de Biron, last Duke of Courland, had abdicated in favour of Catharine at St. Petersburg, March 28th, 1795.

Abdication
of Stanis-
laus.

Thus was completed one of the most shameful passages in the history of Europe. Poland, however, or rather the great body of the people, could hardly suffer by a change of masters. Nine-tenths of the population consisted of wretched serfs,

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 168 sqq. (2nd ed.).

² Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 175.

³ *Ibid.* p. 182.

Death of
Catharine
II., 1796.

steeped in the lowest depths of poverty, ignorance, brutality, and wretchedness. What really fell, as a modern writer observes, was the inhuman rule of a few nobles.¹ Catharine II. did not long outlive these events. She was carried off by apoplexy, November 17th, 1796, in the sixty-seventh year of her age. The policy of her latter years was marked by her hatred of the French Revolution, modified by a paramount regard to her own interest. She was also involved at this moment in a war with Persia. Beholding England and the greater part of Europe engaged in a war with France, her restless ambition made her regret having abandoned her projects for the subjugation of Turkey. The anarchy, however, which reigned in Persia since the death of Thamas Kouli Khan, and which was fomented by Russian policy, just as that of Poland had been for its own interested purposes, inspired Catharine with the hope of extending her conquests in that direction. She dreamt of nothing less than conquering Persia, and reviving the magnificent but impracticable plan of Peter the Great for diverting the commerce of the East towards Russia, through the Persian Gulf, the Caspian, or the Black Sea. An expedition was undertaken early in 1796, under the conduct of Count Valerian Zouboff, one of Catharine's *favourites*. Derband, the capital of Daghestan, was taken. But the army was weakened by disease; and Paul I., on his accession, recalled his troops from this hopeless enterprise.

Paul I. Catharine was succeeded by her son, Paul I. Petrowitsch. At first he reversed much of the policy of his mother, though he, like her, was a determined enemy of the French Revolution. He began his reign by a step which testified his disapprobation of the cruelties exercised in Poland. He restored to liberty more than 14,000 Poles exiled or imprisoned in consequence of the last insurrection. Kosciuszko, Potocki, and many others, were not only liberated, but their estates were also restored to them on their promising to live peaceably. Paul, accompanied by his son Alexander, visited Kosciuszko in his prison, and, being naturally tender-hearted, is said to have shed tears at the sight of his misery.

The Scandi-
navian
kingdoms.

Of the Scandinavian kingdoms, Denmark refused to participate in the great convulsion that was agitating Europe.

¹ Von Sybel.

Christian VII. remained the nominal Sovereign of that country down to his death in 1808, but imbecility of mind rendered him incompetent to govern. The affairs of Denmark were administered by the Prince Royal, Frederick, afterwards Frederick VI., with the assistance of an able Ministry, and especially Count Bernstoff. Under this beneficent government Denmark enjoyed a remarkable prosperity. The liberties of the people were extended, their grievances abolished, learning, science, and education promoted. The French Revolution found, on the other hand, no more zealous and active opponent than Gustavus III. of Sweden. It was this feeling, which they had in common, that united him with Catharine II. The chivalrous but imprudent spirit of Gustavus was flattered with the idea of leading the crusade of the Sovereigns against France. He entered into correspondence with *Monsieur*, the Comte d'Artois, the Marquis de Bouillé, and other chiefs of the emigration. In the spring of 1791 he repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, under pretence of taking the waters, but in reality to consult with the French emigrants; and he was concerned in the preparations for Louis XVI.'s unfortunate flight to Varennes. After the failure of that enterprise, he entertained the hazardous scheme of landing Swedish and Russian troops in the Seine, marching upon Paris, and suppressing the Revolution. Gustavus was supported in this anti-revolutionary ardour, which amounted almost to Quixotism, by Catharine II. She proposed to him, through General Pahlen, an intimate alliance, and Gustavus readily accepted a proposal which would enable him to be absent from his dominions without apprehension as to his powerful neighbour. Such seems to have been the chief object of the Treaty of Drottningholm, concluded October 19th, 1791.¹

Alliance of
Gustavus
III. and
Catharine
II.

A conspiracy for assassinating the King had long existed among some of the Swedish nobles. Plots had been organized for effecting this object at Aix-la-Chapelle, Stockholm, and other places, which had hitherto failed; but the dismissal of the States, and the rumoured unconstitutional projects of Gustavus, brought them to maturity. One of the chief promoters of the King's assassination was General Pechlin, an old man of seventy-two. Several other nobles were implicated in the conspiracy, and especially Counts

Assassina-
tion of
Gustavus
III., 1792.

¹ Martens, t. v. p. 262.

Ribbing and Horn, and Captain Ankarström. Impelled to some extent by personal feelings, Ankarström shot the King in the back at a masquerade given at the Opera House at Stockholm, March 16th, 1792. Gustavus survived till the 29th. He was forty-six years of age at the time of his death. The chief conspirators were captured; but Ankarström alone was executed; the rest were either banished from Sweden or confined in fortresses.

Gustavus
IV.

Gustavus III.'s son, then in his fourteenth year, succeeded to the Crown of Sweden, with the title of Gustavus Adolphus IV. Till he should attain his majority, the regency was assumed by his uncle Charles, Duke of Sudermania, brother of the late King. The Swedish Court now adopted a neutral policy; a conduct which produced a misunderstanding with the Court of St. Petersburg. Another cause of dissension was the publication of a proposed marriage of the young King of Sweden with a German princess (October, 1795), in spite of Gustavus's promise that he should be united to the Archduchess Alexandra. Catharine having declared that she should consider the proposed marriage of Gustavus Adolphus as a ground of rupture, it was not prosecuted. Towards the autumn of 1796 Gustavus IV., accompanied by his uncle, paid a visit to the Empress at St. Petersburg. But though the young King was much struck with the charms of the Grand Duchess Alexandra, he refused to sign the marriage contract, on the ground that it contained provisions contrary to the religion which he professed, and to the laws and customs of his country. Catharine was furious at this affront. Her death, however, prevented any ill consequences from ensuing, and on the accession of Paul a good understanding was renewed between the two Courts.¹

State of
Germany.

The same spirit which produced the Revolution in France had penetrated into Germany and even into its Courts. It had animated and influenced Frederick the Great and the Emperor Joseph II. The vast intellectual movement observable throughout Europe in the last half of the eighteenth century had given birth almost to the first German literature that can be called original and vernacular. The German authors of this period, like the French *litterati* themselves, discarded their former classical and French models, and

¹ Arndt, *Gesch. Schwedens*; Brown's *Northern Courts*.

sought in English literature a new source of inspiration. The works of most of their distinguished writers began to breathe a spirit of liberty. Salzmann, in his romance of *Karl von Karlsberg*, placed before the eyes of his numerous readers a striking and perhaps exaggerated picture of the political and social evils under which they laboured. The epic poet Klopstock gave vent to his aspirations for freedom in several Odes. The *Dichterbund*, or band of poets, established at Göttingen about the year 1770, of which Count Stolberg was one of the most distinguished members, looked up to Klopstock as their master. In many of Stolberg's pieces love of liberty and hatred of tyrants are expressed with a boldness which must have grated strangely on the ears of some of the German Sovereigns. But in general these works were in too high a tone to have much influence on the people. Schiller's early tragedies were calculated to have more effect, especially his *Don Carlos*; which, from the speeches of the Marquis de Posa, has been characterized as a dramatized discourse on the rights of man. Yet when the French Revolution broke out, it found no partisan in Schiller. He augured unfavourably of the Constituent Assembly, thought them incompetent to establish, or even to conceive, true liberty; foretold the catastrophe of a military despotism. Goethe, his contemporary, regarded the explosion in France as an unwelcome interruption of the tranquil pleasures of polite and cultivated society; Wieland, in his essays on the French Revolution, took the popular side. A more direct form of propagating liberal principles than by literature was by means of clubs and secret societies. The clubs of France were formidable political engines; but, then, their debates were public and their objects practical. Such associations would not have been suffered in Germany. The reformers of that country had therefore enlisted themselves in a secret society called the *Order of Illuminati*, founded in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt, a professor of canon law at Ingolstadt, and modelled after the constitution of the Jesuits, whose pupil Weishaupt had been. In a few years this society numbered thousands of members, belonging chiefly to the higher classes. Its principles seem not to have threatened any very immediate or alarming danger. Nevertheless it was suppressed by Charles Theodore, Elector of Bavaria; Weishaupt was compelled to fly, and found a refuge at

The
Illuminati.

Gotha. In other German States the *Illuminati* appear to have been left unmolested.

Germany
and the
Revolution.

Little desire was manifested in Germany to imitate the movement in France. It was only in the Rhenish provinces, where the people came into immediate contact with the French, and could be assisted by their armies, that any revolutionary spirit was manifested. An appeal was even ventured on for patriotic gifts in support of the war of the Empire against French principles, and brought in a few hundred thousand florins. The Austrian Freemasons, whom Joseph II. had patronized, spontaneously suppressed their meetings, in order, as they told the Emperor, to relieve him of some of his cares in that season of disturbance. Nevertheless Thugut, the Austrian Minister, deemed some precaution necessary. Thugut had resided at Paris during the early days of the Revolution, and from an acquaintance with its scenes and personages, had imbibed a deep hatred of popular government, as well as the conviction that if the French Court and clergy had prevented, by means of the police, the philosophers and *beaux esprits* from propagating their principles, the outbreak would never have occurred. Hence he was led to forbid all social unions, and to subject the press to a rigid censorship. No allusions were permitted in the theatre to political or religious matters. It was forbidden to represent such plays as *Otto von Wittelsbach*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *King John*, *Richard II.*, etc., as familiarizing the minds of the spectators with the murder or deposition of kings; *King Lear*, lest it should be thought that misfortune turned the heads of monarchs; still less plays directly provocative of revolutionary ideas, as *Egmont*, *Fiesco*, *William Tell*.

Haugwitz.

The affairs of Prussia at this period were conducted by Haugwitz, a large landed proprietor of Silesia. In a journey which he made into Italy, Haugwitz acquired the favour of Leopold, then Grand Duke of Tuscany, and after the accession of that Prince to the Imperial throne, and the change produced in Prussian policy by the Convention of Reichenbach, he was sent ambassador to Vienna. He subsequently entered the Cabinet of Berlin as Minister for Foreign Affairs. The fatal estrangement of Prussia from Austria, and from the affairs of the Empire, must be chiefly attributed to his policy. Another notable Prussian statesman of this period, though by birth a Hanoverian, was Baron Hardenberg.

Italy was destined to become before long the scene of events of the greatest moment. In general it may be observed, that although the French Revolution had of course its partisans in Italy, the great mass of the Italian people were not favourable to it. They entertained an ancient aversion to the French from their frequent attempts and well-known desire to establish their dominion in Italy.¹ Italy.

When Charles of Bourbon ascended the throne of Spain in 1759, the Two Sicilies were assigned to his second son, Ferdinand IV., then nine years of age. The Prince of St. Nicandro, appointed as his governor, was an uneducated man, addicted to the sports of the field, and capable only of instilling into the youthful monarch a love of his own pursuits. Fortunately, however, the Marquis Tanucci, a man of liberal and enlightened principles, possessed great influence in the Neapolitan counsels, and obtained the ear of the King. Tanucci. The main aims of Tanucci were to set bounds to the pretensions of the Pope, and to increase the royal prerogative by reducing the power of the nobles. In no part of Italy were feudal privileges more strictly maintained, or more oppressive, than in the Neapolitan dominions, and especially in the two Calabrias. The barons, like the *çi-devant* nobles of France, enjoyed exclusive rights of hunting and fishing, of grinding corn and baking bread; they named the judges and the governors of cities; besides the customary feudal services, they claimed the first fruits of the vintage, the harvest, and of all the productions of agriculture and pasturage, as well as of custom, dues, etc. Thus at one and the same time the people were oppressed, the royal authority was almost annihilated, and the treasury deprived of its proper revenues. Tanucci moderated all these abuses, and civilized the manners of the country nobles by summoning them to Court. He also introduced many reforms into the relations between Naples and the Court of Rome. The number of mendicant monks was reduced, and the order of the Jesuits suppressed. These reforms produced violent quarrels with the Court of Rome; the political disputes between Naples and that Court had caused, indeed, the reform of ecclesiastical abuses to be prosecuted with greater ardour in the Neapolitan dominions

¹ For these affairs see Carlo Botto, *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814*, libro i.; Colletta, *Storia di Napoli*.

than in Tuscany and Austrian Lombardy. Tanucci had also turned his attention to a reform in the laws, which formed an incongruous mixture derived from the Normans, Lombards, Aragonese, French, Spaniards, Austrians, the former conquerors and possessors of the country.

Sicily.

Thus Italy remained not uninfluenced by the liberal tendencies which marked the eighteenth century. The authority of the Papal See had been also reduced in the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which were likewise governed by a branch of the Spanish Bourbons. The new opinions had not made so much progress in Ferdinand IV.'s kingdom of Sicily as in his Neapolitan dominions. The feudal system was still vigorous in that island towards the end of the eighteenth century.

A treaty
between
England
and Naples,
1793.

Tanucci was not so successful in his foreign as in his domestic policy. He was a partisan of France, and hence he incurred the displeasure of Ferdinand's queen, the Austrian Princess Caroline, a woman of imperious temper, sister of the Emperor Joseph II., and of Marie Antoinette. Tanucci was dismissed, and his place filled at first by the Marquis Sambuca, and then by Acton, the son of an Irish physician. The Neapolitans were indignant at seeing the arms of the French Republic affixed to the hotel of the French Embassy, and in January, 1793, a deputation of the citizens presented an address to King Ferdinand, supplicating him to declare war against France. It was easy to see that the neutrality of Naples could not long be preserved. On the 12th of July, 1793, a treaty was concluded between Sir W. Hamilton, the English Minister at Naples, and Acton, Ferdinand's chief Minister, by which Ferdinand engaged to unite to the British forces in the Mediterranean 6,000 soldiers, four ships of the line, four frigates, and the same number of smaller vessels, Great Britain undertaking to maintain a respectable fleet in that sea, and to protect Neapolitan commerce.¹ The Neapolitans subsequently took part in the occupation of Toulon.

Pius VI.

The Papal throne was filled, at the time of the French Revolution, by Pius VI. His predecessor, Clement XIV. (Ganganelli), who had risen to the Papacy from the condition of a poor monk, had always retained the simple customs

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. v. p. 480.

of his early life. These, however, seemed out of place in an age of inquiry, doubt, and disbelief; and it was thought that, when arguments cease to persuade, and virtue to move by its example, the best substitutes for them are pomp, splendour, and magnificence. The Cardinals, therefore, on the death of Clement, in 1774, elected Cardinal Braschi (Pius VI.) as his successor. Braschi was handsome in person, eloquent in speech, refined in his tastes, of dignified manners, and a generous disposition. On the other hand, he was arbitrary and disdainful, and could ill brook opposition. A scheme was agitated in his Pontificate, originated by Cardinal Orsini, of uniting all Italy in a confederation, of which the Pope was to be the head. The chief glory of Pius VI. is the draining of the Pontine marshes, a work of extraordinary magnitude and labour.

Pius VI. was naturally shocked and offended by the novelties and innovations in matters of religion which accompanied the breaking out of the French Revolution. The respect with which he was treated by the Constituent Assembly soothed and appeased him for a time, but the excesses of the Legislative Assembly and of the Convention, and especially the loss of Avignon, impelled him to resort to his spiritual weapons. Hence the Emperor and the Italian Princes of his party had little difficulty in persuading Pius to enter into an offensive league against France.

The situation of Tuscany induced the Grand Duke Ferdinand, though so nearly connected with the House of Austria, formally to recognize the French Republic, January 16th, 1793, before the execution of Louis XVI. Tuscany preserved its neutrality till the following October, when the appearance of an English fleet in the Mediterranean encouraged Ferdinand to declare himself for the allies. Of the part taken in the war by Victor Amadeus III., King of Sardinia, we have already spoken. The republic of Genoa, secretly inclined to France, maintained for a considerable time its neutrality, although summoned by the English and Spanish fleet, in October, 1793, to change its policy. The port was now blockaded. Venice had also declared herself neutral. The Venetians had lost all public spirit and fallen into a sort of political quietism. At the outbreak of the French Revolution they determined on the policy of doing nothing; and they persisted in their neutrality, though solicited by many Powers,

Tuscany
and Genoa.

Venice.

Sardinia, Russia, Austria, Naples, to take a part against France. Yet their hatred of that country peeped out on all occasions. They sent back to the French Minister the note of the Assembly acquainting them with the flight of the King to Varennes, because it did not bear Louis's signature; they refused to reply to the notice of the King's acceptance of the Constitution; they suffered the Austrians to violate the neutrality they had declared by marching troops through their territories; in October, 1792, when the allies were entering France, they authorized their subjects to supply the Emperor and the King of Sardinia with arms, provisions, and other necessities; on the establishment of the French Republic they refused to acknowledge it, and though they at length consented to receive a *chargé d'affaires*, they would only recognize him with a puerile distinction as the Minister of the French *nation* and not of the *republic*.¹ These and other grievances of the same kind, and especially the reception given to the Regent, under the title of Count de Lille, at Verona, towards the end of 1794, drew down upon the Venetian Republic the hatred and vengeance of the French, and served at least as pretexts for its destruction.

Spain.

Respecting the Spanish Peninsula, little need be added to what has been already said. Although Godoy was despised by every true Spaniard, yet Florida Blanca and d'Aranda had been successively compelled to give place to him; and, in 1792, he obtained, with the title of Duke of Alcudia, the supreme direction of affairs. The war, however, which he commenced with France was at first popular. The Spaniards, devoted to the Church and to their King, beheld in the republicans of France the enemies of both. They contributed largely and spontaneously to the war; the feudal lords, as in ancient times, put themselves at the head of their vassals, while the smugglers, and even the monks, formed regiments. But the enthusiasm of the nation was ill-directed by Godoy; and the successes of the Spanish arms, already described, were soon followed by reverses which rendered the King anxious to conclude a peace.

Portugal.

The Portuguese had shared with the Spaniards in the French war, and are said to have formed the best portion of the

¹ See Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxxvi.

Spanish army. The sceptre of Portugal had been held, since February, 1777, by Queen Maria I., but her intellect having become disordered through religious melancholy, the regency was assumed in 1792 by her son Don John, Prince of Brazil, who was governed by his confessors.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE DIRECTORY

France after
Thermidor
9th, 1794.

WE now return to the affairs of France. The *Parti Thermidorien*, having effected the fall of Robespierre, assumed, after that event, the conduct of affairs; and, in a few days, sent upwards of eighty of Robespierre's friends and accomplices to the guillotine. As these were, for the most part, members of the *Commune*, the influence of that body was completely destroyed. The Government was still conducted by the two Committees, but they were reorganized. Barère, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois resigned, September 1st, 1794. Wholesale slaughter was arrested; though Lebon, David the painter, and a few other terrorists were executed. Numbers of prisoners were released; Robespierre's law of the 22nd *Prairial* was abolished; trials were conducted with more moderation. The daily assemblies of the Sections were reduced to one in each *decade*; and the pay of forty sous a day to the indigent members who attended was stopped.

The jeunes
Gens.

Matters were thus far tending to a counter-revolution. A party began to be formed among the middle and richer classes, which, from its being chiefly composed of young men, obtained the name of *Les jeunes Gens*, and later that of *La jeunesse dorée* (the gilded youth); or *La jeunesse dorée de Fréron*, from its being patronized by that demagogue. The *Jeunesse dorée* adopted a peculiar dress, called *costume à la victime*, consisting of a short grey coat with black collar, low shoes, enormous green cravats; the hair, hanging low at the front and sides, was tressed up behind; a short stick, loaded with lead, served at once as a weapon and a badge. The women also affected a peculiar costume called *bonnets d'humanité* and *corsets à la justice*. Some of them were Royalists; others only followed

the impulse for restoring order. The fashionable salons began again to be frequented. Madame de Staël reappeared in the Parisian circles. Madame Recamier and Madame Tallien, two beautiful women, were the chief leaders of fashion.

The Jacobin Club, though deprived of its chief leaders, still showed signs of vitality. They and the *Jeunesse dorée* were at open war; and they frequently attacked one another in the streets with cries of *Vive la Convention! Vive la Montagne!* But on the evening of November 8th, 1794, the *Jeunesse dorée*, armed with sticks, stones, and other weapons, broke into the Hall of the Jacobins, and drove out the members; shortly after the club was put down by the Government. The counter-revolution now proceeded with rapid strides.¹ On December 8th the seventy-three deputies, who had protested against the arrest of the Girondists, were readmitted into the Convention. Before the close of 1794 the decrees for the banishment of priests and nobles, and for putting English and Hanoverian prisoners to death, were reversed; divine worship was restored, the *maximum* assigned for the price of corn suppressed. The scarcity was so terrible that it became necessary to fix the daily consumption of bread of each inhabitant of Paris. The proscription of the higher class had aggravated the crisis by lessening the demand for labour. Specie was hoarded, while the value of *assignats* fell so rapidly that they became hardly negotiable.

Jacobin
Club closed.

On the report of a Committee of the Convention, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, and Vadier were arrested, tried, and sentenced to transportation, April 1st, 1795. Carrier, the monster of Nantes, had been executed in December. Fouquier Tinville, the *çi-devant* Public Accuser, and fifteen judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal, were, after a trial of forty-one days, condemned and executed on the Place de Grève, May 7th. On the condemnation of Billaud Varennes and his associates an insurrection was attempted; but such was the altered state of public feeling, that the Convention, not the insurgents, caused the *tocsin* to be rung, to summon the well-disposed Sections to their aid. The successful attack on the Hôtel de Ville on the 9th *Thermidor* had inspired the reactionary party with confidence, and they had, moreover, the advantage of military skill, their movements

Punishment
of Jacobins.

¹ Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution Française*.

being directed by Pichegru and Barras. Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barère were conducted to Rochefort for transportation. The escape of Barère was connived at, and he was permitted to live quietly in his department of the Hautes Pyrénées. Vadier also contrived to escape.

The ultra-democratic party was still further weakened by the arrest of nine of the most violent of the *Crête*, or remains of the *Montagne* (April 5th). Their last and most violent attempt at insurrection was made at the commencement of *Prairial* (May 20th, 21st, 1795).¹ A mob from the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, taking for their watchword, "Bread and the Constitution of 1793," broke into the Convention, and levelled their muskets at the members. Féraud, a deputy, was shot, his head cut off, and brought into the Assembly on a pike. It was not till after many hours of uproar that the National Guards succeeded, about midnight, in clearing the hall at the point of the bayonet. On the following morning the attempt was renewed. Cannons were planted on the Place du Carrousel, and the most terrible scenes were apprehended. But after some parley the mob retired, on receiving an assurance that the Convention would provide a supply of corn, and that the organic laws of the Constitution of '93 should be presented for discussion. The Convention now proceeded to decree the arrest and trial of several members of the *Montagne*, including Panis and Sergent, for having signed the infamous circular of September 3rd, 1792. On the 23rd of May an army of 30,000 men, raised from the orderly Sections, under the command of Menou, marched upon the Faubourg St. Antoine, and compelled the inhabitants to surrender their cannon and small arms. Other doubtful Sections were treated in a similar manner; and all citizens were called upon to give up their pikes and other weapons, so that only the richer classes retained their arms. The Committee of Public Safety was retained, but with an altered constitution. The Convention was made the centre of government, with an executive of sixteen committees. The National Guard was reorganized on pretence of relieving indigent citizens from the duty of mounting guard. A camp was formed in the Tuileries gardens, and a strong garrison of troops of the line was introduced

The rising
of Prairial
21st, 1795.

¹ Claretie, *Les derniers Montagnards*.

into Paris. A military commission condemned to death many of the rioters, including six members of the Convention. By death, transportation, imprisonment, or flight, the *Montagne* lost sixty-two of its adherents. The abolition of the Sections, and of the pay of those who attended the meetings, and the division of Paris into twelve *arrondissements* or municipalities, were severe blows to faction. The Revolutionary Tribunal was finally suppressed, May 31st, 1795.

By these measures the counter-revolution was established at Paris, and it could not be doubtful that the provinces would follow. The reaction, conducted at first by moderate republicans, fell more and more into the hands of the reactionists and royalists. The emigrants and priests returned in great numbers, and many new journals were established in the counter-revolutionary interest. It was in the provinces, and especially in the South, that the reaction was most violent, and accompanied with murders and massacres which have obtained for it the name of the *Terreur Blanche*. These execrable deeds have afforded ultra-democratic writers arguments for justifying, or, at all events, extenuating, the *Terreur Rouge*.¹ Bands of assassins were organized under the names of *Compagnies de Jésus*, or *Jéhu*, and *Compagnies du Soleil*, among the leaders of which were Isnard and other Girondists. The massacres perpetrated by the proconsuls were now retaliated at Lyons, Toulon, Marseilles, Tarascon, Nîmes, and other places. At Lyons a system of assassination began soon after the 9th *Thermidor*. On May 5th, 1795, a wholesale massacre took place there; ninety-seven persons were put to death in the prisons; those who had escaped were hunted down like wild beasts, killed, and flung into the Rhone. At Tarascon the victims were precipitated from a high tower. Almost all the towns of the South had their September 2nd; yet the Convention remained passive spectators of these atrocities.²

In 1794 the French had nominally thirteen armies on foot, forming a force of between 600,000 and 700,000 men,³ inured

The Terreur
Blanche.

Foreign
policy.

¹ Daudet, *La réaction royaliste au midi en 1795*.

² For details of the *Terreur Blanche*, see Fréron, *Mém. Historique sur la réaction royale et les massacres du midi*.

³ *Archives du Ministère de la Guerre*, in *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiii. p. 271. It seems probable, however, that not nearly this force was ever actually in the field.

to discipline, and animated with the confidence of success. On the other hand, the disastrous issue of the campaign of 1793, and the mutual reproaches of the Duke of Brunswick and Wurmser, had sown dissension between the Austrians and Prussians. The Duke had resigned the command, January 24th, 1794, and had been succeeded by Marshal Möllendorf. Pitt made strenuous efforts to reanimate the Coalition, which, however, failed through the jealousy which Thugut, who then directed the affairs of Austria, entertained of Prussia. Personally, however, the King of Prussia was desirous of prosecuting the war; and by the Treaty of the Hague with England and Holland, April 19th, 1794, he agreed to furnish 62,400 men, on receiving immediately £300,000 sterling, £50,000 monthly during the war, £100,000 for the return of the troops, and £1 12s. monthly per man for their subsistence. The conquests made by his troops were to be assigned to the maritime Powers.¹

Campaign
of 1794.

At the opening of the campaign the allies were posted as follows: the English, Dutch, and Austrians, about 160,000 men, occupied a line extending from Ypres to Trèves. The Prussians, in considerably less numbers than were paid for, were posted on the Hundsrück on the left bank of the Rhine, between Trèves and Mainz. The army of the Empire, about 20,000 men, extended along the Rhine, between Basle and Heidelberg. Opposed to these, from Dunkirk to Maubeuge, was the French army of the North under Pichegru; to the east of that, between Givet and Sedan, the army of the Ardennes under Charbonnier; between the Moselle and the Saar, Jourdan with the army of the Moselle. Michaud, with the army of the Rhine, was opposed to the Prussians and Imperialists.² Moreau served under Pichegru, Kléber under

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. v. p. 610 (ed. Göttingen, 1826). The clause respecting the employment of the troops runs thus: "La dite armée sera employée d'après un concert militaire . . . là où il sera jugé le plus convenable aux intérêts des puissances maritimes." The "puissances maritimes" were therefore clearly to be the judges where the troops were to be employed; though subsequently the words "d'après un concert militaire" were used by the Prussians as a pretext to give them a decisive *veto* on the subject. The context of the treaty shows the same thing. For the maritime powers were to have any conquests which might be made (Art. vi.); and they could hardly have desired any conquests on that part of the Rhine where the Prussians chose to station themselves.

² The archives of the French Ministry of War state the total force

Charbonnier. The French generals were stimulated by the presence of the proconsuls St. Just, Lebas, Levasseur, and others. The Duke of York, who was at the head of about 40,000 British and Hanoverian troops, having refused to serve under Clairfait, the commander of the Austrian right, the Emperor was obliged to come in person and assume the nominal command. Accompanied by his brothers, Charles and Joseph, and his ministers, Thugut and Trautmannsdorf, he arrived at Brussels, April 9th, on pretext of being inaugurated Duke of Brabant.¹

Mack's plan of the campaign was to take Landrecies and march with the Austrian left upon Paris by Guise and Laon, covering his right flank by inundations, his left, by an advance of the Prussians. Prince Coburg, in conjunction with the English, having driven the French, with tremendous loss, from their entrenched camp at Landrecies, April 17th, the siege of that place was formed by the Prince of Orange. With the view of saving it the French made an attack along the whole line, April 26th. At Cateau Cambrésis, or the redoubts of Troisville, they were defeated by the Duke of York, and driven back to Cambrai with the loss of thirty-seven guns. On the other hand, Jourdan was successful against Beaulieu at Arlon, and Pichegru in West Flanders against Clairfait. Menin was now threatened by Pichegru; Clairfait hastened to its aid, but was defeated at Moucron, April 29th, and Menin fell into the hands of the French. Ypres, the head-quarters of the allies, was now threatened, and the Duke of York was compelled to retreat to Tournai.

Plans of
Mack.

Mack still persisted in his plan of marching upon Paris, in which he was encouraged by the Emperor. But Thugut, and also what was called the Austrian party, that is, the statesmen who conceived that it would be better for the interests of Austria to relinquish the war against France, and even the defence of the Belgian Provinces, and to seek compensation on the side of Poland or Bavaria, were opposed to Mack's undertaking. Coburg did not move; Möllendorf could not be persuaded to march towards the Sambre.

The allies had formed a plan to cut the French line by of these armies at 368,740 men (*Hist. Parl.* t. xxxiii. p. 271). But Marshal Jourdan, in a MS. quoted by Blanc (t. xi. p. 13), places them only at 284,000.

¹ *Ann. Register*, vol. xxxix. ch. i. p. 12 sq.

attacking their camp at Courtrai, thus separating their left wing from Lille and the French frontier, and compelling them to fight with the sea at their back. To assure their communications with Lille, Souham and Moreau marched upon Tourcoign, and defeated the allies (May 18th). The Duke of York saved himself only by the swiftness of his horse. After an interval of four days Pichegru made another attack at Pont-à-chin, where the Emperor commanded in person. The battle had lasted ten hours when the fortune of the day was retrieved by some troops detached by the Duke of York, and especially by the decisive charge of a brigade of British infantry.

The battle
of Fleurus
and after.

The efforts of the French were chiefly directed to the capture of Charleroi, the key of the allied position. After several repulses they succeeded in establishing themselves beyond the Sambre, and laid siege to that town. In a council of war held at Tournai, May 24th, in which the opinions of Thugut and Coburg prevailed, the Duke of York alone dissenting, the campaign was represented as lost, through the French having established themselves in West Flanders; it was, therefore, proposed to evacuate the Netherlands, and to obtain a share of Poland, where the insurrection of Kosciuszko was now in progress. In compliance with these views, the Emperor quitted Belgium for Vienna, June 9th. The fate of the Belgic provinces was now determined; and the military movements of the commander-in-chief had henceforth no other object than to bring about their abandonment. Coburg wasted his time in marches and counter-marches between the Lys and the Sambre, and left Clairfait to fight without reinforcements, although there were 30,000 Austrians unemployed at Tournai. The fruits of this conduct soon became apparent. Ypres surrendered to the army of Pichegru, June 17th. The allies were thus outflanked on the side of Flanders, and the road to Ostend opened to the French. On the other side, Jourdan again effected a passage of the Sambre, and came with all his forces to cover the siege of Charleroi, which was taken June 25th. Coburg attacked Jourdan at Fleurus, June 26th. The Austrians, who had rather the advantage in numbers, are thought to have been purposely defeated. Coburg broke off the contest, and retired with some captured guns, in excellent order, on learning the fall of Charleroi. He still occupied a strong position between Nivelles and

Braine-le-Comte, yet he dissembled not his intention of abandoning Belgium. The Prince of Orange and Marquis Cornwallis represented to him, in vain, that such a movement would insure the conquest of Holland by the French: he declared that it was impossible to resist the armies of the Convention; that his communications with the Rhine were threatened; that he must shelter himself behind the Meuse. The Duke of York plainly told him that the British nation considered themselves betrayed and sold, and the Archduke Charles concurred in that opinion. Even the Austrian officers spoke without reserve of Coburg's incapacity.¹ Summoning Clairfait to join him, and thus leaving the English and Dutch to take care of themselves, he retreated by Tirlemont upon Liége, and crossed the Meuse at Maestricht. Jourdan, who was pursuing him, received instructions from the French Government to halt upon that river, till the four towns captured by the allies should be recovered; a sort of armistice ensued; and negotiations were entered into, which, however, had no result. The English Government, alarmed by the retreat of the Austrians, despatched Earl Spencer and Mr. Thomas Grenville to Vienna, to sound the intentions of the Emperor, to offer a subsidy, and to procure the dismissal of Prince Coburg, who was justly regarded as having chiefly caused the failure of the campaign. The English envoys, accompanied by M. Fagel, *greffier* of the States-General, visited on their way the quarters of Prince Coburg, at Fauron-le-Comte. They found him preparing to abandon Maestricht, and retreat beyond the Rhine; and it was only with difficulty that they persuaded him to remain. Arrived at Vienna, Earl Spencer succeeded in obtaining the recall of Prince Coburg, who resigned the command-in-chief of the Austrian army to General Clairfait, August 28th. Although it is believed that one motive for the retreat of the Austrians was to alarm the English Cabinet, and draw from it subsidies in turn, yet as Lord Spencer's offer of three millions was only conditional, the Cabinet of Vienna declined the immediate resumption of hostilities. But it consented that 25,000 Austrians, under General Alvinzi, should pass into the Anglo-Batavian service and pay, and should assist the Duke of York's army in the defence of Holland.

Result of
Coburg's
Retreat.

¹ Von Sybel, iii. 175 sqq.

Successes of
the French.

After the retreat of Prince Coburg most of the Belgian towns fell, one after another, into the hands of the French. Pichegru took Mechlin, July 15th, and compelled the English and Dutch to retreat on Antwerp and Breda. He had been instructed by the Committee of Public Safety to occupy West Flanders, and get possession of some place favourable for a descent upon England, a project which was still contemplated. Schérer was directed to reduce Landrecies, Le Quesnoy, Valenciennes, and Condé, which still remained in the hands of the allies. The four towns before named were captured in July and August. Towards the end of the latter month, Moreau, with a division of the army of the North, took Nieuport and Sluys.

Prussian
treachery.

The Prussians proved as treacherous allies as the Austrians, and from baser motives; they condescended to accept the pay, but neglected to perform the duties, of mercenaries.¹ Lord Malmesbury, who had negotiated the treaty with Prussia, naturally concluded that England would have the disposal of the men for whom she paid. Haugwitz, the Prussian Minister, had left him under that impression; insomuch that Colonel Manstein lamented, in a letter to Haugwitz, that he had granted the men without stipulating that they should be employed on the Rhine.² In vain the English and Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to persuade Möllendorf to march towards the Sambre, in other words, to assist those whose pay he was receiving; the Marshal had formed his own idea of the campaign, and refused to abandon his position for fear of exposing Mainz. When Malmesbury went, on the 20th of June, to the Prussian head-quarters to persuade Möllendorf to move, there were only about 40,000 men under the colours, instead of the 62,400 stipulated; and these without the necessary stores and ammunition. Möllendorf, in excuse for not moving, first pleaded that the English subsidy had not arrived, which, however, had been despatched from London May 25th, and then decidedly declared that his troops were indispensable on the Rhine.³ The Prussians,

¹ "Il (Fréd.-Guillaume II.), arracha à l'Angleterre, sous prétexte de faire la guerre à la France, soixante millions de florins, qui facilitèrent ses acquisitions en Pologne."—*Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 202.

² Von Sybel, iii. 381 (Eng. Tr.).

³ Von Sybel, iv. 100 sq. This author has here attempted to palliate the conduct of the Prussians, but he admits (p. 102) that the con-

however, did not long retain even the position which they had chosen. The French generals Michaud and Moreau drove them from the mountains, and captured Kaiserslautern, Neustadt, and Spies. In the middle of September Frederick William II. notified to the Court of Vienna that he wanted troops in Poland, and must withdraw those on the Rhine. As, after what had passed, the English subsidy due in October naturally did not arrive, Möllendorf was recalled, and 20,000 of his troops, under Hohenlohe, were directed to march into Poland; thus betraying the real object of the Prussian breach of faith. Möllendorf crossed the Rhine October 20th and 21st; the Austrians had crossed it two or three weeks before. Jourdan had resumed the offensive against Clairfait in the middle of September, and compelled him to retreat upon the Roer. But he was driven from his position on that river, at Aldenhoven, near Jülich, October 2nd, and effected his passage over the Rhine on the 5th, at Bonn, Cologne, and Düsseldorf. After the retreat of the allies the French entered Cologne October 6th, Coblenz 23rd. Kléber, after an attempt to take Mainz by a *coup de main*, found it necessary to begin a regular siege. The Prussians left the defence of Mainz to the Austrians. At the end of the year this town alone, on the left bank of the Rhine, remained in the hands of the Coalition, though the Austrians still held Luxembourg.

The French arms were equally successful on the side of Holland.¹ Pichegru having taken Bois-le-Duc, October 9th, the Duke of York found himself compelled to retreat beyond the Waal. Venloo fell October 27th, Maestricht, November 4th, and the capture of Nimeguen on the 9th opened to the French the road into Holland. The Duke of York resigned the command to General Walmoden, December 2nd, and returned into England. His departure showed that the English Government had abandoned all hope of saving Holland. It had, indeed, consented that the States-General should propose terms of accommodation to the French; and two Dutch envoys had been despatched to Paris to offer to the Committee of Public Safety the recognition by their

French
invasion of
Holland.

sciences of the Prussian ministers had been "pricked" during these negotiations.

¹ Legrand, *La Revolution Française en Hollande, la republique Batave*.

Government of the French Republic, and the payment of 200,000,000 florins within a year. But the Committee, suspecting that these offers were made only with the view of gaining time, paid no attention to them. The French were repulsed in the first attempt to cross the Waal by General Duncan with 8,000 English; but a severe frost enabled them to pass over on the ice, January 11th, 1795. Nothing but a victory could now save Holland. But Walmoden, instead of concentrating his troops for the purpose of giving battle, retreated over the Yssel, and so into Westphalia, and over the Ems to Bremen, whence the troops were carried to England by sea. During this long and difficult march in the depth of a most rigorous winter, without tents, and exposed to all sorts of hardships and privations, the English displayed unflinching courage and perseverance. General Alvinzi, who held the Rhine between Emmerich and Arnheim, having retired upon Wesel, Pichegru had only to advance. On entering Holland he called upon the patriots to rise, and his occupation of the Dutch towns was immediately followed by a revolution. The Prince of Orange, the hereditary Stadholder, embarked for England January 19th, on which day Pichegru's advanced columns entered Amsterdam. Next day the Dutch fleet, frozen up in the Texel, was captured by the French hussars! Before the end of January the reduction of Holland had been completed, and a provincial government established at the Hague.

The
Batavian
Republic.

The States-General, assembled February 24th, 1795, having received, through French influence, a new infusion of the patriot party, pronounced the abolition of the Stadholderate, proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and the establishment of the **BATAVIAN REPUBLIC**. A Treaty of Peace with France followed, May 16th, and an offensive alliance against all enemies whatsoever till the end of the war, and against England for ever. The sea and land forces to be provided by the Dutch were to serve under French commanders. Thus the new Republic became a mere dependency of France. Dutch Flanders, the district on the left bank of the Hondt, Maestricht, Venloo, were retained by the French as a just indemnity for the expenses of the war, on which account the Dutch were also to pay 100,000,000 florins; but they were to receive, at the general peace, an equivalent for the ceded territories. By secret articles the Dutch were to lend the

French seven ships of war, and to support a French army of 25,000 men.¹ Over and above the requisitions of the treaty they were also called upon to reclothe the French troops and to furnish them with provisions. In short, though the Dutch patriots had *fraternized* with the French, and received them with open arms, they were treated little better than a conquered people.

Secret negotiations had been for some time going on between France and Prussia for a peace. Haugwitz had confidentially informed the Committee of Public Safety that a revolution in Holland, and the abolition of the Stadholderate, would form no bar to a treaty. Frederick William II. was satisfied with his acquisitions in Poland, to which the English and Dutch subsidies had helped him; but, perhaps, not the least influential among his motives was the refusal of the Maritime Powers any longer to subsidize him for doing nothing. The French, on their side, were not unwilling to dissipate the Coalition by means of separate treaties, and after some indirect overtures through the Ministers of the two Powers in Switzerland, conferences were opened at Basle, in January, 1795. The Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine formed the chief difficulty of the negotiations. The French asserted their ancient pretensions to have that river for a boundary; while Frederick William, whose armies were still intact, could not consent to that sacrifice. The difficulty was obviated by adjourning, till a general pacification, the fate of those provinces. But such an arrangement implied that Prussia was then to obtain an equivalent for them out of conquests to be made by France; or, in other words, that she was to indemnify herself at the expense of neighbouring German Powers; and such an indemnification is said to have been stipulated in secret articles.² The Peace of Basle, between the French Republic and King of Prussia, was signed April 5th, 1795.³ The French troops were allowed to continue the occupation of the Rhenish Provinces on the left bank. France agreed to accept the mediation of Prussia for Princes of the

The Peace
of Basle.

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 88; Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 250 sqq.

² Cf. Von Sybel, iv. 284.

³ Martens, t. vi. p. 45. About the secret articles, see Garden, t. v. p. 287.

Empire. The more important secret articles, besides that already mentioned, were, that Prussia should engage in no hostile enterprise against Holland, or any other country occupied by French troops; while the French agreed not to push their enterprises in Germany beyond a certain line of demarcation, including the Circles of Westphalia, Higher and Lower Saxony, Franconia, and that part of the two Circles of the Rhine situate on the right bank of the Main. This line was established by a subsequent treaty dated May 17th,¹ by which France agreed to respect the neutrality of the districts specified, on condition that they should recall their contingents from the Imperial army, and furnish no more troops to Powers at war with France. This offer of mediation on the part of Prussia was an ambitious plan to acquire an undue influence in the Empire, and an unconstitutional breach of the German Confederation. Thus the King of Prussia, originally the most ardent promoter of the Coalition, was one of the first to desert it. By signing the Peace of Basle he sacrificed Holland; pusillanimously resigned, by the cession of the Rhenish provinces, the position of a leading Power; facilitated the invasion of the Empire by the French, and thus prepared the ruin of the ancient German constitution; struck a blow at his own reputation and the renown of the Prussian arms; and laid the foundation of that system which, ten years later, proved fatal to his own dominions.²

Spanish
campaign.

The occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, the establishment of the Batavian Republic as a humble ally of France, the detachment of Prussia from the Coalition, were among the most important consequences of the campaign of 1794, which had begun under such disheartening prospects for France. The operations of the French armies in other quarters during that year were also ultimately attended with success, though with less important results. At first the French were beaten back both in the Eastern and Western Pyrenees, and compelled to retreat to Perpignan on one side, and Bayonne on the other. But in the East, Dugommier at length turned the tide of war; retook Bellegarde in September, the last position held by the

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 52; Sorel, *L'Europe et la Revolution Française*.

² See also Häusser, *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen*, etc.

Spaniards in France, and by the battle of the Montagne Noire, which lasted from November 17th to the 20th, opened the way into Catalonia. At the beginning of this battle Dugommier was killed. Figuieras surrendered November 24th, through the influence of the French democratic propaganda. On the West, Moncey captured St. Sebastian and Fuentarabia in August, and was preparing to attack Pamplona, when terrible storms, which rendered it impossible to transport the sick and provisions, compelled him to retreat on the Bidasoa, and closed the campaign in that quarter.

On the side of Piedmont, the French, after some reverses, succeeded in making themselves masters of Mont Cénis and the passes of the Maritime Alps, thus holding the keys of Italy; but the Government, content with this success, ventured not at present to undertake the invasion of that country. The King of Sardinia had signed the Treaty of Valenziana with Austria, May 23rd, 1794, by which the Emperor agreed to support the Piedmontese with an additional body of troops under the command of General de Vins. Victor Amadeus remained true to this engagement, although the French Government, in conformity with their policy of breaking up the Coalition by separate peaces, endeavoured to detach him from the Austrian alliance, by offering to guarantee his dominions if he would declare himself neuter, and allow the French a passage; or, if he would make common cause with France, the possession of the Milanese, and the exchange of the Island of Sardinia for territories more conveniently situated. With the Grand Duke of Tuscany they were more successful. Alarmed at their occupation of the Alps this Prince sent Count Carletti to Paris to negotiate a peace. On February 9th, 1795, a treaty was signed by which the Grand Duke revoked his adhesion to the Coalition; and the neutrality of Tuscany was placed on the same footing as previously to October 8th, 1793.¹ Thus Ferdinand was the first to desert the Emperor, his brother. The example of Tuscany was followed by the Regent of Sweden, who despatched the Baron de Staël to Paris in the name of his nephew, to assure the Convention of his Sovereign's friendship for the French Republic. But these advances were without result, the French having neglected to subsidize the Swedes,

Italian
campaign.

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 5; Botta, t. i. lib. iv. v.

and thus enable them to maintain a fleet which should make their neutrality respected by England.¹

But although the arms and the policy of France were thus successful on the Continent, she could not boast of the same good fortune where matters depended on maritime operations. Hence her loss of Corsica. An insurrection, fomented by General Paoli, had broken out in that island early in 1793; the Corsicans, except in the towns of Bastia, San Fiorenzo, and Calvi, which were garrisoned by the French, refused to acknowledge the National Convention, withdrew their Deputies from that Assembly, established a new Government, named Paoli Generalissimo. The war which broke out between France and England was favourable to the Corsican revolution. With the aid of the English fleet, which now rode triumphant in the Mediterranean, the three towns held by the French were successively reduced in the course of 1794; Calvi, the last which held out, surrendered August 4th. It was in these operations that Nelson first distinguished himself; at Calvi he lost an eye. A General Assembly convoked at Corte, after the fall of Bastia, and presided over by Paoli, voted the annexation of Corsica to Great Britain, June 19th, and drew up a constitution modelled on that of England. The year 1794 was also marked by Lord Howe's memorable victory over the French fleet under Villaret Joyeuse off Ushant, June 1st, and by several English conquests in the West Indies. Admiral Sir John Jervis captured Martinique in March, St. Lucie and Guadaloupe and its dependent isles in April; but the last-named conquest was not long retained. The reduction of St. Domingo, begun in the previous year, was also effected by Admiral Ford and General White.

In Europe France hardly sustained in the following year the brilliant position achieved by the campaign of 1794. All parties seemed desirous of repose, and the strife was not renewed on the German frontier till towards the approach of autumn. The inactivity of the French armies was occasioned as well by the distress, almost the disorganization, in which they were plunged, as by the crisis in the Revolutionary Government. Hence negotiations occupied the year 1795; but these also turned to the advantage of the French. The Emperor, naturally alarmed and irritated by the defection of

Howe's
victory of
June 1st,
1794.

Negotia-
tions in
1795.

¹ Ségur, t. iii. p. 219.

Prussia, hesitated as to what course he should pursue. At the same time he notified to several Courts his inclination to make peace with France, but not without the concurrence of his allies, especially England and the German Empire. The English Cabinet, however, was for continuing the war; with which view it entered into some fresh treaties with Austria. By the treaty concluded May 4th they undertook to guarantee a loan of 4,600,000*l.*, to be raised by the Emperor in England, on condition of his maintaining on foot, for the campaign of that year, an army of 200,000 men, with which English commissioners were to be present.¹ This treaty was followed by a defensive alliance concluded between Austria and Great Britain, May 29th. By a separate article the Empress of Russia was to be invited to form with the two contracting Powers a triple alliance, in order to maintain the future peace of Europe; which alliance was eventually concluded at St. Petersburg, September 28th. The Russian treaty has not been published; but it is known that Catharine engaged to furnish either 30,000 men or a certain sum of money, and that subsidies were actually paid to the Emperor.² A defensive alliance had been previously concluded, February 18th, between Great Britain and Russia;³ in consequence of which a Russian fleet joined that of England in the summer, and, in conjunction with Admiral Duncan, cruised off the coasts of Holland till the autumn of 1796.

The Diet of Ratisbon, by a *conclusum* of July 3rd, expressed its desire that the Emperor should take steps for a pacification with France, and that the mediation of the King of Prussia should be employed for that purpose. Although this last condition was very disagreeable to Francis, yet he ratified the *conclusum* of the Diet. He took, however, no active steps in the matter, but left it in the hands of the King of Prussia, who had accepted the office of mediator. Baron Hardenberg was accordingly again despatched to Basle; but the French Government refused to enter into negotiations. Another attempt to negotiate a peace through the mediation of Denmark proved equally unsuccessful. The Committee of Public Safety would neither agree to a Congress at Augsburg, nor to a suspension of arms, as proposed in Count Bernstorff's note

French
attempts
to isolate
Austria.

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 65.

² Garden, t. v. p. 300.

³ Martens, t. vi. p. 11; Garden, t. v. p. 298.

of August 18th.¹ It plainly appeared that the Committee wished not to make a peace with the Empire, a confederate body, but to detach the principal members of it, and thus entirely to isolate Austria. In this object they partially succeeded. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had been one of the most active of the German Princes against the common enemy, made a separate treaty with France at Basle, August 28th, and agreed to renounce his treaty of subsidies with England.² After the resumption of hostilities in September, and the passage of the Rhine by the French, the Elector Palatine, to save his town of Mannheim, entered into a secret convention of neutrality with Pichegru. The Duke of Würtemberg also obtained a suspension of arms from the French commanders, but the Convention refused to ratify it.³ The French Government, however, assented, during the negotiations at Basle, to a proposal of the Emperor's for the exchange of *Madame*, daughter of Louis XVI., who was still immured in the Temple, against Camus, and the other Conventionals arrested by Dumouriez, and two or three other persons, including Drouet, the noted postmaster of St. Menes, who had fallen into the hands of the Austrians. The matter was, however, delayed because the Court of Vienna refused to recognize the French Republic by signing a convention with it, and the arrangement was eventually carried out through the intervention of the Danish Government. The exchange was effected at Rhiechen, near Basle, December 26th.

Death of
Louis XVII.

The death of her brother the young Prince in the Temple, June 8th, at the age of ten, is supposed to have been accelerated, if not occasioned, by ill-treatment and want of air and exercise. It facilitated another triumph of French diplomacy, a peace with Charles IV. of Spain. Negotiations for this purpose had been entered into towards the end of 1794; but they had hitherto been fruitless because the Spanish monarch made it a point of honour to demand not only the liberation of Louis XVII., but also his installation as King in the bordering provinces of Spain. It is doubtful whether the conclusion of the treaty was hastened by the success of the French arms. This had not, indeed, been very marked on

¹ Garden, p. 294.

² Martens, t. vi. p. 130.

³ *Ibid.* p. 263; Garden, t. v. p. 302.

the side of Catalonia, where, though several battles had been fought, the only signal triumph of the French was the capture of Rosas. But in the western Pyrenees Moncey had gained a series of victories in June and July between Deva and Pamplona. The French entered Vittoria July 18th. Madrid trembled for its safety, when it was relieved by the tidings that a peace had been concluded.

The Treaty of Basle, between France and Spain, was signed July 22nd, 1795. France restored all her Spanish conquests, and Spain ceded her portion of St. Domingo, at that time no very desirable possession. The Court of Madrid also proclaimed its recognition not only of the French but also of the Batavian Republic, and engaged to employ all its influence to detach Portugal from the English alliance. This treaty, by which the Spanish House of Bourbon recognized the Power which had overthrown its eldest branch, was hailed with joy at Madrid. Emmanuel Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, under whose auspices it had been effected, was loaded with presents, and received the title of "Prince of the Peace."¹

Treaty of
Basle
between
France and
Spain.

But while the French Government was thus freeing itself of its foreign enemies, it was threatened with new dangers from within. The cruelties exercised by the Republicans in La Vendée excited a fresh insurrection there in 1794. Charette and Stofflet had been assisted by the Marquis de Puisaye and other gentlemen of Brittany. Bands of *Chouans*, composed of adventurers and smugglers, continued to exist in the Calvados and the Morbihan; and Puisaye applied to England to aid the insurrection with some troops, and with arms and ammunition. A small expedition was accordingly prepared in England in the spring of 1795, which was joined by French emigrants and released prisoners, to the number of about 3,000 men. This little band, with arms and equipments for a considerable army, was landed by Admiral Bridport, after defeating a French squadron, on the peninsula of Quiberon, June 27th.² On the appearance of the English

Risings in
Brittany.

¹ In a Decree of September 12th, among several honours conferred on Godoy, he was allowed to add to his armorial bearings the somewhat equivocal distinction of a Janus, or double-faced bust, over his ducal crown, typifying his prudence in tracing past causes and foreseeing future events! See the diploma in the *Politisches Journal*, 1796, B. i. S. 113; Garden, t. v. p. 307.

² For this expedition, see the *Mémoires de Puisaye*, t. vi.; Thomas de Closmadene, *Quiberon 1795*; Chassin, *Le général Hoche à Quiberon*.

fleet, Charette and Stofflet had flown to arms; 1,500 *Chouans* joined the invaders. Fort Penthièvre was seized; but General Hoche and the Republican army, after a blockade of three weeks, surprised and captured the fort on the night of July 20th. Some of the garrison succeeded in reaching the English fleet, but, the night being stormy, a far greater number perished in the attempt; the remainder surrendered, on the condition, that their lives should be spared. There seems to have been a verbal convention to that effect between Hoche and Sombreuil, one of the leaders of the expedition, which, however, was not ratified by the representatives of the people.¹ Tallien incited the Convention not to spare the prisoners. All who had emigrated, including De Sombreuil and the Bishop of Dol, were shot at Vannes; the rest were spared. Charette retaliated by causing some hundreds of Republicans who were in his power to be massacred.

In spite of the disastrous issue of this expedition another was attempted a few months later, under the conduct of the Comte d'Artois. Several thousand English troops and French emigrants were landed at the Isle Dieu, a few leagues from the coast of La Vendée, October 2nd. The prince, however, hesitated to throw himself into that district, and the weather having become stormy, the expedition returned after a few weeks to England. Hoche now directed his arms against Charette. That leader and Stofflet were soon after captured and shot, and the remains of the insurrection dissipated.

The Comte d'Artois's hesitation to land in La Vendée is thought to have been connected with the failure of an insurrection at Paris, 13th *Vendémiaire* (October 5th), caused by an important revolution. The progress of the reactionary movement having produced a wish for the abolition of the Constitution of 1793, a Committee was appointed to draw up a fresh one. The new scheme² was characterized by the rejection of the ultra-democratic principles which had marked that of 1793. To the Declaration of Rights was appended a Declaration of Duties, in the eighth article of which it was declared that social order depends on the maintenance of property. The two degrees of election, or the primary and electoral assemblies, were re-established: a residence of at least a year was required as a qualification for the former,

¹ *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvi. p. 482.

² *Ibid.* t. xxxvi. end.

and moderate conditions of property for the latter. Thus the middle class recovered its political importance. The legislative power was vested in two chambers; a lower one of 500 members, called the Council of FIVE HUNDRED, and an upper one of 250 members, called the Council of the ANCIENTS. The Five Hundred, whose members must have attained the age of thirty years, alone possessed the right of proposing laws; while the Ancients, consisting of men past the age of forty, and either married or widowers, had only the privilege of a *veto*. The Ancients were elected from the same class as the Five Hundred; and thus the distinction between the two chambers, besides the qualification of marriage, namely, the difference of ten years in the period of eligibility, was not very great, as old men were not excluded from the Five Hundred. By this arrangement, however, measures were at least submitted to more mature deliberation, and the danger of being carried away by sudden impulses, to which popular assemblies, and especially those of France, are liable, was obviated. The Ancients, except in urgent cases, were not to decide till a bill had been read three times, with an interval of at least five days between each reading. A third part of each Council was to be replaced every year by new members.

The executive power was entirely separated from the legislative, and instead of being vested in committees of the National Assemblies, was intrusted to a DIRECTORY, consisting of five persons, to whom a guard was assigned, a civil list, and a residence in the Luxembourg. The Directors were to be selected by the Ancients from a list of ten persons presented by the Five Hundred. Each Director in turn was to preside over the Directory for a space of three months; and one Director was to be replaced every year by a fresh election. Thus the Royal prerogative, as established by the Constitution of 1791, was now divided between the Ancients, who had the *veto*, and the Directory, which had the executive power. The Directors were to appoint six ministers, to conduct negotiations, manage the finances, the army, etc., and they were to be responsible for the acts of their Ministers and Generals. This Government was humorously compared with a chariot with six horses, whose reins were held by five coachmen, while 750 superintendents administered the whip. However, amid the shock of passions and opinions, and the mistrust and suspicions of

The
Directory.

the Republican leaders, it was perhaps as good a Government as the situation allowed.

Warned by the example of the Constituent Assembly, who, by handing over their Constitution to an entirely new legislature, soon saw it utterly destroyed, the moderate party in the Convention, led by Daunou, called the *Parti conventionnel*, which desired neither the triumph of the Royalists nor of the ultra-Democrats, carried a Decree, 13th *Fructidor* (August 30th), that two-thirds of each of the new Chambers should be elected from among the members of the Convention. The new Constitution, as well as this decree, was submitted to the approval of the Primary Assemblies throughout France, and the acceptance of both by large majorities was proclaimed in the Assembly, 1st *Vendémiaire* (September 23rd, 1795).¹ But this was an artifice. The Constitution had indeed been accepted, and the Conventional party pretended that the decree of 13th *Fructidor* formed part of it, although a great majority of the assemblies had declared themselves against it. Hence the insurrection of 13th *Vendémiaire*. It was principally the work of the Royalists, and of the higher and middle classes. The emigrants and priests had now returned to Paris in great numbers; the Faubourg St. Germain had begun to recover its former gaiety; the *Chouan* uniform was the fashionable costume. On the other hand, the populace having not only been disarmed, but finding itself deceived in its hopes, and had sunk into a state of the profoundest apathy about political affairs. Among the leaders of the insurrection were the old Duke of Nivernais, the Generals Miranda and Servan, Laharpe, Quatremère de Quincy, and other distinguished persons. Petitions were got up against the decree of 13th *Fructidor*; thirty-two of the forty-eight Sections joined the movement, and the Convention soon discovered that an appeal to force was contemplated. The Convention could rely upon the regular army. Troops were moved up to Paris, and the command of them was given to Barras, the General of 9th *Thermidor*. Barras demanded, as his second, Napoleon Bonaparte, who, having returned from the army of Italy, was now in Paris, and apparently in very distressed circumstances. The sketch of a plan for an Italian campaign, which he

Insurrec-
tion of the
13th Vendé-
miaire.

Napoleon
Bonaparte.

¹ *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvii. p. 25.

afterwards executed himself, had procured him the post of chief of the *Bureau Topographique*. Scarcely, however, had he obtained this appointment when the Committee of Public Safety struck his name out of the list of Generals on active service, for having refused to command a brigade of artillery in the war of La Vendée. In this turn of his fortunes Bonaparte had entertained the idea of proceeding to Constantinople and entering the Sultan's service, when he was diverted from it by the events of 13th *Vendémiaire*.¹

Bonaparte acted with promptitude and decision, and by means of his artillery overthrew the insurgents, who numbered about 30,000 men. The Convention used its victory with moderation. Of the military leaders of the insurgents Lafond alone was executed. On the motion of Barras, Bonaparte was named second in command of the Army of the Interior, Barras himself retaining the command-in-chief.

The Convention now proceeded to form the two new Chambers and the Directory. As the electors had not returned two-thirds of its members to the new Chambers, those who had been elected formed themselves into an Electoral Assembly to supply the deficiency. The late Royalist insurrection influenced the choice of Directors, who were selected from among the members of the late Convention, and, indeed, the majority of them had been regicides. They were La Réveillère-Lepaux, Sieyès, Rewbel, Letourneur, and Barras. Sieyès, however, declined to serve, and was replaced by Carnot. Of these men none had particularly distinguished himself except Carnot, who, in the popular phrase, had "organized victory" by his military projects and reforms. Barras, a gentleman of Provence, had been a representative of the people at the siege and massacre of Toulon. Menaced on that account by Robespierre, he had taken part against him on the 9th *Ther-*

The choice
of Direc-
tors.

¹ This account differs in some essential particulars from that given by Napoleon himself in the *Mémorial de S. Hélène*, ch. v.; where he represents himself as elected *general-in-chief* by the Convention, without mentioning Barras, and is made to deny the project of going to Constantinople. But Barras, in his *Report* to the Convention concerning the insurrection, says: "Le général Bonaparte . . . fut nommé, sur ma proposition, commandant *en second*."—*Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvii. p. 50 sq. And there exists among the Registers of the Committee of Public Safety not only an *arrête* authorizing him to proceed to Constantinople, but also a note or *rédaction* of the project by Bonaparte himself. See also Zivy, *Le treize Vendémiaire an IV*.

midor, and had subsequently joined the reactionary party. Réveillère-Lepaux, a gentleman of Anjou, had voted in the Convention against the death of the King, and had been proscribed as a Girondist. Rewbel had been *procureur fiscal* in Alsace, and had served with Merlin at Mainz as representative of the people; but was accused of not having done his duty, and suspected of having received Prussian gold. Of Letourneur little or nothing was known. Rewbel, of an imperious character, took the lead in the Directory, assumed the Departments of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Justice. Barras, ignorant and idle, though capable of acting with decision on an emergency, had the direction of the police. Réveillère-Lepaux, a visionary belonging to a sect called *Theophilanthropes*, and of a mild and moderate character, presided over education, science, art, manufactures, etc. Carnot had the war office, and Letourneur the administration of the navy and colonies.

The Con-
vention
dissolved.

The Convention held its last sitting 4th *Brumaire*, an IV (October 26th, 1795), when it passed a general amnesty, with only a few exceptions, changed the name of the *Place de la Révolution* to that of *Place de la Concorde*, and declared its session terminated.¹ It had lasted rather more than three years.

State of
France.

What was now the condition of France after six years of revolution, and the reign of *virtue* enforced by *terror*? The work of a Republican, a member of the Convention and of the Council of Five Hundred,² will convey some idea of it. There was not a sou in the treasury. *Assignats* were almost valueless;³ the quantity absolutely necessary for the service of the following day was printed over night. Public credit was annihilated; there was no regular system of revenue, not a tax whose produce was worth carrying to account. Yet in this state of things it was necessary to feed the capital *gratis*,

¹ *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvii. p. 88.

² Bailleul, *Examen crit. de l'ouvrage de Madame de Staël sur la Rév. Fr.* t. ii. p. 276 sq.

³ On the 22nd *Brumaire*, a few weeks after the installation of the Directory, when they demanded from the Legislature some means to obviate the prevailing famine, the exchange for the *louis d'or* was from 3,000 to 3,180 *livres* in *assignats*. *Hist. Parl.* t. xxxvii. p. 110. The issue of *assignats* ceased January 30th, 1796, as they no longer paid the expense of manufacture. At this time the exchange for the *louis d'or* was 5,300 *livres* in paper.

to supply the great towns and the army of the interior. Each inhabitant of Paris of the poorest sort received only two ounces of bread a day or a handful of rice, and even this wretched supply was often wanting. Meat, oil, sugar, and other necessities could scarcely be procured. The state of the provinces was not better. The conveyance of a load of corn from one village to another could often be effected only by an exchange of musket-shots. The forests were exposed to pillage. The armies were without clothes or bread. All the main roads, canals, bridges, and other public works were in a deplorable state of dilapidation. The moral state of France was as bad as the physical. There was no longer any public education; the recent convulsions had produced a shameless cynicism. Bands of brigands, called *chauffeurs*, had been organized, who scoured the country in all directions, committing the most horrible excesses. Thus the French nation, by attempting to carry into practice the theories of Rousseau, had almost attained the *beau idéal* of that philosopher's anti-social state, and become dissolved into its primitive and barbaric elements. Indeed, a French historian of the Revolution¹ observes with much *naïveté*, "This epoch—that of the Directory—beheld the termination of the movement towards freedom, and the commencement of that towards *civilization*." The first dream of the French, he proceeds to observe, had been liberty and a Constitutional Monarchy; the next, equality, fraternity, and a Republic: but at the commencement of the Directory, people no longer believed in anything; all had been lost in the great strife of parties, the virtue of the middle classes, as well as that of the populace. The revival of *civilization* was marked by the balls and feasts, which again became the order of the day.

As the year 1795 drew to a close the aspect of her foreign affairs was hardly more encouraging for France than that of her domestic state. Her fleets were nearly destroyed; Corsica was in the hands of the English; Prussia, Spain, and Tuscany had, indeed, been detached from the Coalition, but a large part of Europe still remained arrayed against her; Switzerland, though neutral, was the centre of plots against the Republic; Holland, by reason of the anarchy which reigned there, was rather an encumbrance than a help. The

Foreign
affairs.

¹ Mignet, *Hist. de la Rép. Fr.* t. ii. p. 145.

Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, in the West Indies, those of Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and other of their settlements in the East Indies, as well as the Cape of Good Hope, fell into the hands of the English. The French had, indeed, recovered the islands of St. Lucie and St. Vincent, which they were destined to lose again the following year. In the interior, the troops were deserting in bands, with their arms and baggage. There was no concert or unity of views either in the Legislative Chamber or in the Directory. The French arms had been successful in Italy, but the war on the Rhine had terminated in disaster.

Campaign
of 1795.

Owing to the negotiations at Basle, as well perhaps as to the distressed condition of the French armies, no military operations took place on the north-eastern frontier till September; except that Marshal Bender, despairing of being relieved, surrendered Luxembourg to the French, June 5th. The following was the position of the armies on the Rhine. Pichegru occupied the left bank of that river from Hüningen to Mannheim, while the Austrians under Wurmser were opposed to him on the other bank. Clairfait, who had the command-in-chief of the Austrian army and also of that of the Empire, was posted on the Rhine from Mannheim to Düsseldorf, with his centre at Mainz. Opposed to him was Jourdan with the army of the Sambre and Meuse. The Prussians, as an army of observation, occupied the line of demarcation already described (p. 198). On September 6th two divisions of the army of the Sambre and Meuse crossed the Rhine at Duisburg and Neuss, when the Austrians retired behind the Lahn. On the 15th Jourdan crossed at Neuwied with his centre. Pichegru had appeared before Mannheim on the 14th, and on the 18th that town capitulated, when the Elector Palatine made the arrangement mentioned before (p. 198). After the fall of Mannheim Clairfait retreated between the Main and Neckar; but Quasdanowich and Klenau having beaten the French at Handschuheim, September 24th, and thus restored the communications between Clairfait and Wurmser, Mannheim was blockaded, and the Austrians in their turn began to advance. Clairfait, crossing the Main at Aschaffenburg, defeated the French at Bergen, October 11th, pushed on beyond Wetzlar, driving away the Prussian pickets, and violating the neutral line, and was thus in a position to turn the left wing of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, which fled in disorder

over the Rhine. Abandoning its pursuit Clairfait suddenly turned towards Mainz, which Jourdan had invested, and surrounded with enormous lines of circumvallation. The French, surprised by the unexpected attack of the main body of the Austrians, were driven from their lines, thrown into disorder, and so terribly cut up by Clairfait's cavalry that this battle decided the campaign. Their baggage, ammunition, and whole park of artillery fell into the hands of the victor (October 29th). Clairfait's success was aided by the treachery of Pichegru, who neglected, after the capture of Mannheim, to march, as instructed, with the greater part of his forces on the Main, to cut off Clairfait's retreat and form a junction with Jourdan. He contented himself with sending 10,000 men to Heidelberg, who were soon completely beaten.

Pichegru's
treachery.

In consequence of these defeats the French held, on the right bank of the Rhine, only Mannheim and Düsseldorf; and Mannheim they were forced to surrender by capitulation to Wurmser (November 22nd). Yet, in spite of his successes, Clairfait concluded with the French an armistice, December 31st, for an indefinite period, and terminable at ten days' notice. It seems probable that he acted on secret instructions from Thugut. Nevertheless, on his return to Vienna, he was called to a severe account by the Aulic Council of War, and dismissed from the command. The Archduke Charles, the Emperor's brother, was appointed in his place. In Italy the French arms were more prosperous. The peace with Spain proved of great service to them in the Italian campaign. Schérer, with the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, proceeded into Italy, and inflicted a severe defeat on De Vins, the Austrian general, at Loano, on the Genoese Riviera, November 23rd and 24th. This battle, the only one deserving the name during four campaigns in Italy, cost the Austro-Sardinians 7,000 men killed, wounded, or prisoners, eighty guns and all their magazines, compelled them to retreat to their intrenched camp at Ceva, and by the occupation of Savona opened Piedmont to the French in the following year. The victory is chiefly ascribed to Masséna.

The French
on the
Rhine and
in Italy.

The establishment of a new and apparently more firm and orderly Government in France had inspired the British Ministry with the hope that it might not be impossible to effect a peace. A bad harvest and other causes had produced a good deal of distress in England; discontent had

Negotia-
tions be-
tween
England
and France.

manifested itself in sedition and riots, and cries for *Bread and Peace*. The King, in a message to Parliament, December, 1795, announced that the new order of things in France would enable him to enter into negotiations should the enemy be so disposed; and Mr. Wickham, the English Minister in Switzerland, was authorized to make some propositions, of an informal kind, to M. Barthélemy, the French ambassador there, in order to sound the intentions of the Directory. But the English advances were met with a contemptuous answer, and a flat refusal was given to restore any conquests which had been incorporated, like the Netherlands, with France, not, be it observed, by any regular treaty, but by a mere Decree of the French Legislature. Thus all negotiation was necessarily at an end. Some overtures made by Austria were also disregarded. Under these circumstances Pitt advanced the Austrians, in the course of 1796, on the responsibility of the Ministry, a subsidy of £1,200,000. In December the Parliament not only allowed this sum on the next budget, but also granted a further subsidy of £1,800,000.¹ In fact, the Directory took no pains to conceal that they were desirous of war, as appeared from their official journal, the *Rédacteur*.² There seemed to be little, either in the state of France or of the armies, to justify their confidence. But they were to give another proof of that vigour of action with which revolutionary governments are frequently accompanied. The Directors were indefatigable. They assembled every morning at eight o'clock, and after working till four or five, met again at eight in the evening, and prolonged their labours till late in the night.³ Their cares were crowned with success, and confidence to a certain extent was restored. After a month Paris could be left to find its own supplies; in half a year all France had wonderfully recovered from its state of prostration. The Revolution had not been attended with unmixed evil. The abolition of corporations, *maîtrises*, and other exclusive privileges, had stimulated private industry; the sales of landed property had elevated the peasant in the social scale. But as tranquillity returned at home the French Government began more and more to direct its views abroad. From this period the Revolution assumes a military character.

¹ Garden, t. v. p. 312.

² *Ibid.* p. 310.

³ Bailleul, t. ii. p. 287.

A *propaganda*, enforced at the cannon's mouth, pretends to establish Republican reforms, while its real objects are the extension of French dominion by conquest, and the spoliation of the conquered. But under this system of treachery and ambition the French Republic itself at last yields to the general whom it had intrusted with the execution of its schemes.

The
Revolution
becomes
military.

CHAPTER LIX

THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGNS OF 1796 AND 1797

Plan of
campaign,
1796.

THE Directory having resolved upon war, adopted a plan for the campaign of 1796 upon a scale of grandeur hitherto unparalleled in the annals of modern strategy. Two armies were to penetrate into Austria, one by Southern Germany, the other by Northern Italy and the Tyrol, and, having formed a junction, were to dictate a peace to the Emperor in his capital. Conquests were to be made in Italy which might serve to exchange against the Austrian Netherlands, and the Directory made no secret that Venice especially was destined to be the victim. By way of picking a quarrel they required the Venetian Government to dismiss from Verona the Count of Provence, who, since the death of his nephew in the Temple, had assumed the title of Louis XVIII.

The projected campaign was to be carried out in Germany by the army of the Rhine, now under Moreau, and by that of the Sambre and Meuse still commanded by Jourdan. Moreau was to penetrate into Suabia and advance by the Lake of Constance, keeping pace with the assumed successes and advance of the army of Italy; while the army of the Sambre and Meuse, leaving its right wing on the Rhine, was to advance into Germany on a more northern line, parallel to and supporting Moreau's left. The neutrality of Switzerland secured the flanks both of the armies of Italy and of the Rhine. The war, especially in Italy, was to be made to support itself by confiscations; and the smaller Italian Princes were to be forced to join the French. Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed to the command of the army of Italy, the first important step in his marvellous career. Schérer had been condemned for not pushing his advantages after the victory of Loano. Bonaparte, now aged twenty-six, had not yet

proved himself as a commander-in-chief; but he had shown talent and decision at the siege of Toulon, and in the insurrection of 13th *Véndémiaire*, while the plan of the Italian campaign betrayed genius. Barras had become his friend, through Bonaparte's marriage with Josephine, widow of General Beauharnais. He was also supported by the friendship of Carnot and Tallien.

Bonaparte arrived at Nice to take the command of his army, March 27th, 1796.¹ It counted some 45,000 troops, good soldiers, but in a state of destitution. He adopted from the first the custom of working upon the imagination of his men, one of the great secrets of his success. He electrified them by an address conceived in the style of antiquity, in which he promised them not only honour, but also wealth and glory in the fertile plains and rich cities of Italy. His course was facilitated by the want of cohesion and hearty co-operation among the Austro-Sardinians. The Cabinet of Vienna had hardly shown good faith in the Treaty with Sardinia. It had been stipulated that the Germans should fight only in the plains; and the Aulic Council of War had instructed the generals to avoid perilous engagements, to keep close together, and reserve their soldiers for the defence of Lombardy. Austria had only 28,000 men in Italy, now commanded by Beaulieu, De Vins having been superseded. The Sardinian army numbered 40,000 men, but of these 15,000 under the Duke d'Aosta were employed in watching Kellermann, who occupied Savoy, and some 5,000 men were in garrisons. The main body, commanded by Colli, stretched from the Bormida on its left, to the Stura on its right, covering Coni, Mennovi, and Ceva, at which last place it had an intrenched camp. The main body of the Austrians, in order to cover Lombardy, was cantoned in the environs of Alessandria and Tortona, and of the two roads leading to Genoa and Milan.

Bonaparte
in Italy.

On the French side, the divisions of Masséna and Augereau were posted at Loano, Finale, and Savona; Serrurier was ordered to proceed to Garessio, to observe the intrenched

Battles of
Montenotte,
Dego, and
Millesimo.

¹ For the Italian campaigns of Bonaparte, to which we can devote only space enough for a sketch, see, besides Jomini, *Campagnes du général Bonaparte en Italie pendant les années IV et V*, par un Officier Général (M. de Pommereul). See also Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*; Lanfrey, *Histoire de Napoléon*.

camp at Ceva; and Laharpe was directed to march on Voltri and threaten Genoa. Two roads were open to the invaders: that of Genoa by the defiles of the Bochetta, and that of Savona, between the Col St. Jacques and Col di Cadibone. Bonaparte chose the latter. From Savona to Carcare was only nine miles, over a mountainous route indeed, but which might be made practicable for artillery; and from Carcare several roads led through the Montferrat into the interior of Piedmont. Bonaparte's route lay through the valley of the Bormida; and here he was to separate the Sardinians and the Austrians, threatening at once Lombardy and Piedmont. The French minister demanded from the Genoese the keys of the fortress of Gavi; thus pretending, in order to cover the real design, that the French army would penetrate into Lombardy by Genoa and the Bochetta. Beaulieu, however, had received information of the real plan of attack, and resolved to seize Montenotte, the key of the French position, which Bonaparte had neglected sufficiently to strengthen, before it could receive further reinforcements. For this purpose he detached D'Argenteau, with instructions to attack Montenotte by April 6th. Thinking, however, that Voltri was not to be neglected, where Cervoni had arrived with Laharpe's advanced guard, he himself marched thither with his left wing; and being assisted from the sea by an English squadron under Nelson, he compelled the French to a precipitate retreat, April 8th. But by this movement he had receded with his left wing to a distance from the real point of attack at Montenotte, and D'Argenteau, to whom he had intrusted that point, proved incompetent and failed. He had, indeed, nearly succeeded in the first assault, and took two of the French lines out of three. But he had delayed too long. On April 10th, at daybreak, Bonaparte in person, with Augereau's and Masséna's divisions, debouched from behind Montenotte, attacked D'Argenteau, and drove him back in such confusion that he retreated to Paretto, three leagues beyond Dego, thus abandoning that important post. On hearing the state of affairs Beaulieu hastened to the scene of action, but was detained several hours by the breaking down of his carriage. At Acqui he succeeded in rallying 6,000 or 7,000 men. Boyer, however, interfered, and prevented his forming a junction with D'Argenteau, and Dego fell into the hands of the French. Bonaparte, in his des-

patches to the Directory, pretended that he had defeated here Beaulieu in person, although that general was many miles distant. He called his victory in these parts the battle of Millesimo, apparently because Augereau seized the gorges so named in order to attack the castle of Cosseria, which made a spirited resistance. The battle of Millesimo is, therefore, a fiction, nor is that of Montenotte much better, having been merely an affair of outposts. Bonaparte's fame in these affairs must rest on his general plan and his manœuvres.

By advancing his left rapidly on the Tanaro, Bonaparte now attained his chief object, of separating the Sardinians and Austrians. Augereau and Serrurier were directed to combine their forces and march on Colli's camp at Ceva. It is said that, in a military point of view, Bonaparte should rather have attacked Beaulieu at Acqui before he could rally his scattered forces. But the French general was a politician as well as a soldier. His object was to force the King of Sardinia to a separate peace. Striking to the left, he crossed the Tanaro, with the intention of turning the camp at Ceva; but Colli abandoned it in the night of April 16th, and re-passing the Tanaro, retired behind the Corsaglia, in the direction of Mondovì: a movement which consummated his separation from the Austrians. Beaulieu informed Colli that if he held out three days at Mondovì he should be relieved. But Bonaparte, leaving Ceva behind, had followed Colli thither, drove him thence after a skirmish which he dignifies with the name of a battle, when Mondovì was abandoned to pillage. Colli now retreated behind the Stura, and took up a position between Coni and Cherasco, in order to cover Turin, where the consternation was extreme. Beaulieu, on learning his retreat, moved his head-quarters from Acqui to Bosco, his left leaning on Novi, his right on Alessandria, to enable him to form a junction with Colli at Asti; and knowing that there was at Turin a party in favour of peace, he demanded to be put in possession of Alessandria, Tortona and Ceva: but Victor Amadeus refused the demand. Meanwhile Bonaparte had pushed on to Cherasco, a very strong place at the confluence of the Stura and Tanaro, the only obstacle to his marching on Turin. At the news of his advance Victor Amadeus recalled Colli under the walls of that capital. In a Council held April 22nd, the King, at the persuasion of Cardinal Costa, Archbishop of Turin, determined to treat at

Treaty of
Cherasco,
April 28th,
1796.

Genoa for a peace with France, under the mediation of Spain. Colli now demanded an armistice; which, however, was refused by Bonaparte, unless the three fortresses of Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona were put into his hands. Pursuing his march, the French general appeared before Cherasco, which, at the first summons of his aide-de-camp, Marmont surrendered without a blow. Victor Amadeus now sent to accept the conditions of the conqueror. A suspension of arms was signed at Cherasco, April 28th, till a definitive peace should be concluded, the treaty for which purpose was signed at Paris, May 15th. The King of Sardinia engaged to renounce the Coalition, to cede to France Savoy, and the counties of Nice, Tenda, and Beuil, to permit no French emigrants to sojourn in his States, to grant an amnesty to all his subjects prosecuted for their political opinions. The French troops were to occupy, till a general pacification, Coni, Ceva, Tortona, the fortresses of Exilles, La Sieta, Suza, Brunetta, and Château Dauphin, and either Alessandria or Valenza, at the option of the French commander-in-chief. The French troops to be allowed free passage through the King's dominions.¹ By this pacification Kellermann's army of the Alps was rendered available.

Victor Amadeus III. rendered himself by this humiliating treaty little more than the vassal of the French Republic. He had yielded to a surprise. No important place was yet in the hands of the French; who, having entered Piedmont through a defile, had not even siege artillery. Bonaparte acknowledged, twenty years later at St. Helena, that the slightest check would have ruined all his plans. In refusing to shelter the French emigrants, Victor Amadeus did not even except his two daughters, married to the brothers of Louis XVI., who had been placed on the list of emigrants. His misfortunes and disgrace probably accelerated his death. He expired October 16th, 1796, in the seventieth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign, and was succeeded by his son, Charles Emmanuel IV. This Prince is said to have advised the treaty with France; it is, at all events, certain that immediately after his accession, he expressed in the most humble terms his attachment to the French Republic.

Beaulieu had advanced to Nizza della Paglia with 15,000

Death of
Victor
Amadeus
III., 1796.

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 208 sqq. (2de Ed.).

men, but halted on hearing of the negotiations. He formed a plan to seize by surprise Alessandria, Valenza, and Tortona, which succeeded only at Valenza. Victor Amadeus, however, had required him to withdraw the Neapolitan dragoons, who had seized that place, and to put it into the hands of Bonaparte. But the French general, after animating his troops with one of his magniloquent proclamations, proceeded by forced marches to Piacenza, where he crossed the Po; thus turning Beaulieu's position, who had crossed at Valenza, and taken the road to Pavia. Beaulieu now retired upon the Adda, with the view both of securing his retreat by Tyrol and throwing a garrison into Mantua; leaving, therefore, his rear-guard at Lodi, with orders to defend the bridge over the Adda, he pursued his march towards the Oglio. On the following day, May 10th, Bonaparte arrived at Lodi, and carried the bridge after a desperate fight, which, however, has been much exaggerated by French writers.¹ Beaulieu's object was only to detain the French twenty-four hours. Milan, already passed by ten leagues, and now at Bonaparte's mercy, sent its keys. He entered that city May 14th, not with republican simplicity, but regal pomp, took up his lodging in the Archducal Palace, and organized a new municipal government. The citadel, however, held out till June 29th. Bonaparte did not revolutionize the Milanese; it was to be kept to serve as an exchange in negotiations with Austria.

Bonaparte
at Milan.

Bonaparte's rapid conquests had excited the jealousy and suspicion of the Directory. They apprehended his ambitious schemes, and, in order to defeat them, resolved to transfer to Kellermann the command of the army of Italy, while Bonaparte was to be detached on an expedition to Leghorn, Rome, and Naples. Bonaparte, however, represented to the Directory, in the strongest terms, the impolicy of dividing the command. He gained Barras by informing him that a million livres were at his disposal, at Genoa. Josephine's influence was exerted with that Director and with Carnot. Both were conciliated; which was the more important, as each had his party. At a second meeting, the Directory re-

Jealousy
of the
Directory of
Bonaparte.

¹ See General von Clausewitz, *Der Feldzug von 1796*, ap. Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrhunderts*, B. v. S. 747. The Austrians had only 7,000 men and 14 guns. The French represent their forces at 10,000 men and 30 guns.

considered the matter, and gave Bonaparte their entire confidence. Thus he became virtually the master of Italy.¹

French
extortions.

The Directory had resolved to seize the spoils of Italy, and Bonaparte had adopted the maxim that the war must support itself. Immense contributions were levied on the conquered States. The Lombards had to contribute twenty million francs. The Duke of Parma, although he had not joined the Coalition, obtained a suspension of arms only through the good offices of the King of Spain, his brother-in-law, and by signing a treaty, May 8th, by which he agreed to pay two million livres, to find 700 horses, and to allow the French general to select twenty pictures from his collections.² This was the first time in the history of modern warfare that works of art had been subjected to spoliation. The Duke of Modena, a Prince of the House of Este, hastened to follow the example of his neighbours. He purchased an armistice by agreeing to pay within a month 7,500,000 livres, and 2,500,000 more in goods and warlike stores: also, to deliver twenty pictures (May 12th).³ This enormous sacrifice, however, did not save him. Bonaparte revoked the armistice in October, on the pretext that the Modenese had supplied Mantua with provisions. The Duke had fled to Venice with his private treasures. Other small Italian Princes were also forced to purchase peace. The hatred engendered by these oppressions produced an insurrection against the French in Pavia. Bonaparte instantly marched thither with a small body of troops, battered down the gates with artillery, abandoned the town to pillage, shot the leaders of the insurgents, and returned to his army. Rather later, symptoms of hostility, encouraged by the Austrian Minister at Genoa, began to show themselves in that Republic. The routes through Genoa, Savona, and Nice were almost intercepted: the Genoese nobles secretly supported every plot against the French army. Bonaparte caused the château of the Marquis Spinola, at Arquata, the centre of these plots, to be razed.

Advance of
Bonaparte.

The van of the French army in pursuit of Beaulieu entered Brescia, May 28th. This town belonged to the Venetians, who despatched *proveditori* to protest against this breach of their neutrality. But it was a natural result of their irreso-

¹ See Sargent, *Napoleon Bonaparte's First Campaign*.

² Martens, t. vi. p. 223.

³ *Ibid.* p. 232.

lute conduct. Placed between two great belligerent Powers, they had not the courage to declare for either, nay, not even to establish an armed neutrality, and they were consequently subjected to the insults of both. Beaulieu also violated Venetian neutrality by seizing Peschiera, a strong fortress on the Mincio, where it issues from the Lago di Garda; behind which river he had determined to make a stand, in order to protect Mantua, to which his left extended. But Bonaparte, after some feints upon Peschiera, attacked his centre at Borghetto, May 30th; and after two days' hard fighting, attended with great loss, carried all the Austrian positions, and effected the passage of the Mincio. It was in consequence of Bonaparte's threats to the *proveditore* Foscarini, at Peschiera, May 31st, that the Venetians resolved to arm; recalled their ships towards the city, and ordered Slavonian regiments to be raised in Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania.¹ Beaulieu, after throwing 13,000 men into Mantua, now retreated on the Adige, pursued by Augereau, and, traversing the Venetian territory, took up a position with 15,000 men in the gorges of Tyrol; while Bonaparte seized Peschiera, and began to threaten and intimidate the Venetians.² Venice, one of the oldest European States, was to fall by its indecision. Sending for Foscarini, *proveditore* of Verona, Bonaparte told him that he should march upon Venice; that he was inclined to burn Verona to its foundations, for sheltering the Pretender, Louis XVIII., thus affecting to be the capital of France; that he had sent Masséna to destroy it. To appease his anger the *proveditore* threw open the gates of Verona. Bonaparte entered that city June 3rd, and immediately seized the citadel, arming it with Venetian guns. Mantua was then invested by the French.

The King of the Two Sicilies hastened to make an arrangement with the French, while his neutrality might still be of

¹ Botta, t. ii. lib. viii. p. 64.

² Bonaparte thus describes his own policy towards the Venetians: "Vénise nous a déjà fourni trois millions pour la nourriture de l'armée. Pour en tirer davantage je suis obligé de me fâcher contre le *provediteur*, d'exagérer les assassinats qui se commettent contre nos troupes, de me plaindre amèrement de l'armement, et par là je les oblige à nous fournir, pour m'apaiser, tout ce qu'on voudra. Voilà comme il faut traiter avec ces gens-ci. Il n'y a pas au monde de gouvernement plus traître et plus lâche."—*Lettre au Directoire, Corr. de Nap. I. t. i. p. 483.*

Ferdinand IV. and other Italian States affirm their neutrality.

The Pope coerced.

some value. By an armistice signed at Brescia, June 5th, he agreed to withdraw his troops from the Austrian army, his ships from the English fleet.¹ Ferdinand IV. did not, however, disarm; he made preparations to defend his frontiers in case of attack, kept 60,000 men on foot, and by this spirited conduct obtained more moderate conditions in the definitive treaty of peace than the Directory had attempted to impose upon him. Bonaparte deprecated a war with Naples, for which he calculated that a reinforcement of 21,000 men would be necessary.² By the treaty signed at Paris, October 10th, Ferdinand agreed to be neutral, and to shut his ports against all vessels of war belonging to belligerents, that should exceed the number of four.³ Bonaparte now also despatched Augereau's division to invade the States of the Church. The Bolognese had sent a deputation to him at Milan, to solicit his aid in relieving them from the yoke of Rome, and restoring them to that liberty which they had acquired at the period of the Lombard League.⁴ The French entered Bologna June 19th. Bonaparte, who was accompanied by the regicide Salicetti, the Commissioner of the French Government, published a manifesto on the 20th, declaring that the relations which had subsisted between Bologna and the Court of Rome since 1513 were at an end, and the Sovereign Power restored to the Bolognese Senate; the Senators were to swear fidelity to the French Republic, and to exercise their authority in dependence upon it. This oath they accordingly took to Bonaparte, seated on a sort of throne in the *Sala Farnese*. But Bonaparte, as usual, imposed a heavy contribution on the city; and the inhabitants found to their surprise that they were treated rather as enemies than allies; a title with which the Generalissimo had honoured the Republic of Bologna. He and Salicetti even laid their hands on the *Mont de Piété*, excepting only pledges of less value than 200 lire. But first of all, though surrounded by their victorious bands, they took the precaution to disarm the citizens.⁵ Urbino, Ferrara, and Ravenna were next successively occupied by the French troops, and were also amerced in contributions. The Pope,

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 234.

² See his letter of October 2nd to the Directory, *Corr. de Napoléon I.* (Paris, 1859), t. ii. p. 32.

³ Martens, t. vi. p. 636.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 446 sq.

⁴ Botta, t. i. p. 444.

now aged and infirm, and alarmed by the progress of the invaders, despatched the Chevalier D'Azara, the Spanish Ambassador at Rome, to mediate for him with Bonaparte and Salicetti. He could not have placed his interests in worse hands. Spain, under the influence of Godoy, was sinking every day more and more into French vassalage. D'Azara delivered, as it were, the Pope and the Holy See bound into the hands of the young and imperious conqueror. It was only on very hard terms that a suspension of arms was granted. Pius VI. engaged to give satisfaction for the murder of Basseville in 1793 (*supra*, p. 104); to liberate all persons confined for political opinions, to shut his ports against the vessels of Powers at war with France. The legations of Bologna and Ferrara were to continue in the occupation of the French troops, who were also to be put in possession of the citadel of Ancona; but Faenza was to be evacuated. The Pope was to deliver 100 pictures, busts, vases, or statues, to be selected by commissioners appointed for that purpose; in which were to be comprised the bronze bust of Junius Brutus, and the marble one of Marcus Brutus; also 500 manuscripts. He was further to pay 15,500,000 livres in money, and 5,500,000 in merchandise, horses, etc., independently of the contributions of the legations; and he was to permit the passage of French troops through his territories.¹ In these negotiations Bonaparte seems to have followed the instructions of the Directory, and to have disapproved, as at all events premature, the harsh treatment to which the Pope was subjected, on account of his vast moral influence, which would be exerted against France.²

While these negotiations were going on with the Pope, Bonaparte, in violation of the Treaty of Paris, establishing the neutrality of Tuscany, despatched General Vaubois to take possession of Leghorn. All the English merchandise there was seized. Fortunately, however, the English merchants had obtained information of the approach of the French, and had shipped off the greater part of their goods. Bonaparte himself proceeded into Tuscany, and was enter-

Leghorn
seized—
Genoa
threatened.

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 239.

² See his letter to the Directory, October 8th, *Corr. de Nap. I. t. ii. p. 42*. The Directory, in their correspondence with Bonaparte, did not even give the Pope his proper title, but called him the Prince of Rome.

tained by the Grand Duke at Florence with almost royal honours. The English, in retaliation for the proceedings at Leghorn, landed 2,000 troops at Porto Ferrajo, the capital of Elba, declaring that they should hold that island till the peace, to prevent its incurring the fate of Leghorn. The neutrality of Genoa was no more respected than that of the other Italian States. From the beginning of the year the French had pressed upon the Genoese a series of demands which were constantly refused. Among these demands was a secret loan of five million francs, for the immediate necessities of the French army; but the English Minister at Turin, having received information of it, declared to the Genoese, that if it was granted, their city would be bombarded by the English fleet, which was then blockading the Riviera. The French, after their victories, renewed their demands in a tone which showed they would take no refusal (June 21st); and the Senate, after long hesitating between the dangers which awaited them from the French armies on one side, and the English fleet on the other, at length decided for the French. A treaty was concluded at Paris, October 9th, 1796, by which the Genoese agreed to close their port against the English, to pay two million francs to the French, and to grant them a loan for a like sum.¹

The ill success of General Beaulieu determined the Austrian Cabinet to supersede him by General Wurmser, who was then commanding the Austrian army on the Upper Rhine. At the time of Wurmser's recall the campaign in that quarter was on the point of commencing. The armistice had been terminated by the Austrians giving notice that hostilities were to begin on June 1st. At this time the position of the opposing forces was as follows: Wurmser, with an army of 60,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, occupied the right bank of the Rhine from Basle to Mannheim, having its right wing extended on the opposite bank to Kaiserslautern, in the Vosges mountains. Another Austrian army, under the Archduke Charles, which, including the contingents of some German Princes and the garrisons of Mainz and Ehrenbreitstein, numbered 70,000 foot and 20,000 horse, was posted lower down the stream, between the rivers Sieg and Lahn. Moreau was opposed to Wurmser with the army of the Rhine, con-

Campaign
on the
Rhine.

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 252.

sisting of 70,000 foot, and 6,500 horse, cantoned along the left bank of the Rhine, from Hünigen to Gernersheim in Alsace, and thence across the Vosges by Pirmasens to Homburg. Over against the Archduke stood Jourdan with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, 65,000 infantry and 11,000 cavalry. The numerical superiority was therefore at first rather in favour of the Austrians; but was lost the day before hostilities began by the departure of Wurmser for Tyrol with 25,000 men. Wurmser was succeeded by Latour, and the command-in-chief of both armies was assumed by the Archduke Charles. That Prince, now aged twenty-five, was destined to achieve in this campaign a military reputation only short of that of Bonaparte.

The German campaign of 1796¹ is somewhat complicated. The army of the Sambre and Meuse took the initiative by crossing the Rhine, Kléber on June 1st, and Jourdan on the 12th, at Neuwied. The Germans in this quarter, under the Prince of Würtemberg, were driven back as far as Wetzlar, but here Jourdan was defeated by the Archduke Charles, June 15th, and compelled to recross the Rhine. Kléber, who covered his retreat, after engaging the Austrians under Kray at Uckerath and Kirchheim, also repassed the Rhine. Moreau crossed that river higher up, and seized the fort of Kehl, June 25th. The Archduke, leaving Wartensleben between the Lahn and Sieg with 36,000 men to oppose Jourdan, hastened with the remainder of his army to the aid of Latour, but, being defeated by Moreau in an engagement at Malsch, July 9th, retreated to Pforzheim. Meanwhile Jourdan had again crossed the Rhine, and driven Wartensleben beyond Frankfurt. Hence that General continued his retreat by way of Würzburg to Amberg, with a view of covering the magazines in Bohemia, thus separating himself more and more from the Archduke, and rendering the latter's situation still more difficult. Charles continued his retreat along the right bank of the Neckar pursued by Moreau, and on July 21st, there was some fighting at Cannstadt and

Success of
the Arch-
duke
Charles.

¹ The best sources for those who would study it are the Archduke Charles's own work, *Grundsätze der Strategie, erläutert durch die Darstellung des Feldzuges von 1796*, 3 B. 8vo.; Jourdan, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. de la campagne de 1796*; Marshal de St. Cyr-Gouvion, *Mém. sur les campagnes des armées du Rhin et de Rhin-et-Moselle, de 1792 jusqu'à la paix de Campo Formio*. 4 vols. 8vo.

Esslingen. At this crisis of the campaign the Archduke was suddenly deserted by some of the Princes of the Empire with their contingents. The Duke of Würtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and the petty Princes of the Circle of Suabia, on the invasion of their territories by Moreau, separated their forces from the army of the Confederation, and obtained from the French General, by heavy contributions, a suspension of arms.

Conduct of
Prussia.

At the same time the Cabinet of Berlin took advantage of the dangers and misfortunes of the German Fatherland to push its own interests. The advance of the French, which seemed to threaten both Empire and Emperor with destruction, and which might have been averted had the Prussians acted with loyalty as members of the Confederation, was employed by them to draw closer their connection with France. On August 5th, as the French armies were penetrating into Franconia and Bavaria, two treaties, one public, the other secret, were signed at Berlin with the French Minister Caillard. The first of these treaties modified the neutral line established by the Treaty of Basle. The new line comprised Lower Saxony and the greater part of the Circle of Westphalia. The States included in it were to withdraw their contingents from the Imperial army and cease their contributions for the war, and the King of Prussia was to assemble an army of observation to guarantee the line of neutrality.¹ The secret treaty was still more important. By this Frederick William II. agreed not to oppose the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to the French, and that the temporal Princes who might suffer from this arrangement should be indemnified by the secularization of ecclesiastical domains in Germany. To the King of Prussia himself was to be assigned the Bishopric of Münster, with the district of Rechlinghausen by way of compensation for his trans-Rhenane provinces. That part of the Bishopric on the left bank of the Ems was to be united to the Batavian Republic. The House of Hesse was also to be indemnified by secularizations, and the branch of Cassel was to be elevated to the electoral dignity. If, at the future pacification, the re-establishment of the House of Orange in the Stadholderate should be deemed inadmissible, the French Republic was to

¹ Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 359.

use its influence to procure for the Prince of Orange the secularized Bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg, also with the electoral dignity. In case the Prince should die without male issue the Bishoprics were to devolve to the House of Brandenburg.¹ The Elector and the other States of Upper Saxony, whose territories were not included in the neutral line, now hastened to accede to the neutrality, by the Treaty of Erlangen, August 13th, under the mediation of Prussia. The line of demarcation was extended so as to include the Bishopric of Fulda, the County of Henneberg, Upper Saxony, and Lusatia, and the Elector undertook to defend it with 20,000 men.² The Saxon contingent was now also withdrawn from the Imperial army.

Prussia, by making concessions to France for which she was to be indemnified at the expense of the Empire, not only ruined the German cause, but also placed herself at the mercy of the French Government in a future settlement. Thus was initiated that selfish and fatal policy which resulted in depriving fifty millions of the German name of their proper weight in the European balance. The English Cabinet viewed her proceedings with alarm. Pitt despatched Mr. Hammond to Berlin to persuade that Cabinet to resort to an *armed* mediation between the belligerents. But Hammond, who arrived at Berlin five days after the conclusion of the treaty, found Haugwitz inexorable; nor did he succeed any better in an interview with Frederick William himself.

Prussia
sacrifices
Germany.

The Archduke Charles, whose army had been reduced to 25,000 men by the desertions of the Imperial contingents, gave battle to Moreau at Neresheim, August 11th. The result was indecisive, but it enabled him to cross to the right bank of the Danube, down which he advanced, with the intention of aiding Wartensleben, whom Jourdan had driven beyond the Naab. Moreau was marching on the opposite side of the Danube. Latour, with 30,000 men, including Condé's corps of French emigrants, was posted on the Lech, which they occupied from Landsberg to Rain. The Arch-

German
campaign.

¹ This secret treaty was betrayed by the French Foreign Minister himself in his negotiations with Lord Malmesbury in the following October, by way of proof that Prussia did not insist upon the left bank of the Rhine. Menzel, *N. Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vi. S. 366.

² Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 360.

duke, having ordered Latour not to risk a battle, but to retire on the approach of Moreau, who had crossed the Danube at Donauwörth, continued his march down the right bank of that river, which he crossed at Ingolstadt, August 17th. Having formed a junction with Wartensleben, he defeated Bernadotte's division at Neumarkt, August 22nd, and again, on the 23rd, at Teiningen. He was now on Jourdan's right flank, whose headquarters were at Amberg, and whom he attacked and defeated, August 24th. The French general now retreated to Schweinfurt, and the Archduke marched to Würzburg. As this movement threatened Jourdan's communications with Frankfort, he attacked the Austrians at Kornach, near Würzburg, September 3rd; but, Wartensleben having come up, the French were entirely defeated. Jourdan now commenced a precipitate and disorderly retreat by way of Gemünden and Hammelburg to the Lahn, during which his troops suffered severely at the hands of the enraged peasantry. After some engagements between the Lahn and Sieg, the army of the Sambre and Meuse, now under the command of Beurnonville, by whom Jourdan had been superseded, recrossed the Rhine.

Moreau's
retreat.

Meanwhile the Archduke Charles was threatened by a danger which he had not anticipated. Latour, instead of obeying his orders, had attempted to arrest Moreau's progress, and had suffered a crushing defeat at Friedberg, August 24th, the day of Charles's victory at Amberg. Latour now retreated on Munich, followed by Moreau. On the approach of the French the Elector of Bavaria fled to Saxony, and the Bavarian States, in the Elector's name, hastened to conclude an armistice with the victorious general, September 7th, by which they agreed to withdraw the Bavarian contingent, to allow free passage to the French, to pay ten million francs, deliver 3,300 horses, 200,000 quintals of corn, the same quantity of hay, 100,000 pairs of shoes, 10,000 pairs of boots, 30,000 ells of cloth, and twenty pictures to be selected from the Elector's galleries.¹ But a fortunate turn in the campaign speedily relieved the Elector from this onerous agreement. Latour had been driven beyond the Great Lahn when Moreau, hearing of Jourdan's misfortunes, which placed him in a critical position, commenced his

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 294.

famous retreat. He was pursued by Latour; Nauendorf, with an Austrian division, was in Ulm; while Charles, with part of his forces, threatened Moreau's line of retreat.¹ His path lay through the Black Forest, which, though beset by Austrian troops, he chose in preference to violating the neutral Swiss territory. To disembarrass himself of Latour before Charles could come up, he attacked and defeated the former general at Biberach, October 2nd, and threaded the narrow and dangerous pass of the Höllenthal without molestation, though pursued by the Archduke. Having emerged into the valley of the Rhine, he engaged the Austrians at Emmendingen, October 19th, and at Schliengen, October 24th, in the hope of maintaining himself on the right bank of the Rhine; but, being worsted in both actions, he re-crossed that river at Hüningen, October 26th. An armistice was now agreed upon between the Austrians and the army of the Sambre and Meuse. The French abandoned the *tête-du-pont* of Neuwied and the right bank of the Rhine from that place to Mühlheim, and went into winter quarters. The Archduke Charles wishing to despatch a large part of his forces to the relief of Mantua, now besieged by the French, would willingly have abandoned Kehl, but he received directions from Vienna to retake it at whatever cost. Kehl surrendered by capitulation, January 9th, 1797, while the *tête-du-pont* of Hüningen held out till February 2nd. The Cabinet of Vienna attained its object, but Mantua fell.

Wurmser, who had taken the command of the Austrian army in Tyrol early in July, 1796, was also prevented from pursuing his own plans for the relief of Mantua. The Aulic Council of War, by directing him to divide his forces, marred all his efforts. Agreeably to their instructions, Wurmser having advanced his headquarters to Trent, divided his army into three columns. One of these, under Quasdanovich, was to march by the shore of the Lago di Garda on Brescia; another, under Meszozoz, proceeded by the eastern side of the lake; while Wurmser himself, with the main body, marched straight upon Mantua. The operations of Quasdanovich were attended with success. He seized Salò and Brescia, and advancing thence on the road to Mantua, threatened the

The Italian Campaign.
Battle of Castiglione.

¹ Philippart, *Life of General Moreau*, and Rambaud, *Les Français sur le Rhin*.

French rear. Wurmser at first was no less successful. By July 31st he had forced all the French posts upon the Adige, and was in full march upon Mantua. Bonaparte, thus placed between two fires, was preparing to retire beyond the Adda, when Augereau is said to have counselled him to raise the siege and direct all his forces against Quasdanovich. The Austrian General was thus crushed by a superior force at Lonato August 3rd, and compelled to regain the defiles of Tyrol, while Brescia and Salò were recovered by the French. Having struck this blow, Bonaparte immediately turned, with 28,000 men, against Wurmser, who had only 18,000, attacked him, August 5th, near Castiglione, and, after a series of combats, which lasted five days, completely defeated him, with great loss of prisoners and guns. Wurmser was now compelled to retire to Trent with the shattered remains of his army. The absence of the French had enabled him to re-victual Mantua, but after his defeat they resumed the siege of that place.

Defeat of
Wurmser.

Bonaparte was now instructed by the Directory to force Wurmser's positions in the Tyrol, and to form a junction with Moreau, who, as we have said, was at this period victoriously advancing.¹ Moreau's right wing having seized the important position of Bregenz, was about to enter Tyrol; and the Directory dreamt for a moment of realizing the vast plan by which they were to unite their armies in the heart of Germany, a hope speedily dissipated by the defeat of Jourdan and consequent retreat of Moreau. Wurmser, on his side, undismayed by the posture of affairs, having rallied his scattered forces and received reinforcements, which brought up his army to 50,000 men, had resolved on another attempt to relieve Mantua. Thus both he and Bonaparte advanced simultaneously in the pursuit of entirely separate and independent objects. Wurmser marched by the Val Sugana towards Bassano, whilst Bonaparte took the direct road to Trent, which place he entered September 5th, after defeating, the day before, at Roveredo, an Austrian division of 25,000 men, commanded by Davidowich. The news of this disaster did not arrest the march of Wurmser, who, on the contrary, pushed on more rapidly towards Bassano. Bonaparte was now in an embarrassing position. To advance further into

¹ Bonaparte himself has given a different account of these circumstances.

Tyrol would be to abandon all Italy to the enemy; he, therefore, resolved to retrace his steps. Advancing against Wurmser by forced marches, he surprised and captured nearly all his advanced guard at Primolano, and entirely defeated Wurmser himself before Bassano, September 8th. The Austrian General had now no resource but to throw himself into Mantua. During this retreat he suffered great losses in several battles, the last of these being at San Giorgio, a suburb of Mantua. September 15th, after which he entered that place with from 12,000 to 15,000 men. The siege was now resumed by Bonaparte, who, on learning the retreat of Moreau, abandoned, for the present, the thought of penetrating into Austria.

The Austrians were not, however, discouraged. A third army of 50,000 men was formed, commanded by Alvinzi and Davidowich. Alvinzi passed the Piave, November 1st, with 30,000 men, defeated Bonaparte on the 6th in a pitched battle at Bassano, and again at Caldiero on the 12th, and compelled him to retreat upon Verona. Bonaparte was in a state of discouragement, almost of despair. Fortunately Davidowich and his division, whom Alvinzi had detached with directions to advance along the course of the Upper Adige, made no movement at this critical juncture, and thus enabled Bonaparte to direct all his forces against Alvinzi. On the evening of November 14th, crossing the Adige at Verona with his army, as if in full retreat, he suddenly turned to the left, and pursuing his march down the right bank of the river, recrossed it at Ronco, with the intention of turning Alvinzi's position. The French assaulted the Austrian intrenchments at Arcole during three successive days, November 15th, 16th, and 17th, with great loss on both sides. Bonaparte himself was precipitated, with his horse, into the marshes, and was in imminent danger of being killed or made prisoner, when he was rescued by his grenadiers. On the third day Alvinzi began his retreat to Vicenza, disregarding the remonstrances of his bravest and most devoted officers, who urged him to effect a junction with Davidowich, and to march upon Verona, which would have received him with open arms.

Austria continues her efforts to relieve Mantua.

Battle of Arcole.

Meanwhile Davidowich, advancing along the Adige, after gaining several advantages over the French, especially at La Pietra, November 7th, and at Rivoli, 17th, had succeeded in penetrating to Castel Nuovo, near Peschiera; but at the

approach of Bonaparte, who now hastened against him with his victorious army, he was compelled to retreat. Thus the Austrians again lost the campaign by the injudicious plan of dividing their forces.

In January, 1797, Alvinzi, who had received large reinforcements, made, at the summons of Wurmser, a last attempt to deliver Mantua. Despatching General Provera with 12,000 men towards Ponte Legnano on the Lower Adige, he himself transferred his head-quarters to Roveredo, on the Upper Adige. From these places both generals were to pursue their march to Mantua and form a junction at that town. Provera was successful over Augereau's division, and compelled that General to retreat on Bevilacqua and thence on Ponte Legnano, January 9th. Alvinzi, on his side, after some hard fighting, drove the French under Joubert from their intrenchments at La Corona (January 13th), who then retired to Rivoli. Bonaparte, who was at Bologna, at the news of the Austrian advance, flew to the scene of action, and on January 14th defeated Alvinzi in a decisive battle at Rivoli; which the Austrian General, unaware of the arrival of Bonaparte with reinforcements, had advanced to attack. On the following day Joubert completed, at La Corona, Alvinzi's discomfiture, while Bonaparte, with the greater part of his victorious army, marched in pursuit of Provera. That General had arrived at Mantua, and, by concert with Wurmser, was preparing to attack the suburbs of San Giorgio and La Favorita, held by the French, when he found himself surrounded by the troops of Bonaparte and of Augereau, and was compelled to lay down his arms (January 16th). These disasters proved fatal to the Austrian power in Italy. Mantua surrendered by capitulation February 2nd. The Commandant, Canto d'Yrles, a Spaniard, was so confident of the temper of his soldiers and the strength of the fortress, that it was with the greatest reluctance he had admitted Wurmser; and there can be no doubt that the necessity of providing for so many additional mouths accelerated the fall of the place. It has been thought by good military authorities that, with a garrison of from 12,000 to 15,000 men, with provisions and medicines for two years, Mantua might be defended against an army of 100,000 men.¹

Battle of
Rivoli,
1797.

Fall of
Mantua.

¹ See note in Garden, t. v. p. 386.

France had strengthened herself by an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain, which secured to her the aid of that Power, but, during the present war, only against England. Spain, since the affair of Toulon, conceived that she had some grievances against England; a feeling which the French Government used all their endeavours to inflame. They also cajoled and flattered the vain favourite Godoy, who, at this time, ruled supreme in Spain. It is difficult to divine his motives for the French alliance. He neither liked the French people nor their Revolution; while his Sovereign must have viewed with horror a Government which had murdered or expelled the elder branch of his family. The Treaty of St. Ildefonso, concluded by Godoy with the French Directory, August 19th, 1796, was modelled on the *Family Compact* of 1761. Its object was to render the wars of one Power common to both; or, in other words, under present circumstances, to place the resources of Spain at the disposal of France. Each Power agreed to provide the other, at three months' notice, with fifteen ships of the line, six frigates, and four smaller vessels; and with 18,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and artillery in proportion. The eighteenth article of the treaty is the most important, being virtually a declaration of war against Great Britain. This article stated that, England being the only country against which Spain had any direct complaints, the present alliance should be valid solely against her during the actual war, and that Spain should remain neuter with regard to other Powers at war with the French Republic.¹

Treaty of
St. Ilde-
fonso.

After the execution of this treaty the English and Spanish Ministers were reciprocally withdrawn; and the Spaniards prepared to lay siege to Gibraltar. The manifesto of Spain against Great Britain, containing her alleged grievances, appeared October 6th.

Spain
declares
against
England.

Soon after the declaration of war, a Spanish fleet of twenty-four sail of the line proceeded to Toulon; when Admiral Jervis, the English commander in the Mediterranean, being now no longer strong enough to blockade that port, was directed to carry off the British troops at Corsica, Elba, and Caprera, and to quit the Mediterranean. This was the principal motive with the Court of Naples for making peace with

France. Bonaparte, after his expedition to Leghorn, had, through his emissaries, excited an insurrection in Corsica against the English, and before the end of October the French regained possession of that island.

Pitt's at-
tempts to
make peace.

The French and Spanish alliance, as well as mistrust of Austria, which seemed to be retained in the Coalition only through fear of Russia, were probably the principal motives which induced Pitt to attempt negotiations with France for a peace. Seizing the opportunity of Jourdan's defeat at Amberg, Lord Grenville addressed a note, September 6th, to Delacroix, the French Foreign Minister, which was conveyed to him through the Danish Ambassador at Paris. The French Government having refused to treat, except directly, Lord Grenville, encouraged by the Archduke Charles's further victories, sent another note, September 25th, by a flag of truce direct to Paris, when passports were forwarded for Lord Malmesbury, the English plenipotentiary, and the persons in his suite. The Directory appear at this period to have been sincerely desirous of peace, at least with Austria. Their situation was by no means secure. They were threatened at once by the remains of the Jacobin party and by the Royalists; several conspiracies had been organized against them; they had found it necessary to establish camps in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to banish all suspected persons from that capital. One of the most formidable of these conspiracies was that of Francis Noel Babœuf, a journalist and ultra-democrat, who had assumed the name of Caius Gracchus Babœuf. In conjunction with Drouet, the celebrated postmaster, and other persons, Babœuf had plotted an armed insurrection (May, 1796); but his design having come to the knowledge of the Directory, he and the other leaders were seized before they could execute it. Babœuf was ultimately condemned by the High Court of Vendôme, and stabbed himself on hearing his sentence of death.¹ The reverses of the French armies in Germany had produced a painful impression on the public mind, which was aggravated by the distressed state of the country, and loud cries had arisen for peace. Under these circumstances, the Directory had instructed Bonaparte to make overtures to the Emperor; who accordingly addressed from Milan an insolent letter to Francis, October 2nd, in

Babœuf's
conspiracy,
1796.

¹ Advielle, *Histoire de Babœuf et du Baboubisme*.

which he threatened that Monarch with the destruction of Trieste and the ruin of all Austrian establishments on the Adriatic, unless he immediately despatched plenipotentiaries to Paris.¹ This communication was treated by the Emperor with silent contempt.

Lord Malmesbury arrived in Paris October 21st, and was received with lively demonstrations of public joy. But the Directory, as their conduct soon showed, did not wish a peace with England. Their policy was to isolate that Power by concluding a separate treaty with Austria, and to continue the war against it with the aid of Spain. The English plenipotentiary was treated with open insult by the Government, while General Clarke, an Irishman in the service of France, was despatched to Vienna by way of Italy to make another attempt at negotiation. Thugut was inclined for a separate peace with France; but the English Ambassador, Sir Morton Eden, persuaded the Emperor not to separate his cause from that of England, and Clarke's passports were refused.

Failure of
Pitt's efforts
for peace.

The Austrian Cabinet now communicated to that of England their views with regard to the negotiations at Paris; and on the 17th December Lord Malmesbury presented to the French Government an *ultimatum* drawn up in conformity with them. England agreed to restore to France all her conquests in the East and West Indies, on condition of the restitution of the Emperor's possessions on the same footing as before the war, of peace with the Empire, and of the evacuation of Italy by the French troops, coupled with an engagement not to interfere in the domestic affairs of that country. But the French Government refused to restore the Austrian Netherlands, a point which the English and Austrian Cabinets made a *sine quâ non*. Delacroix insisted, that the Netherlands having been annexed to France by a legislative decree, it would be *unconstitutional*, and out of the power of the Directory, to give them back: thus making the law of France override the law of nations. The Directory declined to offer any counter-scheme; and on December 19th Lord Malmesbury was directed to leave Paris in forty-eight hours. The death of the Empress Catharine II., on November 17th, just as she was on the point of signing the Triple Alliance, had an effect on the negotiations unfavourable to the Coali-

Failure of
peace nego-
tiations.

Death of
Catharine
II., 1796.

¹ *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. ii. p. 34.

tion.¹ Paul I. adopted a different line of policy, and revoked the *ukase* which had been issued for a general levy.

French fleet
sails to
Ireland.

The Punic faith of the Directory was proved by their urging on during these negotiations the preparation of an armament destined for a descent upon Ireland. The French fleet sailed from Brest December 15th, two days before Lord Malmesbury delivered his *ultimatum*. The Directory had used their authority over the Batavian Republic, now a mere appendage of France, to fit out another fleet for the same purpose in the Texel. The disastrous result of this expedition is well known to the English reader. Part of the vessels of the French armament arrived in Bantry Bay, the remainder were dispersed by storms. Among these last was the frigate conveying General Hoche, the commander of the troops of debarkation, in whose absence the French admiral refused to land them.² Contrary to expectation, the Irish showed themselves hostile to the invaders, and the expedition was compelled to return, after suffering considerable losses both from the weather and by capture. The naval actions and colonial affairs of 1796 were not of much importance. A squadron, despatched by the Dutch for the recovery of the Cape of Good Hope, was captured in August by Admiral Elphinstone in Saldanha Bay, about thirty leagues from the Cape. In the West Indies, St. Lucia and St. Vincent's were taken by the English, but their attempt on St. Domingo failed.

Bonaparte
and Pius
VI.

Bonaparte had scarcely dictated the terms of the capitulation of Mantua when he announced to Pope Pius VI. the termination of the armistice of Bologna (February 1st, 1797), and marched with his troops in the direction of that city, while General Victor, with his division, was ordered to enter the Romagna. After the conclusion of that armistice, Pius VI. had sent two Plenipotentiaries to Paris to treat for a peace; but the bases proposed by the Directory were so unreasonable that the Papal Ministers declined to adopt them, and were ordered to leave Paris (August, 1796). Negotiations were afterwards renewed at Florence with no better success. The Pope then prepared for war; increased his army to

¹ The advantages which the French promised themselves from the accession of Paul are explained in Delacroix's letter to Clarke, December 30th, 1796. But their hopes were not altogether realized.

² Escande, *Hoche en Irlande*.

upwards of 40,000 men, which he intrusted to the command of the Piedmontese General Colli; and entered into negotiations for an alliance with the Court of Vienna. The expedition of the French into the States of the Church was, however, little more than a military promenade. The Papal troops intrenched behind the Senio were routed on the first attack; Faenza, Forlì, Cesena were successively entered; Bonaparte in person proceeded to Urbino and Ancona, whence, despatching a detachment to occupy Loreto, he took the road to Rome by Macerata and Tolentino.

After the fall of Mantua, Pius had sent to propitiate the conqueror and sue for peace. At the news of his approach, the Pope solicited an armistice, when the French general required him to dismiss his newly levied troops and foreign commanders, and accorded him the space of five days to send plenipotentiaries to Tolentino. The Directory had invited Bonaparte to effect the entire destruction of the Papal Government, which had always shown itself the implacable foe of the Republic. But Bonaparte did not share the hatred of the Directors for the Holy See; and there were circumstances which induced him to come to terms with it. The Austrians were preparing another army; the King of the Two Sicilies had sent a message that he should not behold with indifference the French advance upon Rome, nor consent that conditions should be imposed upon the Pope that were contrary to religion and the existing Papal Government. Bonaparte agreed upon the PEACE OF TOLENTINO with the Pope's envoys, February 19th. The See of Rome withdrew from all leagues against the French Republic, ceded to it Avignon and the Venaissin and the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna; and accorded to it the possession of Ancona till a Continental pacification should be effected. Besides the pecuniary contributions stipulated in the armistice of Bologna, the Pope was to pay fifteen millions more in cash, diamonds, or other valuables. The contributions in objects of art and manuscripts remained the same. Thus the Holy See purchased a peace by sacrificing more than a year's revenue and a third part of its temporal dominions. After thus mulcting the Pope, Bonaparte addressed to him a most respectful letter, in which he expressed his veneration for the Holy Father in terms quite at variance with the spirit of his instructions from the Directory, and such as might have

The Peace
of Tolent-
tino, 1797.

become the most devout son of the Church.¹ A little previously the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been compelled to purchase a confirmation of his neutrality.² After the conclusion of the Peace of Tolentino, Bonaparte sent a message to the little Republic of St. Marino, the oldest in Italy after Venice, offering it an augmentation of territory. The Gonfalonier wisely declined the dangerous honour; and this small State, consisting of only 6,000 souls, preserved its independence through all the convulsions of Europe.³

Bonaparte's
successes.

Thus, in less than a twelvemonth, Bonaparte had conquered Piedmont, and reduced the King of Sardinia to an ignominious peace; had subdued Lombardy and Mantua; destroyed four Austrian armies; detached the King of Naples, as well as Parma and Tuscany, from the Coalition; laid Venice and Genoa under contribution; deprived the Pope of a large part of his dominions; and occupied all the north of Italy to the Piave. He could boast that he had not only supported his army during eleven months, and handsomely rewarded his generals, officers, and soldiers, but had also been able to send thirty million francs to France.

Policy of
Thugut.

But notwithstanding Bonaparte's rapid and brilliant conquests, the main object of the war, the complete overthrow of the Emperor, still remained unaccomplished. To carry out such a task required all Bonaparte's genius and good fortune. Thugut had trusted to the Russian alliance and to the presence of the English fleet in the Mediterranean to hamper if not defeat the French schemes in Italy. But the death of Catharine II. and the withdrawal of the English fleet to Gibraltar, consequent on the close alliance made between France and Spain, destroyed his hopes of aid from Russia and England. But Thugut did not despair. He determined to concentrate all his efforts upon resistance in Italy. The obstacles to a march from Italy to Vienna, if properly taken advantage of by the Austrians, seemed almost insuperable. The resources of the Emperor were far from being exhausted. His hereditary dominions displayed an enthusiastic loyalty. The Hungarian Diet assembled at Pressburg, elected the Archduke Joseph to the vacant dignity of Palatine, voted a considerable subsidy in money, extraordinary supplies in kind,

¹ *Corr. de Nap. I. t. ii. p. 347.*

² *Garden, t. v. p. 392.*

³ *Gaffarel, Bonaparte et les républiques Italiennes.*

a large levy of recruits, and an *insurrection* of the nobles, on a scale so extensive that the cavalry alone amounted to 24,000 sabres. Bohemia and Tyrol accorded a *levée en masse*.¹ The Archduke Charles, whose campaign in Germany had inspired the greatest confidence in his military abilities, was appointed generalissimo of the Austrian forces. Bonaparte had been reinforced by the divisions of Bernadotte and Dehmas, and a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was in progress with Charles Emmanuel IV., by which he was to receive the aid of a considerable body of Piedmontese troops.² The French had also been recruited from the conquered districts of Italy. To an army of 45,000 men, inured to service and flushed with victory, the Archduke could oppose only about 24,000 troops in a state of disorganization and discouragement. Faults were also committed in the conduct of the campaign. Had the Archduke Charles concentrated his forces in Tyrol he might have easily prevented the French from penetrating through those difficult passes, while at the same time Bonaparte would probably have been deterred from taking the route of the Julian and Noric Alps, for fear of seeing his communications intercepted, and himself attacked in the rear. Instead of this, by direction of the Aulic Council, he assembled the main body of his army in the Friuli, and exposed it to the attacks of the French in a long and feeble line on the Tagliamento. The Austrians were driven from their position at Valvassone, on that river, at the first attack, March 16th, in which action Bernadotte particularly distinguished himself. The Archduke now retreated beyond the Isonzo. Bonaparte, in close pursuit, left him no time to cover Trieste, drove him through Gradisca and Görtz beyond the Save. Bernadotte was despatched to seize Trieste, which he entered, March 24th. On the 23rd, Masséna, with the French advanced guard, defeated the Austrians, after some brilliant actions, at Tarvis. The Drave was now passed, and Bonaparte entered Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, March 31st, which had been taken by Masséna, after a smart action two days before; while Bernadotte entered Laibach, the capital of Carniola, April 1st.

Campaign
of 1797.

Defeat of
the Arch-
duke
Charles.

But the situation of Bonaparte was attended with con-

¹ Mailath, *Gesch. des Oestr. Kaiserstaates*, B. v. S. 218.

² Signed at Turin, April 8th, 1797. Martens, *Recueil*, t. xi. p. 620.

Situation of
Bonaparte.

siderable danger. The Directory had informed him that he could expect no timely aid by the advance of the French armies through Germany. He found himself in the midst of a hostile population, advancing further and further from his base of operations; while the Archduke, as he receded, drew nearer to his supports. The Hungarian *insurrection* had begun to march. General Joubert, who had penetrated to Botzen in Tyrol, was there threatened by the Tyrolese *levée en masse*, under Count Lehrbach, and compelled to retreat. At several places in the Venetian territories the inhabitants had risen against the French. Bonaparte was alarmed about the intentions of the Venetian Government itself. The Senate, annoyed by the seizure of Bergamo by General Baraguay d'Hilliers (December 25th, 1796), had silently made considerable armaments; had assembled near Venice a corps of 12,000 Dalmatians, the best troops of the Republic; and had entered into secret negotiations with the Court of Vienna, which could not have altogether escaped the knowledge of the French. Bonaparte had extorted from the Republic a subsidy of one million a month, telling them that they might seize the treasures of the Duke of Modena, who was an enemy of France. The manner in which he expressed himself to Pesaro, one of their Commissioners who attended him on his march, betrays the anxiety which he felt regarding Venice; which, indeed, by rising against him at this juncture, might have done him irreparable damage.¹ A few more days, and Bonaparte might probably be cut off from Italy, deprived of the means of maintaining his army, and compelled, perhaps, to attempt a retreat by way of Salzburg, which would have been attended with the greatest difficulties. His alarm, in fact, was so great that he addressed a letter from Klagenfurt to the Archduke Charles (March 31st), with proposals for peace.

Bonaparte
proposes
peace.

Bonaparte did not, however, arrest his march. He pressed on by St. Veit and Neumarkt, where a battle occurred, to Judenburg in Styria, the Archduke retreating before him. At Judenburg, only a few days' march from Vienna, an armistice was agreed upon, April 7th, which was followed, eleven days after, by the signature of the preliminaries of a peace at Leoben. Vienna had been seized with a panic at

¹ Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxxvii. § 30.

the approach of the French; and Bonaparte's proposal, contrary to the advice of the Archduke Charles, had been joyfully accepted. The truce was extended to Tyrol, where the French were now in full retreat; and thus rescued them when the advance of the Austrians and Tyrolese would have supported a rising against them in the Venetian States. It is unnecessary here to detail the preliminaries signed at Leoben, the articles of which were either confirmed or set aside by the definitive Peace of Campo Formio six months afterwards. They were drawn up with the assistance, but not under the mediation, of the Marquis S. Gallo, Neapolitan ambassador at Vienna.¹ It will suffice to state that the main outline of them was the cession to France of the Austrian Netherlands, the consent of the Emperor to her occupation of the left bank of the Rhine and of Savoy, and to the establishment of a Cisalpine Republic in Italy, Austria relinquishing all her possessions beyond the Oglio; for which sacrifices the Emperor was to be compensated with the continental states of Venice, while that Republic was to receive the possessions wrested from the Pope by the Peace of Tolentino. Thus Austria disgraced herself by deserting Great Britain and making a separate peace, contrary to the solemn assurances of Thugut to the English ambassador only a few days before; as well as by accepting the spoils of Venice, a friendly, or, at all events, a neutral Power, in compensation of her own losses.

Preliminaries of Leoben, 1797.

Hoche, with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, had passed the Rhine at Neuwied, April 18th, and driving the Austrians before him, reached Giessen on the Lahn, after gaining several battles and marching thirty-five leagues in five days. Moreau, with the army of the Rhine, passed that river on the 21st at Kehl, in face of the enemy drawn up in order of battle; one of the most brilliant passages on record. He made 4,000 prisoners and retook the fort at Kehl; but an armistice concluded June 23rd, in conformity with the preliminaries of Leoben, arrested further hostilities in this quarter.

Hoche and Moreau.

Bonaparte, in his first overtures to Austria, had not demanded the cession of Lombardy, having no equivalent to

Venetian rising.

¹ The preliminaries of Leoben were long kept secret. The articles which differ from the Treaty of Campo Formio will be found in Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 398 sq.

offer in return, and fearing that without it the Emperor would never consent to a separate peace; but before the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben events had occurred which, if they did not justify, might at all events serve to colour and excuse, the spoliation of Venice, and thus provide the desired indemnity. The Italian peasantry, exasperated against the French soldiery, rose and massacred a considerable number of them. In Venice itself demonstrations were made against the French, which were secretly encouraged by three Inquisitors of State, and were also favoured by Drake, the English Minister. In spite of the protest of the Venetian Government, the insurrection went on increasing, and had extended to Verona itself. The French garrison in that town consisted of only about 1,300 men, exclusive of the sick, while the Venetian Government had assembled there, besides Italian troops, and a considerable force outside the town, a body of 2,000 Slavonians. Encouraged by the presence of this garrison, as well as by the approach of the victorious Austrians from Tyrol, and the entry of several thousand armed peasants into the town, the inhabitants rose against the French, massacred some of them in the streets, and attacked the garrison in the castle. The arrival of French reinforcements at length compelled the insurgents to surrender at discretion, not, however, before they had killed more than 100 of the French, with a loss on their side of about a quarter of that number. But the most horrible feature in this riot was the murder of more than 400 sick French soldiers in the hospitals; an act of cruelty which procured for it the name of the Veronese Vespers.

The
Veronese
Vespers.

Venice
occupied.

Whether the Venetian Government was implicated in this affair or not, Bonaparte, whose hands were now freed by the peace with Austria, took care not to let slip so excellent an opportunity for quarrelling with them. He received the Venetian Commissioners sent to deprecate his wrath, with that blustering fury which always harbingered a storm. Arrived at Palmanuova, he published a regular declaration of war, May 2nd, though he had no authority from his Government for such a step. A body of 20,000 French troops was then assembled on the borders of the Lagoons. Among the Venetians themselves was a strong party in favour of the French and their political institutions. At the head of it were the Senators Battaglia, Dona, and San Fermo;

Admiral Condulmer, commandant of the Lagoons; the Doge Manini himself implicitly obeyed its counsels. It had been directed by Lallemand, the French ambassador to the Republic; and when that Minister, agreeably to the declaration of war, quitted Venice, his office as leader of the French party was supplied by Villetard, the Secretary of Legation, who remained behind, and even retained over his door the arms of the French Republic. Thus Venice was threatened both from without and from within.

After a short visit to Milan, which he entered with all the pomp of sovereignty, Bonaparte returned to Mestre, the headquarters of the French upon the Lagoons. Before he arrived there he had granted the Venetians an armistice of twelve days to consider the terms which he offered. No harder ones could have been imposed if the city had been conquered. He demanded the suppression of the Senate and Council of Ten; the arrest and trial of the three State Inquisitors, of the *proveditore* of Venice, and the Commandant of the Lido or Port; the liberation of all political prisoners; and a total disarmament. Yet, among the Senators, only two, Pesaro and Justiniani, were for resistance; although, with a little resolution, Venice might easily have been defended. The sinuous Lagoons were difficult to pass; the French had no flotilla, while the Venetians possessed between 200 and 300 vessels manned by 8,000 sailors; there were 10,000 Slavonian soldiers in the city, and several English frigates were cruising in the Adriatic, which would have come to the aid of Venice at the first signal. But her fall had already been prepared by her own Government. The Doge had assembled on April 30th an extraordinary and illegal committee of forty-three senators, in which it had been determined that, agreeably to the wishes of the French party, the Government should be rendered more democratic. The demands of Bonaparte were accepted, and three plenipotentiaries were despatched to treat with him for a peace at Milan, whither he had now returned.

Submission
of Venice.

Bonaparte has himself explained, in his confidential letters to the Directory, his motives for entering into this treaty. By means of it the French would be enabled to enter Venice without opposition, to obtain possession of the arsenal and other public establishments, which were to be despoiled of their contents, *under the pretext of executing the secret articles.*

The Treaty
of Milan.

If the peace with the Emperor should not be ratified, the possession of Venice would enable the French to turn its resources against him. Finally, the treaty would appease any clamour in Europe, since it would state that the occupation was a mere momentary act, solicited by the Venetians themselves. Bonaparte added that he intended to seize all their vessels, carry off their cannon, destroy the bank, and keep Corfù as well as Ancona.¹ It was with such intentions that the Treaty of Milan was signed, May 16th, by Bonaparte and Lallemand on one side, and by Dona, Justiniani, and Mocenigo on the other. It consisted of six public and six secret articles. The principal conditions of the public articles were, that the Grand Council renounced its rights of sovereignty, directed the abdication of the hereditary aristocracy, and recognized the sovereignty of the State in the assembly of the citizens. The new Government, however, was to guarantee the public debt, as well as the maintenance of poor gentlemen and the life-pensions hitherto granted under the title of "*provisions*." A body of French troops was to be kept in the city till the Government should signify that it had no longer need of them; and all the Venetian territory was to be evacuated by the French at the Continental Peace. By the secret articles, the two Republics were to come to an understanding about the exchange of different territories; Venice was to pay three million livres in the space of three months, and three millions more in hemp, cordage, and other marine stores; she was to furnish three ships of the line and three frigates, fully armed and equipped, and to deliver twenty pictures and 500 manuscripts.²

French
occupation
of Venice.

But while the negotiations for this treaty were proceeding at Milan, a complete revolution took place at Venice. In conformity with Bonaparte's requisitions the ships had been ordered to be disarmed, the Slavonian troops to be dismissed, and on May 11th the Doge Manini invited the Senators to depose their powers into the hands of a commission of ten persons, to be named with the approbation of Bonaparte. But on the following day, through the influence of the French party, a new democratic Municipal Council was elected, con-

¹ *Corr. de Nap. I. t. iii. p. 55.*

² Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 391; Haller, *Geh. Gesch.* B. v. S. 15.

sisting of sixty persons of all ranks and nations. Riots ensued, which lasted three or four days, in which the Slavonians played the principal part, and which had for their object plunder rather than a counter-revolution. They served, however, as a pretext for introducing the troops of Baraguay d'Hilliers into the city, 3,000 or 4,000 of whom were conveyed over the Lagoon on the night of May 15th, in barks provided for them by the French party. The Slavonians, with their commander Morosini, had previously set sail for Zara, after plundering the villages of Lido and Malamocco.

Thus, on the conclusion of the Treaty of Milan a new revolutionary Government had been established at Venice. The new Council ratified the treaty; but as the French troops had obtained entrance into Venice without the aid of its stipulations, Bonaparte refused to ratify, availing himself of the miserable subterfuge that he had not negotiated with the new Government. He now demanded five millions instead of three, and directed the Venetians to seize 100,000 ducats belonging to their guest, the Duke of Modena. The French, by their subsequent barbarous proceedings, realized Bonaparte's threat that he would prove an Attila for Venice. Before quitting it, they seized the whole Venetian fleet and all the cannon and stores that were serviceable; they demolished the Bucentaur, burnt the Golden Book at the foot of a tree of liberty, and carried off the bronze horses, the spoils of Constantinople, which had so long been the pride and ornament of Venice; thus depriving her even of the monuments and trophies of her ancient glory. By the aid of a Venetian flotilla, the French also took possession of the Ionian Islands. Thus fell the renowned Republic of Venice, the most ancient Government in Europe. More astonishment, however, was created by the Austrians taking possession of Venetian Istria and Dalmatia than by all the proceedings of the French. This step was preceded by a hypocritical manifesto respecting the necessity of enforcing order in those States; but it was in reality a result of the secret articles of Leoben.¹

Fall of
Venice.

¹ See in general for the above account of the fall of Venice, Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxxvii.; Tiepolo, *Discorsi sulla Storia del sign. Daru*; Tentori, *Documenti della caduta di Venezia*; Botta, *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814*, lib. x.

Ligurian
Republic,
1797.

The revolution in Venice was soon followed by another in Genoa, also organized by the plots of the French Minister there, Faypoult. The Genoese had in general shown themselves favourable to France; but there existed among the nobles an anti-French party; the Senate, like that of Venice, was too aristocratic to suit Bonaparte's or the Directory's notions; and it was considered that Genoa, under a democratic constitution, would be more subservient to French interests. An insurrection, prepared by Faypoult, of some 700 or 800 of the lowest class of Genoese, aided by Frenchmen and Lombards, broke out on May 22nd, but was put down by the great mass of the real Genoese people. Bonaparte, however, was determined to effect his object. He directed a force of 12,000 men on Genoa, and despatched Lavalette with a letter to the Doge, very similar to that which Junot had carried to Manini, requiring him to liberate all the French who had been imprisoned, to arrest those who had excited the people against France, and to disarm the citizens. These orders were to be executed within twenty-four hours, otherwise the French Minister would leave Genoa, and the aristocracy would cease to exist.¹ Faypoult further demanded the arrest of three of the principal nobles, and the establishment of a more democratic constitution. Bonaparte's threats were attended by the same magical effects at Genoa as at Venice. The Senate immediately despatched three nobles to treat with him, and on June 6th was concluded the Treaty of Montebello.² The Government of Genoa recognized by this treaty the sovereignty of the people, confided the legislative power to two Councils, one of 300, the other of 500 members, the executive power to a Senate of twelve, presided over by the Doge. Meanwhile a provisional Government was to be established. By a secret article a contribution of four millions, disguised under the name of a loan, was imposed upon Genoa. Her obedience was recompensed with a considerable augmentation of territory, and the incorporation of the districts known as the "Imperial fiefs." Such was the origin of the **LIGURIAN REPUBLIC**.

Austrian Lombardy, after its conquest, had also been formed into the "Lombard Republic;" but the Directory had not

Cisalpine
Republic.

¹ *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. iii. p. 75.

² Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 394.

recognized it, awaiting a peace with Austria. Bonaparte, after taking possession of the Duchy of Modena and the Legations, had, at first, thought of erecting them into an independent State, under the name of the "Cispadane Republic;" but he afterwards changed his mind, and united these States with Lombardy, under the title of the CISALPINE REPUBLIC. He declared, in the name of the Directory, the independence of this new Republic, June 29th, 1797; reserving, however, the right of nominating, for the first time, the members of the Government and legislative body. The districts of the Valtelline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, subject to the Grison League, in which discontent and disturbance had been excited by French agents, were united in October to the new State; whose constitution was modelled on that of the French Republic.

Bonaparte was commissioned by the Directory to negotiate a definitive peace with Austria, and conferences were opened for that purpose at Montebello, Bonaparte's residence near Milan. The negotiations were protracted six months, partly through Bonaparte's engagements in arranging the affairs of the new Italian Republics, but more especially by divisions and feuds in the French Directory, ending in a revolution which we must now describe.

The Directory and the two Councils had hitherto acted together with tolerable harmony, but great discontent prevailed among the public. A strong reactionary, and even Royalist, party had grown up, and the elections of May, 1797, entirely changed the aspect of affairs. A third part of the members of the Councils having then resigned, agreeably to the new constitution, their places were supplied by anti-Jacobins, and even by known Royalists; among whom were Generals Pichegru, Barbé Marbois, Dumas, Dupont de Nemours, General Willot, and others. The reactionary party now formed a majority in the two Councils, and were thus opposed to the executive Directory; in which also a change had taken place. Letourneur de la Manche had gone out by lot, and the new Chambers elected Barthélemy to succeed him. Barthélemy, formerly French ambassador in Switzerland, a man of moderate principles, acted with and adopted the views of Carnot; and though these two Directors were far from being royalists, they were still further from agreeing with the violent counsels of their three colleagues, Barras, Rewbel, and

Schism
in the
Directory,
1797.

La Réveillère-Lepeaux. Thus the majority of the Directory were opposed by the majority of the Councils, a state of things which could not but end in a collision. But though the three Directors who acted together, and who obtained the name of the *triumvirs*, were opposed by the legislature, they were supported by the army; a circumstance which naturally led to an appeal to force, and originated that military despotism which far-seeing politicians had foretold as the inevitable end of the French Revolution. As soon as the two new Councils had been constituted, 1st *Prairial, an V* (May 20th, 1797), Pichegru was elected President of the Five Hundred, and Barbé Marbois of the Ancients. The administration of the Directory was now violently assailed, particularly their war policy and their financial measures, and peace, economy, and an unrestricted liberty of the press were advocated. Camille Jordan, a young deputy from Lyons, enthusiastically pleaded the cause of the clergy. The restoration of Catholic worship, the repeal of the decree of banishment against non-juring priests, as well as that against emigrants, were demanded, and numbers of both those proscribed orders returned into France. In the provinces counter-revolutionary reprisals took place against the holders of the national property. The royalist party established the Club of Clichy, while the triumvirs, who found the power of the Directory almost paralyzed, endeavoured to reorganize Jacobinism.

Reactionary
movements.

In this state of things the reactionary party began to contemplate the restoration of Royalty; while the triumvirs, on their side, determined to put down their opponents by a *coup d'état*, supported by military force. Resort to such a step was indeed their only alternative, as they had no power under the constitution to appeal to the people by dissolving the Councils. Hoche, who now commanded the army of the Sambre and Meuse, a man of extreme principles, was entirely devoted to Barras and his colleagues; and as his army was the nearest to Paris, he was directed to march several regiments on that capital. In spite of the remonstrances of the Councils, these troops, on futile pretences, overstepped the constitutional radius of twelve leagues from the metropolis, and were quartered in the neighbourhood of Paris. The views of General Bonaparte were at first dubious. He was too prudent to commit himself at once to the majority of the Directory, like Hoche. Besides, he shared the more mode-

rate views of Carnot and the peace party with regard to the affairs of Italy and the pacification with Austria. In other respects, however, he was by no means inclined to support the reaction. He had been violently abused in the Club of Clichy. His application of the public money for military purposes had been severely censured in the Council of Five Hundred, who had passed a resolution depriving the generals of all control over the finances; but this had been rejected by the Ancients. Bonaparte, moreover, had always been the opponent of Pichegru, and he was the enemy of Willot, a Royalist general in Southern France, whom Carnot had patronized by way of counterpoise to him. He therefore sent his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to Paris, to offer his services to the triumvirs, but, at the same time, with instructions not to compromise him with Carnot. The triumvirate, in a secret letter, accepted his promise to march on Paris, in case of need, with 25,000 men, as well as his offer of three millions to aid the *coup d'état*. Thus the conqueror of Italy, the vanquisher of Austria, was to become the arbiter of the government under which he held his command.

Bonaparte urged on the triumvirate the necessity for speedy action. The summer was waning fast; if the negotiations for a peace with Austria should not be brought to a satisfactory conclusion before the autumn, it would be too late to chastise that Power by renewing the campaign. The Cabinet of Vienna, aware of the state of parties in France, was anxiously awaiting the result, and sought every pretext to procrastinate the negotiations. Bonaparte himself, instead of going to Udine, took up his residence at Milan, where he was nearer to the scene of action. On August 10th, the anniversary of the fall of royalty, he caused his soldiers to swear on the *autel de la patrie* to exterminate all conspirators and traitors. Threatening addresses of the most violent kind from the divisions of Joubert, Augereau, and Masséna were got up and sent to Paris. Bernadotte hesitated to follow this example; and the address of his division, when at length made, was in a much milder form than the others. Augereau, a rough soldier, without any political capacity, and of whose rivalry Bonaparte had therefore no dread, was despatched to Paris with the addresses and to assist the *coup de main*. He was appointed commandant of the 17th military division, which included the metropolis; and the

Bonaparte's
prepara-
tion.

military posts were also intrusted to officers of the army of Italy.

The 18th
Fructidor.

While the triumvirs were contemplating their *coup de main*, the Legislature was also preparing a revolution.¹ On the motion of Pichegru, 17th *Fructidor* (September 3rd), a National Guard was ordered to be immediately formed, after which the troops of the line were to be directed to retire from the neighbourhood of Paris. General Willot was for more violent measures: an insurrection of the Sections, and the accusation of Barras, Rewbel, and La Réveillère. But, as it happens in such cases, the counsels of so large a number were paralyzed by hesitation and difference of opinion; their designs were betrayed to the triumvirs, who acted with energy and decision. During the night of September 3rd, the troops placed round Paris entered that city, and, under the command of Augereau, were formed round the Tuileries, to the number of 12,000 men with 40 guns. At four in the morning of September 4th (18th *Fructidor*), the alarm gun was fired; Augereau presented himself at the *grille* of the Pont Tournant, where Ramel, who commanded the guard assigned to the Legislature, had stationed 800 grenadiers, a force quite inadequate for effective resistance, even had they been inclined to resist. To Augereau's question, "Are you Republicans?" the grenadiers responded with shouts of *Vive Augereau! Vive le Directoire!* and immediately joined his troops. Augereau now caused Pichegru, Willot, Ramel, and other leaders of the reactionary party to be arrested; the Council of Five Hundred was directed to assemble in the *Odéon* Theatre, that of the Ancients in the *Ecole de Médecine*, with the view of compelling them to give a legal sanction to the proceedings of the three Directors. These assemblies having declared themselves *en permanence*, a message was sent to acquaint them with what had been done and the motive for it, the discovery of a conspiracy for the restoration of Royalty. The Council of Five Hundred named a commission composed of Sieyès and four other members to take measures for the public safety. The law which they presented was in fact an ostracism; nothing more arbitrary or violent had been perpetrated under the Reign of Terror, except that transportation was sub-

Proscrip-
tions.

¹ See Larue, *Histoire du 18 Fructidor*, and Pierre, *La Terreur sous le Directoire*.

stituted for the guillotine. Carnot, Barthélemy, and upwards of fifty members of the Council were proscribed, including Pichegru, Boisy d'Anglas, Camille Jordan, Willot, and Barbé Marbois. Proofs of a Royalist conspiracy¹ were got up from some papers seized on the Comte d'Entraigues at Venice, and forwarded by Bonaparte to the Directory; as well as from Pichegru's correspondence with the Prince of Condé, which Moreau had seized some months before in a carriage belonging to the Austrian general Klinglin. Pichegru's intrigues had long been well known to the Directory; Moreau himself was implicated in them, and betrayed his friend and patron at the last hour. Moreau was deprived of his command; Barthélemy, Pichegru, and about twenty other persons, were sentenced to be transported to the unhealthy swamps of Guiana. A great many of the proscribed persons, however, never left the Isle of Ré. Carnot concealed himself in the house of a friend, and succeeded in escaping into Germany. The proscription was subsequently extended, and the editors of thirty-five journals were condemned to transportation. Regulations were adopted calculated to strengthen the hands of the victorious faction. The elections were annulled in forty-eight of the eighty-three departments; the laws recently passed in favour of priests and emigrants were repealed; emigrants not struck out of the list were ordered to quit Paris in twenty-four hours on pain of being brought before a court-martial; an oath of fidelity to the Republic and to the constitution of the year III, as well as of hatred to monarchy and anarchy, was exacted from all public officers; all members of the Bourbon family were directed to leave France, even those who had remained in it during the Reign of Terror; the whole administration of the department of the Seine was altered; newspapers were placed under the surveillance of the police during a year. Thus the oligarchy of the three Directors, Rewbel, Barras, and La Réveillère-Lepeaux, and of their Ministers, Merlin, Schérer, and Talleyrand, was established solely by the sword of Augereau; the

¹ However defective the evidence adduced, there can be no doubt that schemes were in agitation for restoring the ancient *régime*. Madame de Staël, who was in Paris at this time, observes: "Il y avait dans l'intérieur des deux conseils un parti très décidé à ramener l'ancien régime, et le général Pichegru en était un des principaux instruments."—*De la Révol.* part. iii. ch. 24.

populace took no part whatever in the matter. The Republican party was revived, that of the Royalists defeated and humbled, and prepared for submission under the Consulate and Empire. The two Councils, as altered by the new elections, became subordinate to the Directory, whose number was completed by the addition of Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchâteau.

Views of the
Directory.

The revolution of 18th *Fructidor* had great influence on the negotiations with Austria. Bonaparte, satisfied that the success of the *coup d'état* was insured by the military arrangements, proceeded to the château of Passeriano, near Udine, before the end of August. The Directory intrusted to him the whole conduct of the negotiations, and he showed himself as able a diplomatist as he had proved a matchless commander. The qualities which he displayed in these negotiations, his broad and statesmanlike views, his clear and penetrating judgment of men and events, contributed as much to pave his way to future empire as the brilliant victories won by his sword. But although the Directory seemed to have accorded their entire confidence to Bonaparte, to whom they were so greatly indebted for their power, yet they were far from agreeing with him as to the objects of the future peace. Barras, Rewbel, and their colleagues, retained their warlike views. They were for rejecting altogether the preliminaries of Leoben as the basis of negotiation; they insisted upon retaining Mantua, which, by the secret articles of those preliminaries, had been conceded to the Emperor; they wished to make the Tagliamento, instead of the Adige, the limit of the Austrian territories in Italy; thus giving the city and port of Venice to the Cisalpine Republic; and to revolutionize Piedmont, Rome, and Naples. With this last view they refused to ratify the offensive and defensive alliance which Bonaparte had concluded in April with the King of Sardinia, and which he regarded as essential to the safety and success of his military operations in Italy. In spite of their obligations to him, they looked with suspicion on the young Corsican who thus aspired to protect Kings and Princes, to overthrow Republics and distribute their spoils, to be sole arbiter of peace and war. They also regarded the continuance of the war as the best security for their hold of power, and the only means of maintaining and paying their armies; and in these views they were supported by the ultra-revolu-

tionary party. By way of counterpoise to Bonaparte, they appointed Augereau to the command of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle and of the Sambre and Meuse, now united into one. The command of the former had been vacated by the removal of Moreau, that of the latter by the unexpected death of Hoche. Augereau, at the head of such a force, and supported by the Government, had he had any political genius, might have become the master of the Revolution, and forestalled the career of Bonaparte. Instead of that, he rendered himself the mere tool of the Directory. On assuming the command, he published an inflammatory address, well calculated to provoke a renewal of hostilities, a step which formed one of Bonaparte's motives for accelerating a peace.

Bonaparte's prudence and moderation at this juncture form a striking contrast to the violent counsels of the Directory. He perceived that more would be gained by peace than by war. The abandonment which he advised of Venice to Austria, thus depriving the Cisalpine Republic of a seaport, and putting into the Emperor's hands the key of Italy, was, indeed, a point on which great difference of opinion might be fairly entertained. Battaglia and Dandolo, the chiefs of the democratic party at Venice, offered Bonaparte 18,000,000 francs, and an auxiliary corps of 18,000 men, to induce him to unite Venice with the Cisalpine Republic, and continue the war with Austria. But Bonaparte could not be shaken from his resolution. He had calculated the chances of a winter campaign, and he knew that the Austrians had collected an army of 120,000 men on the frontiers of Italy for the purpose of securing Venice. The doctrine that France was to fight for the liberty of other nations he, as usual, threw to the winds.¹ His views at this time are admirably explained in a despatch to Talleyrand of October 7th.² He warns against a rash precipitancy, alludes to the characteristic of the French to be too elated in prosperity; "yet," he continues, "if such be *the order of destiny*, I think it not impossible that, in a few years, we may arrive at those grand results of which the heated imagination catches a glimpse,

Bonaparte's
moderation.

¹ "Jamais la république Française n'a adopté pour maxime de faire la guerre pour les autres peuples," etc. etc. See *Lettre confidentielle à Villetard, Corr. de Nap. I. t. iii. p. 399.*

² *Ibid.* p. 269.

but which only the cool, the persevering, and the judicious ever attain." He seemed to know instinctively how far he might carry his pretensions and when it was time to retire. Thus, though he abandoned Venice, he settled the question about Mantua without any negotiation, by proclaiming its union with the Cisalpine Republic, September 27th.¹

The Peace
of Campo
Formio.

On the renewal of the negotiations at Udine, the Cabinet of Vienna despatched thither Count Louis Cobenzl,² its ablest and most practised diplomatist, after a stormy scene with whom, on October 14th, Bonaparte got his way, and three days later was concluded the celebrated PEACE OF CAMPO FORMIO. It derived this name from its having been signed in a ruined castle situated in a small village of that name near Udine; a place selected on grounds of etiquette in preference to the residence of either of the negotiators. By this treaty³ the Emperor ceded the Austrian Netherlands to France; abandoned to the Cisalpine Republic, which he recognized, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Peschiera, the town and fortress of Mantua with their territories, and all that part of the former Venetian possessions to the south and west of a line which, commencing in Tyrol, traversed the Lago di Garda, the left bank of the Adige, but including Porto Legnago on the right bank, and thence along the left bank of the Po, to its mouth. France was to possess the Ionian Islands, and all the Venetian settlements in Albania below the Gulf of Lodrino; the French Republic agreeing, on its side, that the Emperor should have Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, the Bocche di Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Lagoons, and all the former Venetian Terra Firma to the line before described. The Emperor ceded the Breisgau to the Duke of Modena, to be held on the same conditions as he had held the Modenese. A congress composed of the plenipotentiaries of the German Federation was to assemble

¹ Garden, t. v. p. 414.

² Bonaparte himself says: "Fier de son rang et de son importance, il (Cobenzl) ne doutait pas que la dignité de ses manières et son habitude des cours ne dussent écraser facilement un général sorti des camps révolutionnaires: aussi aborda-t-il le général Français avec une certaine légèreté; mais il suffit de l'attitude et des premières paroles de celui-ci pour le remettre aussitôt à sa place, dont, au demeurant, il ne chercha jamais plus à sortir."

³ Martens, t. vi. p. 420.

immediately, to treat of a peace between France and the Empire.

To this public treaty was added another secret one,¹ by the principal article of which the Emperor consented that France should have the frontier of the Rhine, except the Prussian possessions, and stipulated that the Imperial troops should enter Venice on the same day that the French entered Mainz. He also promised to use his influence to obtain the accession of the Empire to this arrangement. The navigation of the Rhine to be declared free. If, at the peace with the Empire, the French Republic should make any acquisitions in Germany, the Emperor was to obtain an equivalent there, and *vice versâ*. The Dutch Stadholder to have a territorial indemnity. To the King of Prussia were to be restored his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, and he was consequently to have no new acquisitions in Germany. Princes and States of the Empire, injured by this treaty, to obtain a suitable indemnity. In what this was to consist is not specified; but the omission of the Bishops of Basle, Strassburg, and Spires from the list of those who were to receive such compensation, shows that it was not designed to re-establish those bishoprics, and that consequently the Emperor had consented to the secularization of their possessions. The Emperor also virtually acknowledged his recognition of the principle of secularization by the fifth article of the Secret Treaty, by which he accepted the good offices of the French Republic to procure for him the Archbishopric of Salzburg. The open and unconditional acceptance of this principle by Frederick William II. in July, at Pyrmont, at the instance of Talleyrand, the French Foreign Minister, had helped to remove the Emperor's scruples, and thus to facilitate the Peace of Campo Formio, though, as a Catholic monarch and head of the Empire, he had less justification for such an act than the Prussian King. Yet Austria and France agreed to shut out Prussia from participating in the secularizations.² On the other hand, the Court of Vienna preserved the three ecclesiastical electorates of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne.

The Secret
Treaty.

By the Treaty of Campo Formio was terminated not only the Italian campaign, but also the first Continental war of the Revolution. The establishment of Bonaparte's prestige

Results of
the war.

¹ Garden, t. v. p. 420.

² Menzel, B. vii. S. 376 f.

and power by the campaign was a result still more momentous in its consequences for Europe than the fall of Venice and the revolutionizing of Northern Italy. The war with Austria, declared by Louis XVI. in 1792, was now concluded. A struggle of five years' duration, respecting the territorial rights of some Princes of the Empire on the left bank of the Rhine, had ended with the total alienation of their possessions in that quarter. The Austrian Netherlands had been acquired by France, and were incorporated with that country under the name of the Circle of Burgundy. The United Provinces, which, under the Stadholderate, had been so closely allied with England, had, under the name of the Batavian Republic, been converted into a State entirely dependent upon France. Towards the Alps and Italy the French Republic had acquired Avignon, Savoy, and Nice; the King of Sardinia, under the title of an ally, had become little more than the vassal of the Directory; in Lombardy and Northern Italy had been formed from the spoils of Austria, the Pope, the House of Este, and the Republic of Venice, another of those dependent commonwealths with which the Directory had determined to surround itself. No less striking than these events was the renewal of the Family Compact by a Spanish King of the House of Bourbon with the murderers of Louis XVI., the head of the elder branch of his family. Thus the Revolution, which the German Princes had thought to put down by a military promenade, had proved itself stronger than Europe. The ancient political system of the Continent had been shaken to its foundations. Austria, the most conservative of European States, had joined in the revolutionary Treaty of Campo Formio, based on a partition of the spoils of a neutral Power, and containing in its secret articles the germs of future revolutions and interminable wars. But if the French Revolution had mastered Europe, it had itself found a master in Bonaparte, who was to become for many years almost the sole arbiter both of France and the Continent.

CHAPTER LX

THE WAR OF THE SECOND COALITION

FREDERICK WILLIAM II. did not live to hear the particulars of the Peace of Campo Formio, and the way in which he had been treated by his French allies. He had long been in a declining state of health, and on November 16th, 1797, he expired at Potsdam, in the fifty-fourth year of his age and twelfth of his reign. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick William III., born August 3rd, 1770. This Prince, endowed with only moderate abilities, was remarkable for his moral and domestic habits. Frederick William II.'s favourite general, Bischofswerder, was dismissed into poverty and obscurity, with a pension of 1,200 thalers (£180). Lucchesini avoided the disgrace of a dismissal by retiring before his royal master's death. But the late King's principal Ministers, Haugwitz, Lombard, and Lecoq, were retained, and thus no change ensued in the Prussian policy. On the very first day of his reign Frederick William III. addressed a letter to the Directors of the French Republic, whom he called "his great and dear friends," and promised to cultivate the harmony which had hitherto subsisted between the two nations. But it soon became evident that, since the Treaty of Campo Formio, the Cabinet of the Luxembourg had adopted the policy of embroiling Austria and Prussia, by treating the former with great consideration, and manifesting a complete indifference for the latter.

Accession of
Frederick
William III.
of Prussia,
1797.

England, after the preliminaries of Leoben, seeing herself deserted by Austria, had also endeavoured to arrange a peace with France; and with that view Lord Malmesbury had been despatched to Lille in June, to confer with the ex-Director Letourneur de la Manche, and two other French plenipoten-

Lord
Malmes-
bury's nego-
tiations.

tiaries. But it soon appeared that little hope could be entertained of a favourable issue to the negotiations. Although the English Cabinet offered to restore all the possessions conquered from France, and even those wrested from Holland and Spain, with the exception only of the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Trinidad (conquered from the Spaniards, February 18th, 1797), the French Ministers refused to negotiate unless, as a preliminary, Great Britain consented to relinquish all her conquests whatsoever; thus, at the very outset, as Lord Malmesbury observed, leaving no grounds for treating at all. The negotiations were now purposely protracted by the Directory. The minority of that body, indeed, and the majority of the two Legislative Councils, seem to have been sincerely desirous of peace; but the triumvirs, Rewbel, Barras, and La Réveillère-Lepeaux, had resolved on war. Immediately after the revolution of 18th *Fructidor*, the French plenipotentiaries at Lille were replaced by Treilhard and Bonnier, two members of the late Convention. On September 16th, Treilhard demanded of Lord Malmesbury whether he had powers to restore all their colonies to France and her allies, and received an answer in the negative. Passports were now sent to the English Minister, who was directed to quit France in twenty-four hours. Yet the French plenipotentiaries remained at Lille till October 16th, pretending to expect Lord Malmesbury's return!

French
projects
against
England.

Great Britain was thus left to contend alone with the now colossal power of France. Even Portugal, her ancient ally, had been constrained to abandon her. At the time of the Treaty of Basle, Spain had engaged to use her influence to detach Portugal from the English alliance. When the Court of Madrid declared war against England, the Portuguese Queen, Maria I., was required to make common cause with Spain and France, and threatened with war in case of refusal; and a Spanish army was actually assembled on the frontiers of Portugal. The Court of Lisbon made extraordinary preparations for defence, which were supported by the British Government. Prince John, the Regent, was, however, anxious for a peace with the French Republic; and the Portuguese Minister, Don Antonio Arango de Azevedo, taking advantage of the Directory's want of money for their *coup d'état* of 18th *Fructidor*, purchased from them, at the

price of six million francs, a tolerably advantageous treaty, August 20th, 1797,¹ which the French Legislature ratified September 12th. In consequence of this transaction, Admiral Jervis, now Lord St. Vincent, entered the Tagus; troops were landed, who occupied Fort St. Julian, commanding the port; and the English Cabinet declared that the ratification of the treaty with France would be regarded as an act of hostility. The Regent, under these circumstances, declined to ratify; the Directory declared the treaty null and void, October 26th, and the Portuguese Minister was ordered to leave Paris. When, however, the Peace of Campo Formio had released the French armies, and the representations of the Spanish Court became still more pressing, the Regent, dreading the dangers to which he was exposed on this side, even more than a rupture with England, reconciled himself with the Directory and ratified the treaty, December 1st.

The French, having effected their purpose of isolating England, resolved to strike a blow at her very heart. They saw that on the ocean, on which alone the war would henceforth be prosecuted, she was able to bid defiance to the combined efforts of Europe. In the course of the year, by Admiral Jervis's victory over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, February 14th, and by that of Admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet under Winter, at Camperdown, October 11th, she had severely crippled the naval power of those allies of France. An invasion, and, if possible, a conquest of England, seemed the only method of destroying her maritime superiority. A futile attempt was made early in the year to ascend the Avon and burn Bristol, which ended in the capture of all concerned in it. Bonaparte, immediately after the Peace of Campo Formio, formed a plan for invading England on a grand scale, though it may be doubted whether he really intended to execute it. In a letter to the Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, October 18th,² he observes: "The Austrians are heavy and avaricious; there is no people less intriguing, or less dangerous for our military affairs. The English, on the contrary, are generous, intriguing, and enterprising. Our Government must destroy the English Monarchy, or must expect itself to be destroyed by the corruption and intrigues of these active islanders. The present moment offers a good

The question of an English invasion.

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. vi. p. 413 sqq.

² *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. iii. p. 392.

opportunity. Let us concentrate all our activity on the navy, and destroy England. That effected, all Europe is at our feet." The Directory hastened to accept a scheme, which, however ideal, would disembarass them of a commander whom they suspected. Taking Bonaparte at his word, they named, on the very day that his despatch was received, Berthier to the command of the army of Italy, ordered several corps to assemble on the coasts of the Channel, and appointed Bonaparte to the command of the "Army of England," which, till his arrival, was given provisionally to Desaix. Bonaparte, on reviewing the French troops at Milan, November 4th, announced to them this appointment, and told them that they must not lay down their arms till England had been conquered. From the army of Italy 36,000 men were directed towards the ocean. So great was the confidence of the Directory, that they opened a loan which was to be repaid out of the spoils of England. A more tangible security was the seizure and sale of all English goods held by French merchants; an act of injustice towards French subjects intended to injure English commerce, but which fell in reality on that of France. The Directory also declared lawful prize all vessels freighted with English merchandise. Such was the beginning of that war upon English commerce, afterwards carried out on a gigantic scale by Bonaparte by his famous Continental system.

Bonaparte
at Rastadt.

Before assuming the command of the army of England, Bonaparte was to proceed, as French Plenipotentiary, to Rastadt, where, agreeably to the Treaty of Campo Formio, a congress had assembled to arrange the terms of a peace between the French Republic and the German Empire. Bonaparte's journey to Rastadt resembled a triumphal march. All the towns through which he passed sent deputations to salute him. At Turin he was received by the King of Sardinia with every mark of distinction; Geneva celebrated his arrival with public fêtes and illuminations; Bern prepared to honour him with a banquet, a ball, and other festivities. But the French Revolutionists had long conceived a grudge against Bern, for reasons which will be explained further on; and Bonaparte declined to accept their hospitalities. He entered Rastadt on the evening of November 25th, in a carriage drawn by eight horses and surrounded by a guard of twenty-four hussars. Here he found a despatch from the

Directory inviting him to Paris. The most important matter concluded by Bonaparte during his short stay at Rastadt was a secret military convention, arranged with Count Cobenzl, and signed December 1st,¹ intended to facilitate the execution of the secret treaty of Campo Formio. The Emperor, in communicating the public articles of that treaty to the German Diet, had invited them to send deputies to Rastadt to treat for a peace "on the basis of the integrity of the Empire." Yet, by this convention, the Imperial troops were to evacuate the fortresses of Mainz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philippsburg, Königstein, Mannheim, Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Würzburg; in short, to retire from the neighbourhood of the Rhine behind the Lech and the Inn, in order that the French might take possession of Mainz and the left bank of the Rhine. The Elector of Mainz and the Diet were to be moved to admit the French troops into that city; in case of refusal, the French Republic was to be authorized to effect a forcible entry. The Imperial troops, agreeably to this convention, evacuated Mainz on the night of December 9th, leaving in it only the troops of the Elector. The astonishment and dismay of the Princes of the Empire at being thus betrayed and deserted by their constitutional head may be better conceived than described. The mask had at length fallen, and the double game played by Francis became apparent. As head of the Empire, he had stipulated its integrity in the preliminaries of Leoben. But in the secret articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio, which he concluded only as King of Hungary and Bohemia, that stipulation had been abandoned; nay, he had agreed that if the war should be renewed he would furnish to the Empire only his contingent as Archduke of Austria, and remain neuter with regard to his other dominions. Mainz was now surrounded by the French troops, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the Elector, being threatened with a bombardment, was compelled to capitulate, December 28th, 1797. It was not till this surrender was effected that the Austrians were admitted into Venice.

Meanwhile Bonaparte had returned to Paris; where the Directors, in compliance with the public enthusiasm, but much against their own private inclinations, received him with extraordinary pomp in the Court of the Luxembourg

Bonaparte
returns to
Paris.

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 437.

Palace, December 10th. Talleyrand addressed the victor of Italy in a speech more remarkable for bombast and exaggerated adulation than for eloquence, for none had a surer presage of the rising sun than the ex-Bishop of Autun. The address of Bonaparte himself on presenting the Treaty of Campo Formio to the Directors, was conceived in a stilted, sententious style. Barras, in his reply, observed that "Nature had exhausted all her riches to create Bonaparte—Bonaparte has meditated his conquests with the mind of Socrates; he has reconciled mankind with war!" Bonaparte, seems, however, to have been rather humiliated than gratified by his reception at the Luxembourg; he would, indeed, have been content with a seat in the Directory, in which two were now vacant, but he was put aside on the ground that he had not attained the age required by the constitution.

In prosecution of the scheme for invading England, Bonaparte, accompanied by some general officers, paid a rapid visit, early in February, 1798, to the ports of Etaples, Ambleteuse, Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, Furnes, Nieuport, Ostend, and the Isle of Walcheren, for the purpose of forming a judgment as to the feasibility of the enterprise. The result was that he deemed it too hazardous. The conquest of the Turkish province of Egypt, which had long occupied his attention, as well as that of the Directory, was substituted for it.

We have already mentioned how the Directory, immediately after the fall of Mantua, had pressed Bonaparte to march to Rome and destroy the Papal Government; how that general deemed such a step at all events premature, and preferred to conclude with the Pope the Peace of Tolentino. The Directors, however, continued to cherish a plan which promised, at trifling risk, so rich a harvest of plunder and peculation; nor did Bonaparte entertain the same repugnance for it as previously to the arrangements for a peace with Austria. His elder brother Joseph was sent as ambassador to Rome in September, 1797, for the purpose of troubling the waters and laying the foundations of a quarrel;¹ but as

¹ For the following see Botta, *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814*, t. ii. lib. xiii.; Duppa, *Brief account of the overthrow of the Papal Government*; Lacrételle, t. xi.; De Merck, *Captivité et mort de Pie VI.* For the whole Pontificate, Bourgoing, *Mém. hist. sur Pie VI. et son pontificat*; Artaud, *Histoire de Pie VI.*

Scheme to
invade
England,
1798.

Quarrel
with the
Pope.

Joseph's indolent habits seemed to promise but little activity, three young and fiery French generals, Duphot, Arrighi, and Sherlock, were subsequently appointed to assist him. With the same view of seizing Rome the French continued to occupy Ancona, although they had agreed to evacuate it at the general peace, alleging that a maritime war was still continued. Bonaparte instructed his brother, in case Pius should die, to strain every nerve to prevent the election of another Pope, and to effect a revolution in the government.¹ Although the Pope's authority was menaced by a revolutionary party, he was compelled, by the threats of Bonaparte, to dismiss the Austrian general Provera, whom he had appointed to the command of the Papal troops. Disturbances broke out in several parts of the Pope's dominions. At Rome the democrats proclaimed a republic, and similar scenes ensued at Corneto, Cività Vecchia, and other places. These insurrections were put down; but they caused Pius such alarm that he was compelled to recognize the Cisalpine Republic, by which they had been fomented. The Pope appealed to the French ambassador to intervene, who pretended to sympathize with his situation; but instead of affording aid he demanded the release of all the imprisoned patriots. Rome at this time swarmed with discontented men, at the head of whom was the Marquis Vivaldi. It was notorious that an insurrection was preparing and that its focus was at the Corsini Palace, the residence of the French Embassy. On December 28th, 1797, it broke out, and Duphot was fired upon and received a mortal wound. Next day Joseph Bonaparte quitted Rome for Florence, and though the Papal Government made the most humble submissions, nothing could induce him to return. Berthier, much against his inclination, was directed to march secretly and with all the expedition possible upon Rome, and there to organize a republic. In vain the Pope implored the aid of Naples, Austria, and Tuscany. Bonaparte averted their interference by pretending that the Directory, after the occupation of Rome, would come to an understanding with those Powers about its fate. If, however, Naples should stir in the matter, he threatened that war would be declared. The Cabinet of Vienna acquiesced so

¹ Letter of September 29th, 1797 (*Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. iii. p. 352).

tamely in these proceedings that they did not even present a single note to the Directory in favour of Pius VI.

The French
at Rome.

The French troops entered Rome February 10th, 1798, and were received as friends. The Pope could resort to no other weapons for his protection than prayer and fasting. On February 15th, the anniversary of Pius VI.'s elevation, the Papal chair was overthrown, and the Roman Republic proclaimed. The Pope received with dignity and resignation the news of his deposition. A scene of brigandage now ensued, which had been one of the chief objects of these proceedings. Berthier had proclaimed that property would be respected, and Pius had not attempted to remove his effects. Yet his palaces were stripped, their contents catalogued and sold with all the regularity of a broker acting under a writ of execution. The French armies in Italy were constantly followed by a horde of dealers, tracking like vultures the scent of booty. Rome was mulcted in four million francs in specie, two millions in stores and provisions, and three thousand horses; and four Cardinals, three Princes, and other persons were seized as hostages for the payment. The Papal arms were everywhere destroyed, the golden keys suppressed, titles and other distinctions abolished, gold lace, liveries, and ornaments of all kinds prohibited.

Misfortunes
of Pius VI.

The Directory had determined that Pius should leave Rome, and the remainder of his property was now confiscated. His private library, consisting of more than 40,000 volumes, was sold to a Roman bookseller; even the rings were stripped from his fingers. Foremost in these brutalities was the French Commissioner Haller, a Swiss Calvinist. On a stormy night towards the end of February, Pius was conveyed like a prisoner to Siena. When the French took possession of Tuscany, in March, 1799, Pius was carried to Briançon, a fortress in the High Alps surrounded with perpetual snows, a place to which regiments were sometimes sent by way of punishment. This systematic cruelty, towards an invalid old man, whose long reign of more than twenty years is unsullied by a single instance of persecution or injustice, appears to have been chiefly the work of the fanatical *La Réveillère-Lepeaux*, chief of the sect calling themselves *theophilanthropistes*, or religious philanthropists! When that Director and his colleagues, Treilhard and Merlin, were

expelled from the Luxembourg in the following June, the Government caused the Pope to be removed to the milder climate of Valence, in the Department of the Drome, where he died at the age of eighty-two, August 29th, 1799.

A few days after the expulsion of the Pope, four French Commissioners arrived at Rome and established a constitution on the approved model, namely, two chambers and five directors with the title of consuls. The churches as well as the palaces were pillaged. Objects of art were turned into money; sacerdotal robes were submitted to the fire for the sake of the bullion in their embroidery; the shrubs in the gardens were dug up and sold. What could not be sold was wantonly destroyed. The proceeds of this plunder were appropriated by Generals of the Staff and agents of the Directors.

Pillage of Rome.

Switzerland was the next victim of Gallic cupidity. An attack upon that country had been meditated by the Girondists. Already, during the Italian campaign, Bonaparte seems to have meditated the future subjugation of Switzerland, for the sake of the convenient military roads into South Germany and North Italy which the possession of it would afford. The annexation of the Italian cantons to the Cisalpine Republic formed part of this scheme, to the execution of which all obstacles appeared to be removed by the Peace of Campo Formio. The aid which the well-filled treasury of Bern, and the spoils which might be made in other Swiss towns, would afford towards the expedition against England, afterwards converted into that against Egypt, was not the least among the motives for the attack upon Switzerland.¹

State of Switzerland.

It is not surprising that the doctrines of the French Revolution should have made some progress among certain portions of the Swiss, who, whatever might be their political liberty, could not boast of equality. Basle and the Pays de Vaud were the cantons in which French principles made most progress. They were fomented in the former by Peter Ochs,

French intrigues.

¹ On this subject see Madame de Staël, *Consid. sur la Rév. Fr.* p. iii. ch. 27; Bourienne, in his *Mémoires*, asserts that Bonaparte took no share in the revolutionizing of Switzerland. The contrary is proved, not only by his whole conduct, but also by his letter to the Directory of the Cisalpine Republic, February 28th, 1798. *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iii. p. 496; see also Rochette, *Histoire de la Révolution Helvétique de 1797 à 1803*.

Oberzunftmeister, or head of the Corporation of Basle, and in the Pays de Vaud, by Colonel Laharpe, a person of some influence, who had been tutor to the Archduke Alexander of Russia, afterwards Emperor. Laharpe had, on one or two occasions, excited insurrections, which, however, had been put down by the Bernese Government. Circumstances were more favourable to his plans, and those of Ochs, towards the end of 1797. The Directory, soon after their establishment, had cast their eyes on Switzerland; emissaries had been despatched thither to sow the seeds of dissension; complaints had been raised about the conduct of the Bernese Government; and the dismissal, or rather the voluntary retirement, of the English Minister, Wickham, whom they had accused of abusing his ambassadorial functions by intriguing against France, had been effected. After the conclusion of the peace with Austria, the Directors began more openly to display their hostility. In December they caused their troops to take possession of some territories belonging to the Bishopric of Basle, and on January 28th, 1798, Mühlhausen was united by a formal treaty to France.¹ The peasantry of the canton of Basle, seizing the opportunity to assert their liberties, rose in insurrection and destroyed the *châteaux* of their bailiffs or governors; but the Council and Burgesses of Basle averted the storm by conceding to the peasantry equal privileges with the citizens. About the same time, Laharpe, having concerted his plans with the Directory, incited his fellow-subjects to rise. Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as a pretext for interference, disinterred some old treaties of the time of Charles IX. by which the French Government guaranteed the political rights of the Vaudois.² The Directory notified to the Governments of Bern and Freiburg, that the members of them, by virtue of these ancient treaties, would be individually responsible for the persons and property of such inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud as might seek the mediation of the French Republic. At the same time Masséna's division, under the command of Mesnard, was directed to march from Italy to the frontiers of the Pays de Vaud. The revolutionists of that country, thus encouraged, became more

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 656.

² Subsequently, under Henry III., in 1579, France received Geneva, as an ally of Switzerland, into its protection against the attempts of the Duke of Savoy. Martin, t. ix. p. 486.

daring in their movements, while French emissaries spread themselves through the more aristocratic parts of Switzerland to excite discontent and revolt. The Bernese Government, on their side, invoked the aid of the other cantons; the oath of federation was renewed by all except that of Basle, and the *Tagsatzung*, or Diet, decreed the levy of a confederate army.

Before this force could assemble, Colonel Weiss was despatched with fourteen battalions to reduce the insurgent Vaudois, who, on his approach, claimed the assistance of Mesnard. The French general immediately entered the Pays de Vaud. Weiss retired to Yverdon without striking a blow, and Mesnard proclaimed at Lausanne, January 24th, 1798, the independence of the Vaudois. Mesnard despatched an aide-de-camp with a message to Weiss, requiring the evacuation of the Pays de Vaud, but not having the proper watchword, two of the hussars of the aide-de-camp's escort were shot by a Bernese outpost stationed a few miles from Yverdon. This event afforded the French general an excellent handle to declaim against a breach of the law of nations, and to threaten the Bernese with hostilities. Weiss, alarmed by his menaces, now evacuated the Pays de Vaud, although he had 20,000 men while the French army numbered only 15,000, the victors of Italy, but in a state of destitution. The Swiss were made to supply their wants. Mesnard, on taking possession of the Pays de Vaud, mulcted his new allies, whom he had come to protect, in 700,000 francs; but they had the satisfaction of proclaiming themselves the *Lemanic Republic*.

Lemanic
Republic.

A vigorous blow, rapidly delivered, might still have saved Bern. But the aristocrats of Bern betrayed the same weakness and indecision which had ruined Venice and Genoa. A majority in the Council were for negotiating a peace, as well as awaiting the confederate reinforcements. In the hope of conciliating the French, they began to make some reforms in the Government, which only destroyed its authority and vigour without attaining the proposed end. The same course was adopted by several other cantons. The Bernese Government opened negotiations with the Directory; but Mesnard did not arrest his march, while at the same time Schauenburg was advancing from the north with 17,000 men detached from the army of the Rhine. At this juncture General Brune assumed the command of the French army in Switzerland.

Fall of
Switzer-
land.

Brune was instructed to play the part of a pacificator, and to amuse the Bernese with negotiations till he should be in a posture to strike a decisive blow. But the demands of the French were so extravagant, that even the peace party in the Bernese Senate was roused from its lethargy, and a peremptory refusal was given. Symptoms of insubordination, however, appeared in his army; and although confederate troops, to the number of 5,000 or 6,000, had arrived, they for the most part kept aloof and formed only a line of reserve. Meanwhile the French advanced from both sides with rapid marches. Scarcely had the armistice which had been agreed upon expired, when Soleure and Freiburg were occupied. The Bernese gained some advantages at Neueneck, between Freiburg and Bern, March 5th, but their defeat, on the same day at Frauenbrunnen, decided the fate of Bern. The reduction of Freiburg, Soleure, and Bern, in the short space of five days, was the prelude to the subjugation of all Switzerland.

Helvetic
Republic,
1798.

The work of conquest ended, that of plunder began. In specie, corn, wine, military stores, contributions, etc., Bern was robbed to the value of forty-two million francs, of which near eleven million consisted of money and bullion in the treasury. Of this sum, three millions in specie were sent direct from Bern to Toulon, by order of Bonaparte, in aid of the expedition to Egypt.¹ Although war had been declared only against Bern, all Switzerland was treated as a conquered country, and large contributions were exacted from Freiburg, Soleure, Zurich, and other places. But the Swiss were to be compensated for their losses by a constitution on the French model. Brune, by order of the Directory, was at first for dividing Switzerland into three republics, to be entitled Rhodania, Helvetia, and Tellguria. But Ochs and Laharpe, who were intriguing at Paris in the interests of their country, were for a Republic, one and indivisible, on the French model; and their views, being supported by Bonaparte and Talleyrand, at last prevailed. Schauenburg, now commander-in-chief of the French army, and the Commissioner Lecarlier, proclaimed the HELVETIC REPUBLIC at Aarau, April 12th. The general scheme of the new constitution included two Councils and a Directory, and was modelled on that of France. A treaty was

¹ Letter to Schauenburg, April 2nd, 1798, in *Corr. de Napoléon I.* t. iv. p. 36.

concluded with Geneva,¹ and that town and its territory were united to France (April 26th). Schauenburg and Lecarlier behaved in the most tyrannical manner towards the Swiss. Eleven members of the Bernese Government and five patricians of Soleure were carried off as prisoners to the citadel of Strassburg; the churches and monasteries, as well as the public treasuries and arsenals, were everywhere plundered.

The forest cantons of Schwytz, Uri, Zug, Unterwalden, and Glarus, protected by their lakes and mountains, refused at first to be incorporated in the new Republic. A force of about 10,000 men was raised, which, under the conduct of Aloys Reding, fought some battles with the French at Schindelazi, Rothenthurm, and other places, and sometimes gained the advantage; but numerical superiority at length prevailed, and the refractory cantons consented to take the oath to the constitution. The tyranny and robberies of Rapinat, Lecarlier's successor, drove them in the following July to a desperate revolt; though the canton of Unterwalden was the only one that persisted in it. A small body of these hardy mountaineers fought a desperate battle with the French at Stantz, near the Lake of Lucerne, September 8th, and inflicted a heavy loss upon their invaders. But, being overpowered by numbers, the French wreaked their vengeance by an indiscriminate slaughter, and by burning and plundering throughout the canton.

Revolt of
the Forest
Cantons.

Thus was all Switzerland finally reduced to subjection, and added to the list of those new republics which followed in the train of France. A treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, signed at Paris August 19th, 1798,² reduced the Helvetic Republic under the vassalage of France. By this treaty were secured two military roads through Switzerland: one along the Rhine and left shore of the Lake of Constance to Southern Germany; the other through the Valais, ultimately communicating with the Cisalpine Republic by the Simplon Pass.³

Subjection
of Switzer-
land.

Europe had remained passive while the French Government, under the shadow of the Peace of Campo Formio,

France
gains the
left bank of
the Rhine.

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 659.

² *Ibid.* t. vi. p. 466.

³ For the preceding, see Mallet du Pan, *Essai hist. sur la destruction de la ligue et de la liberté Helvétique*; Zschokke, *Kampf und Untergang der Schweiz. Berg und Wald Kantone*; Tillier, *Histoire de la république Helvétique* (1798-1803).

effected the overthrow of the Pope and the destruction of Swiss independence. It remained for France to obtain, under that treaty, the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. Treillard and Bonnier, the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, the same who had negotiated with Lord Malmesbury at Lille, proposed that cession as a *sine quâ non* for the basis of all negotiations, and as an indemnity for the expenses incurred by France through *an unjust attack*; while the deputation of the Empire resorted to every artifice of delay and evasion. Bonaparte cut the matter short by telling Count Cobenzl, that if the absolute cession of the left bank was not agreed upon by March 20th, the war would recommence by a formidable irruption into Germany. Thugut and the Austrian Cabinet now yielded, and the cession was made by the period named. The principal object of the Congress being thus accomplished, Bonaparte, intent upon the expedition to Egypt, obtained permission to withdraw altogether from Rastadt, leaving there his secretary and some of his household.

French
treatment
of Sardinia.

The tyranny and rapacity of the French Directory were displayed in other transactions besides the oppression and plunder of Switzerland and Rome. Their conduct towards the King of Sardinia affords another remarkable instance of their bad faith. They had assured Charles Emanuel on his accession that they should never forget what he had done for France when Prince of Piedmont; yet his devotion was rewarded by a continual series of humiliations. The existence of his kingdom between France and the Cisalpine Republic was inconvenient to the Directors, who employed every method to ruin the unfortunate Sovereign by exacting contributions, which his kingdom was not in a condition to furnish, by fomenting insurrection among his subjects, and by setting on the Ligurian and Cisalpine Republics to attack and insult him. The Piedmontese rebels, secretly encouraged by France, and openly assisted by the Ligurians, attacked and defeated the King's troops under General Colli, at Carrosio, seized Serravalle, and created such consternation, that Charles Emanuel was compelled to seek the aid of France. General Brune, who then commanded the French army in Italy, pretended that he could not accord it, unless he was put in possession of the citadel of Turin, which the Directors had long coveted in order to carry out their designs upon Piedmont. Charles Emanuel was weak enough to grant this demand by

a convention signed at Milan, June 28th, 1798. Order was now restored, but the eventual price of it to the King was the loss of his dominions.¹

As the treatment of Sardinia is an instance of the tyranny of the Directory, so their conduct towards the United States of America betrays their avarice and venality. The war declared against English commerce by the French Government caused a rupture between France and the United States of North America. A lucrative trade had grown up between Great Britain and her revolted colonies, and in November, 1794, had been concluded between them a secret treaty of commerce and navigation, which had proved injurious to French trade. This and other causes had produced a serious misunderstanding, and in the autumn of 1797 envoys had been sent from America to Paris to arrange an accommodation. The first demand of the Directory, through Talleyrand, the Foreign Minister, was for a loan of forty-eight million francs; but the envoys were given to understand that this demand might be abandoned in consideration of a *douceur* of 1,200,000 francs, or about £50,000 sterling, to be divided between Talleyrand and the Director Barras. While the American envoys were still in Paris the Legislative Council passed a law, January 18th, 1798, that the cargo determines whether a vessel be neutral or belligerent; in other words, they proclaimed the abandonment of the principle for which France had previously clamoured, that the flag covers the goods; and, in consequence, every vessel laden wholly or partly with English merchandise was declared lawful prize. Further, they declared that any foreign vessel which had put into an English port, except for unavoidable causes, could not enter a French one.² The Americans naturally regarded this law as a declaration of war, but hostilities did not actually ensue. In like manner the Directory had required a loan of twelve millions, and the cession of Cuxhaven from the towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen; but France was not yet in a position to enforce these unjust demands. The Directory concluded a compulsory treaty,³ March 20th, with the Cisalpine Republic, whose "liberty and independence" they recognized and guaranteed. Yet the third article of the treaty, by placing the military force of the new Republic

Dispute
between
France and
America.

¹ Botta, lib. xv.

² Garden, t. vi. p. 123.

³ Martens, t. vi. p. 450 sqq.

entirely at the disposal of the Directory, virtually subjected it to France. The ratification of the treaty having been rejected at Milan by the Council of Ancients, Berthier was directed to arrest twenty-one members of that Assembly, and the remainder then submitted. We have already seen that Portugal had been compelled to purchase a peace from the Directory, and that the Court of Lisbon had forwarded a tardy ratification of it, December 1st, 1797. But the indiscretion of the Portuguese Ambassador, Aranjo, upset all that had been done. The venality of some members of the French Government being notorious, a large amount in diamonds was forwarded to Aranjo, to procure pardon for the delay of the ratification. But he distributed them so imprudently among the retainers of Barras and Talleyrand, that the Directory, in spite of his ambassadorial character, caused him to be arrested and confined in the Temple.

The
Directory
and Godoy.

The relations between France and Portugal were closely connected with those between France and Spain. The Prince of the Peace showed himself, at this time, the friend and protector of Portugal. He had caused the Spanish troops to be withdrawn from the Portuguese frontier; and in return for this proceeding, as well as in consideration of his marriage with a relative of the Queen of Portugal, the Court of Lisbon conferred upon him the principality of Evora. As these things were, of course, distasteful to the French Directory, who, moreover, were dissatisfied with the lukewarmness exhibited by Spain in prosecuting the war with England, they determined to overthrow Godoy, and to effect a revolution in the Spanish Cabinet. With this view Admiral Truguet was despatched early in 1798 as ambassador to Madrid. Aware of his mission, the Prince of the Peace affected to act with more vigour. The Spanish fleet was ordered to issue from Cadiz, February 6th, where twenty-four ships of the line were blockaded by only eight English vessels: but the news that Lord St. Vincent, with the remainder of the English fleet, was preparing to sail from the Tagus, induced the Spanish admiral to return. Truguet, finding that he could not stimulate the Spaniards to action, and that they had no serious intention of attacking Portugal, resolved to effect the disgrace of Godoy. Owing to his representations Godoy was removed from his post as private secretary to the Queen, in which he was succeeded by the Minister of Finance, Don Francisco

Saavedra. At the same time De Mallo, a young *garde-du-corps*, appointed major-domo of the palace, replaced Godoy in the more private service of the Queen. The disgrace of Godoy was, however, only momentary; he continued to reside at Aranjuez, and Charles IV. retained for him all his former friendship.

Saavedra belonged to the French party in the Spanish counsels. His accession to power was signalized by the dismissal from Spain of all emigrant French Royalists, and the prohibition of English merchandise. The Directory continued to press the armed intervention of Spain, in order to compel Portugal to separate herself from England, and become a member of the French political system. But Godoy, though defeated, was not vanquished, and he managed by his intrigues to procure the recall of Truguet. Godoy seems to have been one of the first men in Europe who discovered that Egypt was the destination of the French armaments. It was through Madrid and Lisbon that the English Cabinet first received positive assurance of that fact. They had continued to think that the vast preparations at Brest, Toulon, Genoa, Cività Vecchia, and Cadiz were directed against Great Britain; and when their true destination was known, it was too late to blockade Toulon.

Leibnitz had suggested the occupation of Egypt by the French in the reign of Louis XIV., but the project of that philosopher was not carried out. The scheme was revived in the eighteenth century. The Turkish Monarchy, it was thought, would fall to pieces under the attacks of Catharine II.; and it was urged by Count St. Priest, French Ambassador at Constantinople, that, instead of defending it, France should secure a share of its spoils; but circumstances caused it to be adjourned. It was, however, Magallon, French Consul at Cairo, who suggested to the Directory in 1796, the expedition actually executed. In the following year the subject engaged the attention of Bonaparte, then in Italy. The possession of the Ionian Islands by the conquest of Venice, seemed to facilitate French intervention in the affairs of the Turkish Empire, and the augmentation of French power and commerce in the East; above all, the possession of Egypt would be, it was thought, a sure step towards the ruin of England.¹

French
designs on
Egypt.

¹ Bonaparte's Letter to the Directory, Milan, August 16th, 1797 (*Corr. de Nap. I. t. iii. p. 235*).

The scheme in itself suited the genius of Bonaparte. To carry his arms into the ancient country of Egypt, was an exploit calculated to dazzle the imagination of the French, and to increase the prestige of his military glory. The Directory, on their side, hesitated not to embrace a project which would remove for some time their brilliant young general. The capture of Malta seemed to Bonaparte a necessary preliminary. The Knights of Malta were poor and almost defenceless; he had already, with a view to this stroke, confiscated all their possessions in Italy. His armies were composed of men to whom all religions were indifferent. Mahometans, Copts, Arabs, idolaters, all would be treated alike.¹ The Knights of Malta, or St. John of Jerusalem, who were to be thus sacrificed, had done nothing to provoke the hostility of France. They had observed a strict neutrality in the war, though they had opportunities to annoy French commerce, and enrich themselves by privateering. To facilitate the capture of Malta, Poussielgue, Secretary to the Genoese Legation, was despatched thither to form a French party, disseminate Republican opinions, and undermine the Order; while, in the spring, Admiral Brueys touched at the island with his squadron, sounded all the coasts, and sent one of his vessels into the harbour, under pretence of repairs, in order to reconnoitre.

In May, 1798, the expedition was ready to sail from Toulon to invade the dominions of a friendly Power which had not given France the slightest provocation, and for which the Directory, through its ambassador, had solemnly professed, only a few months before, the sincerest friendship. Four thousand transports had been collected to convey an army of near 40,000 men, under convoy of Admiral Brueys' fleet. To temper the lustre of the French arms with the milder glories of science, literature, and art, a band of 100 *savans* and artists was to accompany the expedition. But an untoward accident threatened to interrupt it just on the eve of its sailing. Bernadotte had been despatched as ambassador to Vienna to tranquillize the Imperial Court as to the proceedings of the French Government against Rome and Switzerland. The Directory having found fault with him for not openly displaying in the Austrian capital the national cockade

¹ Letter to Talleyrand, Passariano, September 13th, 1797; *ibid.* p. 293.

and other emblems of Republicanism, Bernadotte was imprudent enough to fix a three-coloured flag, with the inscription "liberty and equality," over the gateway of his hotel at the very time when the people were celebrating the anniversary of their levy *en masse* in the preceding year to oppose the advance of Bonaparte. The Viennese, indignant at this insult to their Government, vented their anger by breaking the Ambassador's windows, and tearing down and destroying the flag. Bernadotte, not having succeeded in extorting from the Imperial Court a disavowal of these proceedings, the punishment of the ringleaders, and the replacing of the obnoxious flag by the hands of an Austrian officer, quitted Vienna with all the members of the Legation, April 15th. This step filled the Directory with dismay. The national honour was at stake; they could not disavow Bernadotte; yet a war with Austria would delay, if not frustrate, the Egyptian expedition, whose departure had been fixed for April 23rd. In this dilemma they intrusted the management of affairs to Bonaparte. He was for maintaining the peace with Austria; to go to war with that Power, he observed, was to play the game of England; and he despatched a letter to Cobenzl from which it might easily be inferred that a moderate apology would be accepted. But at the same time he countermanded the sailing of the expedition till the affair should be arranged; nay, he even expressed an opinion that, in the unsettled state of Europe, it should be postponed to a more favourable season. These views, and the dictatorial tone assumed by Bonaparte, filled the Directors with alarm. In a stormy interview, May 3rd, the five Directors gave him positive orders to depart immediately. Resorting to a familiar *ruse*, Bonaparte threatened to resign, when Rewbel coolly handed him a pen, observing: "The Republic no doubt will lose a brave and skilful chief, but she has other children who will not abandon her." Bonaparte took the pen, but Merlin snatched it from him and put an end to the scene. As the General quitted the Luxembourg he is said to have observed: "Let us go—the pear is not yet ripe—we will return at the proper season."

Such were the feelings with which Bonaparte sailed for Egypt, May 19th,¹ a glorious foreign conquest his immediate

Capture of
Malta,
1798.

¹ For the Egyptian expedition, of which we can give but the bare outline, in addition to Lanfrey (*Histoire de Napoléon*) and Tung

object, in the background visions of domination at home as the result of it. Among the Generals who accompanied him were Berthier, Kléber, Murat, Junot, Desaix, Davoust, Lannes, Menou, and others. The French fleet arrived at Malta, June 9th. Only a feeble defence was made by the Knights, and on the night of the 11th a capitulation was signed.¹ It was the work not of the Grand Master, Baron Hompesch, a German, but of five *soi-disant* representatives of the Order. Small annuities were granted to the Knights and an apparently liberal compensation to the Grand Master, of the greater part of which, however, he was subsequently defrauded. The treasure of St. John was seized, the plate of the hospital and churches of the Order was converted into ingots; all the ships, guns, and military stores were appropriated by the invaders; all the soldiers and sailors in the island were pressed into the French service. The Knights were ordered to leave Malta in three days, the Russian Minister in three hours. Thus was overthrown this singular Government, which had subsisted without alteration since 1530. It had long ceased to be of any utility. But this affords no justification for the unlawful attack upon the Knights and capture of their island.

Bonaparte sailed from Malta June 19th. By taking a circuitous route he escaped the English fleet which was in search of him, and landed safely at Marabou, in Egypt, July 1st. The Mamelukes, who then ruled in Egypt, were unprepared for defence. Alexandria was immediately taken and occupied, and the march was then resumed for Cairo. Proclamations in Arabic were circulated among the people, purporting that the object of Bonaparte's expedition was to deliver the Egyptians from the tyranny of their masters; that he respected God, his prophet, and the Koran a great deal more than did the Mamelukes; and he appealed, in proof that he was no Christian, to the overthrow of the Pope and of the Knights of Malta.² At Chébreiss the Mamelukes delivered their first attacks, but could make no impression on the

Bonaparte
lands in
Egypt.
Battle
of the
Pyramids.

(*Bonaparte et son Temps*), see Berthier, *Relation des campagnes du génl. Bonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie*; Savary, *Mémoires*, t. i. ch. 2-5; *Hist. scient. et milit. de l'expédition Fr. en Egypte*, 10 tom. 8vo; For the taking of Malta, Boisgelin, *Hist. of Malta*, vol. ii. b. iii.

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 322.

² See the *Proclamation*, in *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iv. p. 191.

French squares. Ascending the Nile to the apex of the Delta, Bonaparte learned that the Mamelukes, under their Beys, with Arabs and *fellahs*, amounting in all to 30,000 men, were intrenched between Embabeh and Ghizeh in the plain of the Pyramids, opposite Cairo. Bonaparte animating his soldiers before the attack by pointing to the Pyramids, reminded them that forty centuries looked down upon them, and in spite of the desperate valour displayed by the Mamelukes, led by Murad Bey, the French gained a complete victory (July 21st). This battle, called the BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS, overthrew the government of the Mamelukes and opened Cairo to the French, who entered it on the following day. One of the first acts of Bonaparte on taking possession of Cairo was to invite the Pasha of Egypt to return, assuring him that he should enjoy the consideration due to his rank.¹ He had been forced to accompany the flight of the Mameluke Bey Ibrahim, who commanded a force on the eastern side of the Nile, and who, after the defeat of Murad, retreated to Belbeis. Bonaparte pursued him, and defeated his rear guard at Salahieh, August 17th. The Bey then fled to Syria and Bonaparte returned to Cairo. Murad Bey had fled into Upper Egypt.

It is unnecessary to describe Nelson's pursuit of the French fleet, the narrow chance by which he missed it, his joy on discovering it moored in the Bay of Aboukir, the glorious and decisive BATTLE OF ABOUKIR, or the NILE, August 1st and 2nd, and the almost total destruction or capture of Admiral Brueys' fleet. Few naval engagements have been attended with consequences so important. It destroyed a third part of the naval force of France and a great number of her best sailors, gave Great Britain an irresistible superiority in the Mediterranean, annihilated French commerce in the Levant, dissipated all hope of conquest in Egypt, and reduced the French expedition to that country to a mere military descent, without the hope of reinforcement or retreat, in which the invading army must perish by its own triumphs. Its effects upon the opinions and policy of Europe were still more important and remarkable. Except in France, the news of the battle of the Nile was hailed throughout the Continent with a universal joy. The nations which had been humiliated

Battle of
the Nile,
1798.

¹ Letter to the Pasha, July 22nd, *Corr. de Nap.* I. t. iv. p. 241.

and oppressed beheld a chance of their deliverance, and hastened to form a new coalition against France, in which the Ottoman Porte, her ancient ally, was to be strangely combined against her with Russia, the natural enemy of the Turks.

While nearly all the Continent cowered under French domination, England alone carried on the war with spirit and perseverance. Hence she became the chief object of the hatred and suspicion of the Directory. All the mischances of France were attributed to English intrigues and machinations, and England was regarded in that country, like Carthage by ancient Rome, as the implacable rival of her power and glory. The Directory, although compelled to abandon the scheme of a descent upon England itself, still entertained the hope of being able to strike a blow at her rival by means of Ireland, now, through the agitation of the United Irishmen, Whiteboys, Defenders, and other revolutionary associations, in a state of open insurrection. Armaments were prepared at Rochefort, Brest, and Dunkirk, which were intended to sail for Ireland in the spring of 1798, but the attempt was deferred till its success was compromised through the putting down of the insurrection, and the capture of some of its principal leaders. General Humbert, with the smallest armament, only sailed from Rochefort, August 2nd. He succeeded in landing about 1,100 men at Killala, and at first met with some success; but at Ballynamuch he was defeated by the Viceroy of Ireland, Lord Cornwallis, in person, and compelled to surrender with his whole force (September 8th). At the news of Humbert's first successes, a larger squadron, under Admiral Bompard, consisting of the "Hoche," a line-of-battle ship, and eight frigates, having on board about 3,000 men, commanded by General Hardy, put to sea, September 25th. This division, however, did not even effect a landing. The "Hoche" and three of the frigates were captured by Sir John Borlase Warren, October 11th; three of the remaining frigates, which had got into the Bay of Killala, were subsequently taken, and only two succeeded in escaping to France. Wolf Tone, one of the chiefs of the Irish insurrection, was captured on board the "Hoche," tried, and condemned to be hanged; but escaped that ignominious fate by committing suicide.¹

French
attempt on
Ireland.

¹ Guillon, *La France et l'Irlande sous le Directoire*.

Some attempts of the English on the coasts of France were not more successful than these French expeditions. Havre was bombarded without effect by Sir Richard Strahan, May 24th; while an expedition to Ostend under Sir Home Popham, although it attained its object of destroying the sluices of the Bruges Canal, and thus interrupting the internal navigation between France and Holland, purchased this success by the loss of all the troops engaged in the undertaking. These consisted of about 1,000 men under General Coote, who, being prevented by the heavy surf from re-embarking, were surrounded by superior forces and compelled to surrender. These reverses, however, were far more than compensated by the success of the English fleets in the Mediterranean; where, besides the capture of Gozza, a small island dependent upon Malta, Minorca was taken by Admiral Duckworth and a military force under the Hon. Charles Stuart.

English
attacks
on France.

But, as France was unable to cope with her rival at sea, so England was powerless against France on land. Hence her views were constantly turned to the maintenance of a coalition, which she was willing to support with her treasures. After the defection of Prussia she had turned her eyes towards Russia, and the relations with that country had been drawn closer by a treaty of commerce, negotiated by Sir Charles Whitworth in May, 1797. Paul I., as we have seen, had, on his accession countermanded the preparations of his mother, Catharine, for taking an active part against the French. He was nevertheless a determined enemy of the Revolution and of the government of the Directory, and events led him by degrees to become one of their principal opponents. After the defeat of the attempts upon the French frontier, Paul had taken into his pay the Prince of Condé and his army, and had assigned to Louis XVIII. a residence at Mitau, in Courland, with a pension of two million roubles. He had displayed his good will to England and his hatred of the Directory by ordering the equipment of twenty-two ships of the line and a great number of galleys, in consequence of a decree of the Directory, January 12th, 1798, prohibiting any vessel laden with English merchandise from being allowed to pass the Sound. The proceedings of the French during that year, and the conduct of their plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Rastadt, led him to take a more active part against them.

Paul I.
opposes the
Directory,
1798.

Congress of
Rastadt.

The Congress of Rastadt presents a revolting spectacle of Gallic rapacity and insolence, of German disunion, selfishness, and weakness.¹ The French plenipotentiaries, Treilhارد and Bonnier, as if bent on exciting a fresh war, proceeded from one insufferable demand to another, and adopted towards the slow and formal but courteous diplomatists of Germany all the *brusquerie* and rudeness of *sans-culottism*. Treilhارد having been nominated to a seat in the Directory, was succeeded by Debry; who, when a member of the Convention, had proposed the forming of a legion of regicides. Ultimately, indeed, but not till July, the Directory despatched Roberjot, ex-curé of Mâcon, a man of enlightened and benevolent character, to temper the violence and heal the dissensions of his colleagues. On the German side jealousy, suspicion, and treachery prevailed, while the French Ministers took care to foment these passions in order to weaken Germany, and render it an easier prey. Of the smaller German Princes many were ready to desert the national cause, and seek, for their own selfish ends, the protection of France.

We have already mentioned that the deputation of the Empire had admitted the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France as one of the bases of negotiation: on April 2nd they also admitted the principle of secularization as the method of compensating the Princes that were to be dispossessed. It remained to discuss and arrange all the particulars included in these general bases. The French Plenipotentiaries threw off the mask in their note of May 3rd, by demanding, in addition to the left bank of the Rhine, that the navigation of that river should be common to both nations; that the French should have liberty to cross from one towing-path to another; that all the islands of the Rhine, which would constitute a tolerable principality, should be made over to France; that the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein should be demolished, with other extravagant demands of the same kind.²

Matters were in this state when Paul I. sent Prince Repin to Berlin, without, however, any formal diplomatic character, to reconcile the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, and to induce them to make common cause against France. Austria had agreed to renounce her pretensions to Bavaria, provided

¹ Vivenot, *Zur Geschichte des Rastadter Kongresses*.

² Garden, t. vi. p. 52.

Prussia gave up all claim to compensation in Germany for her possessions on the left bank of the Rhine; and Prince Repnin succeeded in arranging this matter on the basis of mutual renunciation. But his attempts to bring the King of Prussia into a league against France were wholly unsuccessful. The Russian Envoy was here opposed by Sieyès, whom the Directory, dreading a rupture with Austria after the affair of Bernadotte, had despatched to Berlin to negotiate an alliance with that Court. To keep alive the jealousy between Prussia and Austria, Sieyès communicated to the Cabinet of Berlin the secret articles of the Treaty of Campo Formio, which had long been the object of their curiosity and suspicion. But Frederick William III., guided by the counsels of Haugwitz, declined alike the advances of France and Russia, and resolved on preserving a strict neutrality.

The Austrian Cabinet, on the other hand, determined to accept the support of Russia. Thugut, who had been dismissed from the Ministry as adverse to France, was now recalled, and Cobenzl was despatched to Berlin to support the negotiations of Prince Repnin; after which he was to proceed to St. Petersburg. Prince Repnin arranged at Berlin with Count Cobenzl the preliminaries of an alliance between Russia and Austria; and having proceeded to Vienna, he concluded a formal treaty between the two Courts early in September. This treaty has never been divulged, but the nature of it may be inferred from subsequent events. Before the close of 1798, 60,000 Russian troops under the command of Suvorov were placed at the disposal of Francis II. and marched in three columns into the Austrian provinces.¹

If the Tsar was disposed to take part against the French before the capture of Malta by Bonaparte, the inclination was increased tenfold by that event. Paul I., who was of a romantic temper, had entertained from his boyhood a singular predilection for the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He had evinced his affection for the Order by restoring to it the revenues of the Grand Priory of Ostrog, in Volhynia,² which had passed under the Russian dominion in 1793; he even augmented those revenues, and founded several new Priories

Paul I. and
the Knights
of Malta.

¹ Garden, *Traité*s, t. vi. p. 147.

² By a convention concluded January 15th, 1797. Martens, t. vi. p. 308. On Paul's connection with the Knights of Malta, see *Paul I. als Grossmeister des Malteser Ordens*.

and Commanderies. The Grand Master and Council of Malta, in token of their gratitude, sent Paul the cross which had been worn by the celebrated La Valette, and besought him to accept the title of Protector of the Order. When the news of the surrender of Malta arrived in St. Petersburg, the Knights of the Grand Priory of Russia solemnly deposed Hompesch, the Grand Master, and degraded from their rank and dignity, as unworthy and corrupted members, all the Knights who had accepted that infamous capitulation. On the 27th of October the Russian Knights, as well in their own name as that of those of the other tongues, proclaimed Paul I. their Grand Master, a ridiculous farce, for which they had neither right nor authority. The Tsar, however, accepted the dignity, and displayed the interest which he took in the Order by framing new regulations for its discipline and government. He resolved to make it the first military institution in Europe, and a common centre for all the nobility of every nation who were interested in the support of Royalty, and in setting bounds to the flood of Jacobinism and infidelity. At the same time merit and learning were not forgotten. Men of whatever Christian sect, who had distinguished themselves by their courage, their talents, or their learning, though not of noble birth, were declared admissible into the Order, and were to enjoy equal privileges with those of higher rank. From this class were to be selected the tutors of a college, to be founded in the chief residence of the Order. By accepting this Grand Mastership, Paul, the head of the schismatical Greek Church, acknowledged the Roman Pontiff as his superior.

At the news of the capture of Malta, the Russian fleet at Sebastopol was immediately ordered to prepare to join Nelson; while Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt gave rise to an alliance between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. Sultan Selim III. was naturally exasperated at this unprovoked and treacherous act on the part of the most ancient ally of Turkey. In order to deprecate an anger which he had foreseen, Bonaparte had no sooner taken possession of Alexandria than he instructed the French *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople to convince the Porte of the firm resolution of the French to live on friendly terms with it.¹ Bonaparte was at

Russo-
Turkish
Alliance,
1798.

this time in hopes that Talleyrand would have accepted the embassy to the Porte, on whose diplomatic skill he relied to convince the Sultan and his Divan that the French invasion of Egypt was, in reality, a friendly act. But the ex-Bishop of Autun was too sagacious to risk the chance of being shut up in the Seven Towers, and the embassy was conferred on Ruffin. The conquest of Egypt, however, was only part of Bonaparte's machinations against Turkey. He contemplated nothing less than exciting a revolt in Macedonia, and all the Greek portion of the Turkish Empire; and with that view he had despatched Lavalette, immediately after the conquest of Malta, to Ali Pasha, of Jannina; ¹ but Ali turned a deaf ear to the proposal. Ruffin endeavoured to persuade the Porte that Bonaparte's intention was only to chastise the Mameluke Beys in Egypt; but he was placed in confinement, together with all the members of the Legation. The Grand Vizier and the Mufti, suspected of being the accomplices of the French, were deposed from their high dignities, and the Vizier was banished to the Isle of Scio. An alliance was formed with the Court of St. Petersburg, the Russian fleet was admitted through the Dardanelles, was received with every mark of honour, and visited by the Sultan in person. Outside the Straits it was joined by the Turkish fleet, and for the first, and perhaps the last time, the Russian flag waved in cordial union with the Crescent. On the 20th September the combined fleets sailed for the Archipelago, agreeably to instructions from Nelson, under whose command they were placed. They were destined to reduce the Ionian Islands, while the English took upon themselves the blockade of Malta. Sultan Selim testified his gratitude to Nelson by presenting him with a magnificent pelisse, and a diamond *aigrette* worth several thousand pounds, taken from his own turban. Paul also made some valuable presents to the English admiral.

The alliance between the Tsar and the Sublime Porte was definitively concluded by the Treaty of Constantinople, December 23rd, 1798.² The two Powers were henceforth to have the same friends and the same enemies, and they mutually guaranteed each other's possessions, including Egypt. Great

¹ See his letters to Lavalette and the Pasha, Malta, June 17th, 1798, *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. iv. p. 166 sq.

² Martens, t. vi. p. 532.

Britain acceded to this treaty January 5th, 1799.¹ The Porte also declared war against Holland, and on dismissing the Dutch Ambassador from Constantinople, intimated that the good understanding between the Republic and the Sublime Porte should be restored so soon as the former separated itself from France: "a separation," it added, "which will be conformable to its interests, and which will restore it to its ancient dignity." The coalition was consolidated by the Treaty of St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia, December 29th, 1798.² This last alliance was founded on the hope of drawing Prussia into the coalition, and provided in that case for the furnishing of an army of 45,000 men by the Tsar, and the payment of them by Great Britain. Lord Grenville undertook an embassy to Berlin, with the view of persuading Frederick William III. to abandon his system of neutrality, but without success. As the Prussian King would not accept the forces offered by the Tsar, it was subsequently agreed between Russia and Great Britain that they should be employed in some other manner.

Ferdinand
IV. of
Naples.

The second Coalition against France included, at first, Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies; and it was in the Neapolitan dominions that the Continental war was resumed.

The tyrannical behaviour of the Directory and its generals towards the King of Sardinia, the ambition of the new Cisalpine Republic, the ruin which had overtaken the Roman Pontiff and the States of the Church,—all concurred to convince Ferdinand IV., the only Italian Sovereign, except the Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose dominions still remained intact, of the fate which awaited himself. In order to avoid it, he endeavoured at once to fortify himself with powerful alliances, and to conciliate, so far as might be possible, the good will of the French Republic. With the latter view he dismissed his Minister Acton, who was regarded by the French as devoted to England, and appointed in his place the Marquis S. Gallo, the negotiator of the Peace of Campo Formio. But, at the same time, he kept up a formidable army on the frontiers of the new Roman Republic, and he occupied the Duchy of Benevento, which, though inclosed in

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 568.

² *Ibid.* p. 557.

his dominions, had formerly made part of the States of the Church. The new government at Rome, on the other hand, had confiscated Ferdinand's possessions in that capital, derived from the succession of the Farnese family, and had even played the farce of citing him to do homage for his crown to the Roman people, as successors of the Pope, his former suzerain.

The mission of M. Garat to the Court of Naples, on the part of the French Government, seemed for a time to have removed all difficulties. Ferdinand was put in possession of the Duchy of Benevento and the principality of Ponte Corvo, in consideration of his paying a sum of money and renouncing his possessions at Rome; and on April 17th, 1798, he received the oath of fidelity from his new subjects. But, knowing how little the friendship of France was to be relied on, he sought the support of an Austrian alliance. A treaty was concluded at Vienna, May 19th, 1798, between the Duke of Campochiario and Baron Thugut, by which, in the prospect of the fresh troubles which threatened Europe, and Italy in particular, it was agreed that the Austrian and Neapolitan Sovereigns should keep, for their mutual defence, a certain number of men on foot, ready to march at the shortest notice. The Emperor, on his side, engaged to keep 60,000 men in Italy and Tyrol, and Ferdinand 30,000 on his frontiers nearest to the Austrian possessions; to be increased on both sides in case of need.¹

France and
Naples.

This treaty, which was a secret one, having been betrayed to the Directory, their Minister Garat began, in July, to put forth new pretensions. He demanded the release of all persons imprisoned for political opinions, the assignment of the port of Messina to France, and the exclusion of the English from all the other ports of the Two Sicilies. The last two conditions Ferdinand refused; but he opened the prisons, and inundated Naples with Jacobins, who applied themselves to create fresh troubles. Ferdinand, more convinced than ever of the hostile projects of the Directory, now made the most vigorous preparations for war. All men, from the age of seventeen to forty-five years, were called into active service, and the command-in-chief of the Neapolitan forces was conferred on the Austrian general Mack, the pupil of

¹ Garden, t. vi. p. 79.

Lacy and Loudon, who enjoyed at that time the highest reputation for military talent.

Nelson at
Naples,
1798.

Such was the posture of affairs when the news of Nelson's victory at Aboukir created an indescribable sensation at the Court of Naples. The fascinating Lady Hamilton, the wife of the English Ambassador, made Nelson her hero, and inspired the King and Queen, whose favourite she was, with the same enthusiasm as animated herself. Acton recovered his former influence, and lending his support to the views of the English Cabinet, formed, with the Queen, the project of open war against the French Republic. Alarmed at these symptoms, the French *chargé d'affaires* demanded that Acton should be expelled the kingdom; that the commandant of Syracuse, who had allowed the English fleet to revictual in that port, should be sent in chains to France; that the King should reduce his troops to 10,000 men; and that he should admit French garrisons into all his ports. But Ferdinand, instead of listening to these complaints, only pushed on more actively his preparations for war. The appearance of Nelson with part of his fleet in the Bay of Naples, September 22nd, increased the confidence of the King and the enthusiasm of the Court and people. At the instance of Sir William Hamilton and Nelson, who represented an immediate declaration of war as the only means of putting an end to the delays and tergiversations of Austria, it was resolved at a Council held October 12th to commence hostilities so soon as the army could be prepared to take the field. The return of Nelson, November 5th, who had left Naples for a while to superintend the blockade at Malta, confirmed Ferdinand in his warlike resolutions. He had now strengthened himself by alliances with Russia and Great Britain. The first of these was definitively concluded by the Treaty of St. Petersburg, November 29th, 1798,¹ by which the Tsar, besides the succour of his fleet united with that of the Porte, promised to furnish nine battalions of infantry, with the necessary artillery, and 200 Cossacks. The treaty with Great Britain, signed at Naples December 1st,² renewed a former convention of July 12th, 1793. England was to keep in the Mediterranean, till the peace, a fleet decidedly superior to that of the enemy; to which the King of the Two Sicilies was to add, as

¹ Martens, t. vi. p. 524.

² *Ibid.* p. 528.

his contingent, four ships of the line, four frigates, and four smaller vessels, with 3,000 sailors. But Ferdinand had already commenced hostilities before these treaties were signed. He was the more ready to listen to the representations of Nelson and the English Cabinet, as he was assured by many emigrants that the population of the Roman States was disposed to rise against the French. It was also asserted that the Emperor was preparing to invade Lombardy. The French army amounted to only 16,000 men, badly provided, and scattered over a line of near 200 miles. The Neapolitan army of 40,000 men entered the Roman territories November 24th, in three directions. The right wing, commanded by General Micheroux, penetrated through the Abruzzi; Count Roger de Damas, with the left, advanced by way of Terracina; while Mack, with the centre, marched straight upon Rome by Frosinone. Championnet, the French commander, after providing for the defence of the Castle of St. Angelo, and causing the rest of Rome to be evacuated, retreated with the few French and Polish troops he could collect towards the north, and took post at Rieti, Terni, and Cività Castellana. Meanwhile Mack advanced to Rome, followed by King Ferdinand, who entered that capital November 29th, amid the acclamations of the people. A counter-revolution now took place. All the monuments of French domination were destroyed and its partisans rigorously punished. At the same time, by order of Nelson, some English and Portuguese men-of-war, having on board 6,000 Neapolitan troops, proceeded to Leghorn, and were admitted by the officers of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Their mission was to incite an insurrection in Tuscany, and to intercept the communications of the French army with the North of Italy. These events, and the prospect of a new Coalition, induced the French to expel the King of Sardinia from his dominions. Joubert, under the mask of friendship for the Piedmontese, seized by a stratagem the citadels of Novara and Alessandria, and the post of Arona, marched upon Turin, and compelled Charles Emanuel IV. to sign an act of abdication, December 9th, 1798. The unfortunate King retired to Sardinia; and the Directory established a provisional government in Piedmont, which was treated as a French province.

Ferdinand's rapid success was followed by as sudden a reverse. Mack's advance had hitherto been skilfully con-

The Neapolitans occupy Rome, 1798.

Defeat of General Mack.

ducted; but he lost several days at Rome, a fault which seems attributable to the King, who wished to enjoy his triumphs. Mack, however, committed several blunders in his further advance, and at Nepi he was defeated with terrible loss by a French corps of only 5,000 men, commanded by Macdonald (December 5th). Other defeats followed, in which large bodies of Neapolitans were captured or dispersed by mere handfuls of French. Meanwhile not a single Austrian soldier had appeared, and on December 11th Mack commenced a retreat. Ferdinand fled to Caserta, and the French again entered Rome, December 15th. They were now in turn to become the invaders. Their columns advanced with rapid march upon Naples, and Ferdinand, his Queen, and all the royal family embarked, with a large sum of money and their most valuable effects, December 24th, on board Nelson's ship, the "Vanguard," who conveyed them to Palermo, taking with him what Neapolitan ships were ready for sea, and burning the remainder. The French nowhere experienced resistance from the regular Neapolitan forces except at Capua, where Championnet, with only 8,000 or 9,000 men, had placed himself in a very critical situation. But his good fortune, and the stupidity and cowardice of his opponents, came to his aid; and on January 10th, 1799, that city capitulated. The peasants of the country and the *Lazzaroni* of Naples were much more troublesome to the French than the regular troops. Enraged at what they considered the treachery of Mack and of Prince Pignatelli, whom Ferdinand at his departure had appointed vicar-general of the kingdom, the *Lazzaroni* when they heard of the armistice of Capua, rose *en masse*, seized the castles of Naples, liberated all the prisoners, compelled Mack and Pignatelli to fly for their lives, and pronounced sentence of death against all persons suspected of Jacobinism. During two or three days they maintained against the French a desperate resistance in the suburbs and town of Naples. But this fickle crowd, gained by the promises and bribes of Championnet, and the veneration which he displayed for their saint Januarius, began to shout as lustily for a Republic as they had before shouted for the King; the castles were delivered up to the French army, and tranquillity was restored. Naples was declared free and independent, and a provisional Republican Government was established. Such

was the foundation of the PARTHENOPEAN REPUBLIC;¹ a euphemism for the military despotism of the French general.

The Neapolitan war was but the prelude to a much more extensive one which involved the greater part of Europe. The overbearing insolence, the insatiable rapacity, of the Directors were insufferable. These men, who pretended to spread liberty abroad, had established the most absolute despotism at home. The elections of May, 1798, having been unfavourable to them—though it was not now the Royalists, but the Republicans who prevailed—they annulled the greater part of the returns by virtue of a power conferred upon them by the Legislative Councils. No liberty of opinion was tolerated. The action of the former revolutionary tribunals was supplied by military commissions. Persons accused or suspected by the Government of political offences, that is, of attempts against their power, were shot in the Champ de Mars or the plain of Grenelle. Barras and Rewbel were predominant at the Luxembourg. Barras, enriched by corruption and the spoils of conquered provinces, led a dissolute life. Rewbel was, perhaps, the boldest and most violent of the Directors, but his views were narrow. La Réveillère-Lepeaux was lost in his dreams of *theophilanthropy*, while Merlin and Treilhard were mere advocates converted into politicians.

Despotism
of the
Directory.

Such was the Government which aimed at subjugating Europe under pretence of giving it freedom. It had established, during the sitting of the Congress at Rastadt, in addition to the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, those of Rome, Helvetia, and Parthenope; while the Dutch had been compelled to approximate their form of government nearer to that of France, under the title of the "One and Indivisible Batavian Republic" (May 1st, 1798). The French kept continually increasing their pretensions. After the demand for the demolition of Ehrenbreitstein, they advanced fresh ones respecting the *Thalweg*, or path of navigation along the Rhine; claimed that the Waal should be included and the Isle of Buderich, opposite Wesel, a Prussian possession. But the battle of Aboukir, the absence of Bonaparte, the news of the alliance between Russia and Austria, and the advance of the Russian troops, had inspired the Directory with alarm.

Warlike
prepara-
tions.

¹ The Neapolitan war and its consequences are amply detailed in the *Mém. d'un Homme d'état*, t. vi. pp. 401-480; and t. vii. pp. 16-64, 132-198; cf. Botta, lib. xvi.; Colletta, *Storia di Napoli*.

They now began to moderate their pretensions at Rastadt. They made advances to the Emperor, and offered, if he would consent to the retirement of the Russian troops, to withdraw their forces from Switzerland and Rome, to neutralize those States, and, on the conclusion of the peace of the Empire at Rastadt, to place the Papal Legations in the hands of Austria by way of guarantee. They also offered to negotiate with England and the Porte, in order to a general pacification. But at the same time they prepared for war. The Councils had voted a levy of 200,000 men, a grant of 90,000,000 francs for the service of the army and 35,000,000 for the navy. The raising of these men by conscription occasioned a serious insurrection in the Netherlands; for the conquered provinces were also compelled to swell with their contingents the ranks of the French armies.

Approach
of war.

Austria, however, stimulated by Great Britain and Russia, had resolved upon war. The British Ministry, despairing of peace with a Government like the French, had used every exertion to form the new Coalition. For the present, however, Austria dissembled, awaiting the arrival of the Russians, who marched but slowly. She wished to avoid entering upon a war before the termination of the winter, as the snows of the Alps would interrupt all communication between her armies in Italy and Germany. Hence she had disapproved of the Neapolitan war as premature, and had given Ferdinand no assistance. The negotiations at Rastadt were continued, though they had become a mere matter of form, while troops were marching in every direction. France also was inclined to wait for the spring before commencing hostilities. She had, however, obtained possession of Ehrenbreitstein, by the capitulation of January 23rd, 1799. At length the Directory demanded a categorical answer from Austria respecting the advance of the Russian troops, and, receiving no reply, they gave the word to their armies to advance (February 20th).

The War of
the Second
Coalition,
1799.

Preparations had been made for a campaign on a grand scale. Jourdan, with 46,000 men, called prematurely the army of the Danube, was to act in Suabia and Bavaria. His rear and left flank were secured by an army of observation on the Rhine, consisting of 48,000 men under Bernadotte. The army of Helvetia, 30,000 men under Masséna, acting in conjunction with Jourdan, but subordinately to him, was to penetrate into Tyrol; where a detached corps of the army of Italy,

having proceeded through the Engadine, was to form a junction with it. For this purpose, however, it would be necessary for Masséna to drive the Austrians from the territory of the Grison League. The French had attempted to possess themselves of that country, after their occupation of Switzerland; but their invasion and pillage of Switzerland, as well as the confiscation of the Valtelline and Chiavenna, had naturally rendered the Grisons averse to any connection with France, and had induced them to seek in preference the aid of the Court of Vienna. By the convention of Coire, October 7th, 1798, the Austrian troops had been admitted, and Hotze, with 24,000 men, protected the Vorarlberg and the Grison territory.

The army of Italy, under Schérer, consisting of 50,000 men, without including Italian contingents, though not subordinate to Jourdan, was to co-operate in the general plan of attack. Schérer was to drive back the Austrians, who had assembled on the Adige, to the Brenta and the Piave; to act by his left upon Trent. A division of the army of Italy was to invade Tuscany, while another, as already mentioned, was to form a junction with the army of Helvetia through the Engadine. The Austrian army destined to oppose Schérer in Italy consisted of 75,000 men. The command of it had been given to Frederick, Prince of Orange; but that young Prince, who had already displayed great military abilities, having died suddenly (January 6th, 1799), General Melas was appointed to succeed him. On the arrival, however, of the Russians in Italy, the command-in-chief was to be assumed by Suvorov. Besides the army on the Adige, between 40,000 and 50,000 men, under Count Bellegarde, occupied South Tyrol and the valley of the Inn. In Germany, the advance of Jourdan was to be opposed by the Archduke Charles, who, agreeably to the convention with France, was posted behind the Lech, in Bavaria, with 54,000 foot and 24,000 horse. The campaign of 1799 was, therefore, to be a sort of repetition of that of 1796—an attack upon Austria through Northern Italy and Southern Germany. But the position of the French was now much more advantageous than in 1796, although their forces were numerically inferior to the Austrians. Instead of having to conquer Northern Italy, that country was now in their power as far as the Adige; Switzerland, instead of being neutral, was occupied by their troops, and seemed to afford

The Plan of
Campaign.

them new facilities for assailing their enemy. But the genius of Bonaparte was wanting to make a proper use of these advantages.

Outbreak of
hostilities,
1799.

We can give only a general idea of the campaign of 1799.¹ The Directory declared war against the Emperor, and, at the same time, against the Grand Duke of Tuscany, March 12th. All that could be alleged against the latter was some preparations for defence. Jourdan, crossing the Rhine at Hüningen and Strassburg, advanced through the Black Forest towards the Danube. At the same time a division of the army of observation, commanded by Ney, seized Mannheim. Masséna was the first to commence actual hostilities (March 5th). He defeated the Austrians in the Grison territory, occupied Coire, and penetrated to the frontiers of Tyrol; but Jellalich, at Feldkirch, in the Vorarlberg, resisted all his efforts. The Archduke Charles advanced to meet Jourdan, defeated him at Ostrach, March 21st, and again so decisively at Stockach, on the 25th, as to determine the fortune of the campaign, and compel the French to recross the Rhine. This victory was due to the coolness, sagacity, and personal courage of the Archduke, who charged on foot at the head of his grenadiers. The resistance of Jellalich at Feldkirch prevented Masséna from coming to Jourdan's aid by way of Bregenz and Lindau. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Alps, Lecourbe and Dessolles, advancing by the Engadine, defeated Loudon at Taufers, occupied Martinsbrück and the Münsterthal, thus commanding the valleys of Tyrol. But the retreat of Jourdan rendered these dear-bought successes unavailing; and before the end of March the French were driven back in this quarter by Bellegarde. The occupation of Switzerland proved, under these circumstances, more detrimental to the French than its neutrality would have been, by compelling them to keep troops there which might otherwise have reinforced their beaten armies. The Aulic Council at Vienna did them, however, some service by forbidding the Archduke to pursue his victorious career.

The advance of the Austrians had compromised the safety

¹ The principal source for it is the Archduke Charles's work: *Gesch. des Feldzugs von 1799 in Deutschland und in der Schweiz*: cf. Clausewitz, *Die Feldzüge von 1799*; Dumas, *Précis des événements militaires de 1799-1814*; Bonnal, *La Guerre de Hollande*; Rochette, *Histoire de la Révolution Helvétique de 1797 à 1803*.

of the French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt. Count Metternich, the Imperial Minister, had announced his recall April 7th, as well as the resolution of the Emperor to annul all that had been done at Rastadt. The Congress was thus *de facto* terminated, as the deputation of the Empire could not deliberate in the absence of a representative of the Emperor. Nevertheless, the French Minister remained, and proceeded to treat separately with the sub-delegates of some of the States of the Empire. A guarantee of the neutrality of Rastadt, which the latter endeavoured to obtain from the commander of the Austrian advanced posts at Gernsbach, was refused; on the evening of April 28th the town was occupied by a detachment of Szekler hussars, whose colonel having directed the French Ministers to leave it within twenty-four hours, Bonnier, a man of violent temper, persuaded his colleagues to depart at once, though it was already night. Their carriages had scarcely cleared the town when they were surrounded by a party of Szeklers; Bonnier and Roberjot were sabred; Jean Debry, severely wounded and left for dead, contrived to get back to Rastadt. Nothing was taken from the French Ministers but their portfolios. This violation of the law of nations created universal indignation and abhorrence in Europe.

French
envoys
murdered

Meanwhile, in Italy, Schérer had detached Gauthier against Tuscany, who overran that country without resistance, entered Florence, March 25th, and permitted the Grand Duke to retire with an escort to Venice. Schérer determined to attack the Austrians on the Adige before Suvorov and the Russians could arrive. Melas being sick, the Austrians were now commanded by Marshal Kray. On March 26th and following days Schérer delivered several attacks against Kray's centre at Verona; but, though Moreau had succeeded in turning the Austrian right, the French were finally repulsed with great loss, and compelled to fall back on Villa Franca (April 1st). After much manœuvring, both sides determined on an engagement; and on the 5th of April was fought the battle of MAGNANO, in which the French, after a hard and dubious struggle, were completely defeated. Schérer retreated by Roverbella over the Mincio, followed by Kray. On the 8th of April the French were attacked in all their posts from Bormio to the Lago di Garda, and compelled to retire to Brescia. It is computed that in less than a fortnight's hostilities Schérer had lost nearly half his army.

Battle of
Magnano.

Advance of
Suvorov.

Such was the state of things in Italy when Suvorov arrived at Verona to take the command of both the Imperial armies (April 14th). His commission from the Tsar gave him the supreme direction of the Russian forces by sea as well as land. Thus, after the taking of Corfû by Admiral Utschakov, he directed the Russian fleet to attack Ancona. What plan he had formed for the campaign was utterly unknown; in fact, he seems seldom to have had any. The grand secret of his success was the celerity of his movements, and the coolness and sagacity with which he extricated himself from any difficult position into which he might be thrown. Inspiring the Austrians with his own activity, Suvorov advanced from one victory to another. The Oglio is passed; Moreau, by whom Schérer had now been superseded, is defeated at Cassano on the Adda (April 27th); Milan is entered on the 29th, which Moreau evacuates, with the exception of the citadel. General Serrurier, with a division of 8,000 men, surrounded by superior forces at Verderio, had been compelled to lay down his arms. Moreau, intrusted with the difficult task of rescuing a defeated army, pursued by superior forces, cut off from the army of Naples under Macdonald, and in the midst of an insurgent population, displayed the greatest ability. Proceeding to Turin in person, he put that town in a posture of defence, established his communications with Switzerland and France, and on the 7th of May took up his quarters at Alessandria. His only hope was to arrest the advance of the enemy till Macdonald should come up, when the Aulic Council, as it had done in Germany, stepped in to his aid. Suvorov had determined to crush Moreau with his whole force, and then to turn upon Macdonald; but the Aulic Council, intent upon securing the conquests already made, weakened Suvorov by ordering him to lay siege to Mantua, Peschiera, Pizzighettone, and other places, to secure the defiles of the Alps and the Apennines, and, in addition to all this, to attack Moreau. Too weak to accomplish this last order, Suvorov endeavoured to manœuvre Moreau out of a strong position he had taken near Tortona; but the French General, after delivering some successful attacks, effected his retreat to Coni, or Cuneo (May 19th), obtaining at once a strong position and securing his communications both with Genoa and France.

Meanwhile Macdonald had begun his march from Caserta,

May 9th. On the 24th he arrived at Florence, and having united his forces with those of Gauthier, proceeded to put himself in communication with Victor, whom Moreau had despatched to Pontremoli to meet him; and having defeated Klenau's corps, established his communications with Genoa. Moreau himself entered Genoa June 6th; but Macdonald took a more northerly route towards the main body of the Austro-Russians, and, having defeated Hohenzollern's corps June 12th, advanced to the TREBBIA. Here, after a struggle of three days' duration, he received from Suvorov in person one of the most disastrous defeats that the French Republican armies had yet experienced (June 19th), and, after a loss of 18,000 men, was compelled to retreat to Firenzuola. Hence, pretending to retire with the remainder of his forces into Tuscany, he gained the Genoese States by a circuitous route.

The battle
of the
Trebbia.

Moreau, who had beaten Bellegarde at San Giuliano, June 20th, revictualled Tortona, and raised the blockade of Alesandria, was induced, by the news of the battle on the Trebbia, to retire beyond the Bochetta to Novi. The Austro-Russians had taken possession of Turin; Suvorov had caused Pinerolo, Susa, La Brunetta, and the Col d'Assiette to be occupied, and some of his Cossacks had even carried alarm into Dauphiné. These manœuvres were intended to draw Moreau from the Apennines, but the French General was not to be so enticed.

At this juncture Moreau was superseded in the command by Joubert, through intrigues in the Directory. A sort of revolution had taken place in that body in the preceding May. Rewbel having gone out by rotation, Sieyès had occupied his seat, and, in conjunction with Barras, and with the aid of the Councils, had compelled Treilhard, Merlin de Douai, and La Réveillère-Lepaux to resign. Their places were filled by Gohier, Ducos, and General Moulins, men but little known and of no importance. A change was also effected in the Ministry. Bernadotte became Minister of War; Robert Lindet, one of the original Jacobins and long a member of the Committee of Public Safety, was intrusted with the Finances; Reinhardt superseded Talleyrand in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Cambacérès, an ex-Conventional, and formerly member of the Committee of General Welfare, received the portfolio of Justice; Fouché, the Jacobin, no-

Changes
in the
Directory.

torious by his cruelties at Lyons, was placed at the head of the Police. Joubert, if victorious, was to return and overthrow the Directory, and to place himself at the head of a new Government.

Moreau had been directed to remain inactive till Joubert's arrival, which, owing to various delays, did not take place till early in August. With rash impetuosity, Joubert gave battle to the Austro-Russians under Suvorov, at Novi, August 15th, with only about half the forces of his opponents, and was killed at the very commencement of the action. Moreau then resumed the command. In this obstinate engagement, which lasted the whole day, the French were totally defeated, with great loss. Tortona surrendered in consequence to the Austro-Russians, August 23rd.

Soon after this battle, Suvorov received orders from his Government to proceed into Switzerland, to act in conjunction with another Russian army which had been despatched thither under Korsakov. Suvorov had now become disgusted with his Austrian allies, whose slow and pedantic method impeded his own impetuous tactics. He had, too, been disappointed in a scheme to invade France, overturn the Government, and restore the Bourbons. With this view he had pressed the Archduke Charles to drive Masséna from Switzerland, and enter Franche-Comté, while he himself would meet him by way of Provence and Dauphiné. But the Austrians were not inclined for any such hazardous undertakings. The Archduke, indeed, had, by orders from his Government, been kept in a state of almost entire inaction during the last two or three months. He had entered Switzerland towards the end of May, and, after several contests with Masséna for the possession of Zürich, had compelled the French general to retire to a strong position on the plateau of Mont Albis, extending along the Reuss to the Lake of Zug. Here the two armies remained watching each other, and no hostilities of any moment occurred. Matters were in this state when, about the middle of August, Korsakov, with a Russian army of 40,000 men, entered Switzerland. This was the corps which was to have been placed at the disposal of Prussia, but was now employed as described by virtue of a convention between Great Britain and Russia, June 29th, 1799. On Korsakov's arrival, the Archduke abandoned to him the command, and

Battle of
Novi.

The
Russians
in Switzer-
land.

leaving an Austrian division of 30,000 men to co-operate with the Russians, marched with the remainder of his forces against the newly-organized French army of the Rhine, which, under the command of General Müller, had occupied Heidelberg and Mannheim. At the Archduke's approach, the French raised the siege of Philippsburg, the only fortress on the Rhine still held by the Germans. Charles retook Mannheim September 18th; but the events which had occurred in Switzerland prevented him from prosecuting his advantages.

The ill-feeling which prevailed between the allied armies was manifested by Korsakov's instructions, who was directed not to attend to any Austrian orders, but to receive only those of Suvorov. Korsakov, who had no experience except on the parade-ground, united with an utter want of military talent the most insufferable arrogance and self-conceit. He treated with contempt the counsels of a commander like the Archduke, who, by three months' experience, had acquired an accurate knowledge of the ground and of the designs of the enemy. Aware of the approach of Suvorov, Masséna resolved to attack Korsakov before he could be reinforced. Passing the Limmat at Dietikon before break of day, September 25th, the French utterly routed and dispersed the Russians, and occupied the road leading from Zürich to Winterthür, in order to cut off their retreat. On the same day another French corps under Soult attacked the Austrian division under Hotze. This general was killed in an ambuscade; Petrasch, who succeeded him in the command, was totally defeated and compelled to retreat by Lichtenstsz to St. Gall. On the 26th the French entered Zürich, where a large part of the Russians had taken refuge in a state of helpless disorder. A terrible massacre ensued, which was not confined to the Russians. It was on this occasion that the celebrated physiognomist Lavater was shot in cold blood by a French officer who had a little before enjoyed his hospitality. Korsakov, after losing the greater part of his army and 100 guns, succeeded in passing the Rhine at Schaffhausen with the remainder of his forces.

The battle
of Zürich,
1799.

The approach of Suvorov, by diverting the attention of the French, facilitated the escape of Korsakov. With the remnant of his army, variously estimated at from 13,000 to 24,000 men, Suvorov, advancing by Airolo, succeeded, by

Retreat of
Suvorov.

prodigious perseverance and valour, in scaling the St. Gothard, then unprovided with any tolerable roads, and in scattering the French columns opposed to his passage. Pursuing his march along the valley of the Reuss, by Altdorf, he crossed the Kinzig Culm into the valley of Muotta, or Mütten, where he found himself almost surrounded by the French. Having learnt Korsakov's disaster, and being defeated in an attempt to cut his way through Masséna's forces, he determined, for the first time in his life, to retreat. Crossing the Prager Pass into Glarus, he there gave his troops a few days' rest, and finally effected his escape into the Grison territory by the Pass of Panix. Hence by way of Feldkirch, with the remnants of the two armies, he directed his homeward march to Russia.

Russia and
Spain.

On July 26th Paul I. had declared war against Spain, because she refused to renounce her alliance with France. Charles IV., or rather the Prince of the Peace, in a manifesto published at San Ildefonso, September 9th, 1799, characterized the Russian declaration as "incoherent and offensive," dictated by English influence, and unworthy of an answer.¹ Little could result from a breach between two countries possessing so few points of contact as Russia and Spain. Its most important consequence was a treaty of defensive alliance between Portugal and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, September 18th, 1799;² by which the furnishing of the military and naval forces stipulated might be commuted for a money payment.

While these events were taking place, the Empire renewed the war by a decree of the Diet of Ratisbon, September 16th, to which, however, Prussia, as well as Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, Hanover, and Brunswick, did not adhere.³

Restoration
of Ferdi-
nand of
Naples,
1799.

During these months, too, the combined Ottoman and Russian fleets under Admiral Utschakov, after taking Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, Sta. Maura, and, finally, Corfû, March 1st, 1799, appeared in the middle of April before Otranto, captured that town, as well as Brindisi and Bari, and landed forces which reduced all Apulia. Another Russo-Turkish division took Sinigaglia and Fano, and in June laid siege to Ancona. These events, as well as the turn of the campaign

¹ Garden, t. vi. p. 183.

² Menzel, B. vi. S. 387.

³ Martens, t. vi. p. 696.

in Northern Italy, and the departure of Macdonald and his army, occasioned a Royalist insurrection in the Neapolitan dominions. Cardinal Ruffo, who had accompanied King Ferdinand and his Court to Palermo, having landed with only two other persons at Reggio in Calabria, and having collected a small force of some 200 or 300 men, began his march for Naples, receiving every day fresh accessions which at length swelled his army to between 20,000 and 30,000 men. This force, composed of the half-savage peasants of Calabria, besides brigands and liberated galley-slaves, was dignified with the name of the "Christian Army." Naples was reached and taken, June 17th; scenes of massacre ensued, to put an end to which Ruffo granted the revolutionists a favourable capitulation. The French garrison in the Castle of St. Elmo surrendered July 5th, and on the 27th King Ferdinand IV. re-entered his capital. It is to be regretted that Nelson, who was absent from Naples at the time of the capitulation, and under the influence of Lady Hamilton, should have disavowed it on his return, though signed by one of his own captains; that he should have persuaded King Ferdinand to repudiate it and to condemn to death a great many of the revolutionists, including Prince Moliterno, Marquis Caraccioli, and the Duke of Cassano; nay, that he should have converted the quarter-deck of his own vessel into a place of execution by the hanging of Caraccioli.¹ The throne of Ferdinand IV. having been thus re-established, a motley army, composed of Russians, Turks, and Neapolitans, marched to Rome and entered that city by capitulation, September 30th. The oppressors of the Pope were discomfited by schismatics and infidels, and the capital of the Christian world, that "Red Apple" which their Sultans had so often threatened to destroy, was liberated by the aid of the Osmanlis. The Cisalpine Republic, through the Austro-Russian victories, had also submitted to Francis II.

The Anglo-Russian expedition to Holland was another episode in the great war of 1799. By a convention signed at St. Petersburg, June 22nd,² Paul had agreed to assist the English descent with a small fleet and an army of between

The English
in Holland.

¹ An inscription on the house of Caraccioli on the Mergellina at Naples still records the act.

² Martens, t. vi. p. 561.

17,000 and 18,000 men, in consideration of their expenses being paid. General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with about 12,000 men, the first division of the British forces, landed in North Holland, August 27th, defeated the Dutch under General Daendels, and occupied the Helder. The English fleet under Admiral Mitchell having entered the Vlie, the crews of the Dutch squadron there hoisted the Orange colours, arrested their officers, and went over to the English. The example was followed by the squadron at Nieuwe Diep. Altogether, twelve ships of war, fully equipped, and thirteen other vessels, fell into the power of the English, and were sent to Yarmouth. Abercrombie, awaiting reinforcements from England and Russia, having taken up a position behind the Zijp, was attacked by the French and Dutch under General Brune; but they were defeated and driven back to Alkmaar (September 10th). A few days after the Duke of York landed with the second English division, and took the command-in-chief. Part of the Russian forces having also arrived, the Duke attacked Brune at Petten, September 19th; but the right wing, composed of Russians, having advanced too far, were repulsed with great loss. Their flight threw the whole army into confusion, and the affair resulted in a drawn battle. The Duke of York defeated Brune at Bergen, October 2nd, but did not follow up his advantage. The allies having been defeated at Kastrikum, October 6th, the Duke of York again retired beyond the Zijp, and entered into negotiations with Brune for the evacuation of Holland. A capitulation was consequently signed at Alkmaar, October 18th, by which it was agreed that the allies should re-embark without molestation before the end of November, on condition of their restoring 8,000 French and Batavian prisoners. The failure of an expedition which had cost so large a sum created great discontent in England; but the nation was in some degree compensated by the possession of the Dutch fleet, and by the capture of Surinam, which colony had surrendered to the British arms, August 20th.

The reverses of his armies in Switzerland and Holland, and the refusal of the Austrians to deliver to him Ancona, led the Emperor Paul I. to recall his troops and to withdraw from the Coalition as hastily as he had entered it. Thus France was rescued from the greatest danger that had

menaced it since the Prussian invasion of Champagne. The return of Bonaparte from Egypt, and his unexpected landing at Fréjus which created a great sensation in France, and, indeed, throughout Europe, was soon to place her affairs in a better position.

CHAPTER LXI

THE TREATIES OF LUNÉVILLE AND AMIENS

Bonaparte
in Egypt.

WHEN by the destruction of Brueys' fleet Bonaparte found himself cut off from all communication with France, he began to think of establishing himself firmly in Egypt, and of making it the base of those gigantic enterprises which he had meditated against the English empire in the East. He strove to conciliate the inhabitants by respecting their customs, and especially their religion. Like the heathen conquerors of ancient Rome, he was ready to adopt all the gods of all the vanquished nations, except only the God of the Jews and Christians. In an interview with the Mufti in the pyramid of Cheops, he professed himself a believer in the Prophet, and adopted the hyperbolical language of the East. He also attempted to domiciliate his army in a country which they had no prospect of speedily quitting. Cairo was converted into a sort of little Paris, with French newspapers, *restaurants*, literary societies, gaming tables, and other luxuries. The exactions of the French, however, created serious discontent among the natives, and all Bonaparte's vigilance could not prevent the breaking out of a dangerous conspiracy at Cairo, and the massacre of 300 of his men. But it was speedily quelled, and Bonaparte, from motives of policy, treated the ringleaders with clemency.

Syrian
Campaign.

The enterprising mind of Bonaparte could not long remain in repose, and towards the end of 1798 he began to meditate further conquests. He visited Suez, explored the coasts of the Red Sea, entered into correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, then at war with the English; little dreaming that a young soldier, Colonel Wellesley, destined at a future period to end his own extraordinary career, was then serving against that Prince. The Syrian campaign was, however,

finally determined on. Bonaparte appears to have formed the extraordinary scheme of taking Constantinople, attacking Europe in flank, and marching to Paris.¹ He left Cairo, February 11th, 1799, with a few of his bravest generals and about 12,000 of his best troops. The desert was rapidly traversed, El Arisch, Gaza, taken at the first assault, but Jaffa offered some resistance, which was punished by a promiscuous massacre. The garrison, some 4,000 Turks, shutting themselves up in a caravanserai, had desperately defended it, and had capitulated only on condition that their lives should be spared. Nevertheless, those who survived, about half the original number, were mercilessly shot. Miot, an eye-witness of their execution, has described how they were marched to the seashore, divided into little bands, despatched with musket-balls, and, when these failed, with the bayonet and the sword.² The impossibility of keeping so large a number of prisoners has been alleged in extenuation of this barbarous act. Bonaparte, in his correspondence, treats it quite as a matter of course.³ He was not wantonly cruel; but he had a reckless contempt for human life, and never suffered considerations of humanity to arrest him in the pursuit of his objects.

From Jaffa Bonaparte marched to St. John d'Acre, which he invested March 20th. But here Djeddar Pasha, with 1,000 Turks, assisted by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith and some 200 or 300 English sailors and marines, succeeded in arresting his progress. St. John d'Acre was badly fortified, but Bonaparte had only field guns to employ against it; his siege artillery, which he had forwarded by sea, had been captured by Sir Sidney Smith's cruisers. Kléber defeated at Mount Thabor, April 16th, a large but irregular Turkish army

Siege of
St. John
d'Acre.

¹ According to his own communications to Berthier. Madame de Staël, *Considérations*, etc. pt. iv. ch. i.

² Miot, *Mém. pour servir à l'hist. des expéditions en Egypte et en Syrie*, p. 144 sqq. (ed. 1814).

³ See his letters to Dugua, Marmont, and Kléber, *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. v. pp. 351, 353. He afterwards attempted to palliate the matter by reducing the number of victims to 1,000 or 1,200, and by affirming that they had formed part of the garrison of El Arisch, and had broken their parole. O'Meara, *Napoleon in Exile*, vol. i. p. 329. The first of these excuses is futile; the second is an evident after-thought. Nothing of the kind appears in Bonaparte's letters at the time of the occurrence.

which was marching to relieve Acre. But, as it could be victualled from the sea, it sufficed for its own defence. After a siege of sixty days, during which nine desperate assaults had been delivered, and many sorties made by the garrison, Bonaparte, after losing a third of his army, was compelled to retire from before this apparently contemptible place. He displayed his rage by destroying the aqueduct and several of the public buildings. Yet he pretended in his despatches that he had been successful, and that he had retired only for fear of the plague. So portentous were the falsehoods which he dictated that his secretary Bourienne threw down his pen in amazement. That the French army was infected with the plague is, however, true enough, and hundreds of the men were laid up at Jaffa.

Bonaparte
returns to
France.

Bonaparte got back to Cairo June 15th. During his absence Desaix had driven Murad Bey and his Mamelukes from Upper Egypt, had passed Thebes and arrived at Syene and the cataracts of the Nile, the furthest station occupied by the Roman legions. Murad, who eluded the pursuit of the French by the most rapid and unexpected manœuvres, at length submitted, and in reward of the constancy and valour he had displayed, was made Prince of Said or Upper Egypt. At the instance of England, the Porte made an attempt to recover Egypt, and landed an army at Aboukir; but Bonaparte, having rapidly collected his forces, defeated them, July 26th, killed or captured a large number and drove the remainder into the sea, where the greater part miserably perished. About a week after this battle Bonaparte received, through a flag of truce of Sir Sidney Smith's, some French and English newspapers, relating the defeats of the Republican armies in Germany and Italy, of which he had not yet heard.¹ He immediately resolved to return to France. But it was necessary to depart secretly, and in order to veil his design he went back to Cairo, where he affected to employ himself in giving orders for a scientific expedition to the Thebais. Then suddenly returning to Alexandria, and transferring the command of the army to Kléber, he embarked on board a French frigate at Aboukir, accompanied by Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Andréossy, and Marmont, generals devotedly attached to his fortunes, and after a passage of nearly seven

¹ Guitry, *L'Armée de Bonaparte en Egypte* (1798-1799).

weeks, during which he contrived to escape the English cruisers by hugging the African coast, he landed at Fréjus, October 9th.¹ He was received with enthusiasm. The French were now quite disgusted with their Government; the complaints which he heard against it during his journey to Paris were loud and general. The finances, as well as every other branch of the administration, were in disorder. The nation was disgusted with the military reverses in Italy and Germany; the troops themselves were neither paid nor clothed, nay, hardly fed. A schism prevailed in the Directory. Sieyès, ever busy with new political schemes, had resolved to overthrow the Constitution of the year III, and to concentrate the forces of the Government in the hands of some powerful individual. After Joubert's death Sieyès had turned his eyes on Moreau and Bernadotte, as the only two generals qualified to carry his scheme into execution; but Moreau, who had not much political energy or talent, declined to be concerned in the matter, while the frank and loyal but haughty temper of Bernadotte appeared to Sieyès unsuited to his purpose. The views of Sieyès were supported by Roger Ducos. Of the other Directors Barras had become almost politically useless. He had entered into negotiations with Louis XVIII., but soon discovered that a restoration of the Bourbons was at this time impracticable. Gohier and Moulins, the remaining two Directors, were Jacobins. That party, however, no longer entertained their former extreme and violent opinions. They were supported by the majority of the Council of Five Hundred; and out of doors by the *Club du Manège*, so called from its occupying the building in which the Constituent Assembly had formerly sitten. Generals Bernadotte and Jourdan were also Jacobins. Sieyès, however, effected the dismissal of Bernadotte from the Ministry at War; and in conjunction with Fouché, now head of the police, caused the *Manège* to be closed.

Plots of
Sieyès.

Bonaparte had returned to France without any settled design except to take a leading part. His Italian campaign, his important negotiations, as well as the romantic glory of his almost fabulous expedition to Egypt, had placed his reputation far above that of any other general. The little part which he had taken in the domestic affairs of France, and

¹ Bonaparte's own account in *Corr. de Nap. I. t. v. end.*

consequent freedom from all party ties, was also in his favour. Sieyès was at first justly distrustful of him, as too ambitious to acquiesce in his Constitutional plans. Mutual friends, however, brought about an understanding, and the plot of a revolution was laid. Sieyès undertook to prepare the Councils for it, while Bonaparte was to gain the soldiery. On the morning of the 18th *Brumaire* (November 9th), the Ancients were summoned to the Tuileries at the early hour of seven, when certain members alarmed them with reports of a Jacobin plot, of a revival of the Reign of Terror.

18th Brumaire, 1799.

The Councils proceeded next day to St. Cloud, whither Sieyès and Ducos accompanied Bonaparte. Gohier and Moulins had made their escape from Paris the evening before. When the Five Hundred assembled, Emile Gaudin, who was in the plot, rose and proposed a vote of thanks to the Ancients for what they had done. This was the signal for a stormy scene. Bonaparte, who seemed to have quite lost his presence of mind, was carried through this important crisis by his brother Lucien, the President of the Council of Five Hundred. Seeing that the Assembly was about to outlaw his brother, Lucien rushed to the door, mounted his horse, and riding towards the troops, exclaimed that he, the President, had been threatened with the daggers of the factious, and demanded that the Assembly should be dispersed. Bonaparte left the execution of this stroke to Murat, by whose orders a body of grenadiers dispersed the deputies at the point of the bayonet. A Provisional Government was then established. Persons selected for the purpose were nominated by a remnant of the two Councils as a Provisional Committee, which placed the Government under three Consuls, Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Roger Ducos. The Legislature was to be reassembled, February 20th, 1800; meanwhile a Committee of Fifty, twenty-five members of each Council, was to draw up a new Constitution. Thus was accomplished, with the perfect acquiescence of the French people, this important revolution.¹ The new Government immediately adopted some just and vigorous measures. The law of hostages was abrogated, which made the innocent responsible for the guilty; forced loans were abolished; priests proscribed since 18th *Fructidor*

¹ Lucien Bonaparte, *Révolution de Brumaire and Mémoires*.

were permitted to return; some emigrants who had been shipwrecked on the coast and detained in prison four years, were liberated. On the other hand, great severity was displayed towards the ultra-Jacobins. Between thirty and forty of this faction were ordered, by a simple consular decree, to be transported to Guiana; many others were placed under the *surveillance* of the police. But public opinion compelled the Consuls to recall this measure.

Bonaparte suffered the metaphysical Abbé Sieyès to amuse himself with drawing up a Constitution, which, however, he altered in all its essential points, and practically reduced to a mere form. The Commission of Fifty implicitly obeyed his dictates. The "Constitution of the year VIII" was proclaimed, December 24th.¹ The following are the chief features of this short-lived Constitution: a *Conservative Senate* (sénat conservateur), of eighty members at least forty years of age, appointed for life and unremovable, whose principal functions were to select, from lists presented by the electoral colleges of the Departments, the Legislators, Tribunes, Consuls, Judges, etc. It was also a Court of Appeal respecting all acts denounced as unconstitutional. A *Tribunate* of 100 members, twenty-five years of age, at least, to discuss, adopt, or reject the laws proposed to it by the Government. A *Legislative Assembly*, composed of 300 members, at least thirty years of age. This assembly gave only a silent vote of acceptance or rejection of the *projets de loi* discussed before it by the orators of the Tribunate or of the Government. An *Executive Government* of three Consuls nominated for ten years, and indefinitely re-eligible. Of these, the FIRST CONSUL was invested with an almost absolute power. The Second and Third Consuls had only a deliberative voice (*voix consultative*) in some of the acts of Government, but even in these the decision of the First Consul sufficed. The salary of the First Consul was 500,000 francs (£20,000); of the remaining two, only three-tenths of that sum. As the members of the Tribunate and Legislature were selected by the Senate from lists of persons called *notables of France*, the result of three degrees of election, by the people, the notables of the *Communes*, and the notables of the Departments; as the Senate itself was

The Constitution of the Consulate. Bonaparte first Consul.

¹ See the *Registre des délibérations du Consulat provisoire* (November 11th—December 24th, 1799), ed. Aulard.

chosen by the Consuls, and as the Government alone had the power to initiate laws, the political existence of the nation was completely annihilated; and though the name of a republic was retained, the new Constitution was virtually a pure despotism.

Bonaparte's
first acts.

The first act of Bonaparte on becoming First Consul was to dismiss his two colleagues. Sieyès was rewarded with a sum of 800,000 francs, a domain called Crosne, and a place in the Senate, the pay of which was 25,000 francs per annum. Roger Ducos was forced to content himself with the humble sum of 120,000 francs. Bonaparte now named as Second Consul Cambacérès, a juriconsult, ex-Conventional and regicide, a man of great legal acquirements; Le Brun, a *littérateur* of polished manners, was appointed Third Consul. He had been secretary to the Chancellor Maupeou, a member of the Constituent Assembly and of the Girondist Government of Roland. Both these men were recommended by their total want of physical and moral courage, as well as by their talents and acquirements. Cambacérès was Bonaparte's interpreter with the Jacobins and revolutionists; Le Brun, with the Royalists. Talleyrand was reinstated in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; Fouché was retained as head of the Police; Gaudin was appointed to the Finances; Berthier was made Chief of the Staff.¹

Reactionary
Govern-
ment.

Bonaparte, surrounded by 3,000 of his best troops, took up his residence at the Tuileries even before his nomination as First Consul was officially declared, and the ancient palace of the Bourbons again assumed some appearance of regal splendour. He had already learned to govern in Italy and Egypt; under the influence of his great administrative talents order began gradually to reappear in France. Public credit revived; the Bank of France was established; the administration of the Departments was facilitated and brought more under the control of the Government by the institution of prefectures; the Chouan insurrection, which had again broken out, was appeased; but the treacherous manner in which Frotté, and six more of the Chouan leaders were inveigled and put to death, was another proof of the relentless policy of Bonaparte.

¹ For the Consulate, see Thibaudeau, *Mémoires sur le Consulat* and *Le Consulat et l'Empire*, and Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*.

With regard to Foreign Affairs, one of the first steps of Bonaparte was to propose a peace to King George III. and the Emperor Francis II.¹ The chief motive with the English Ministry in rejecting this overture appears to have been a want of confidence in the stability of the new French Government. They saw no hope of permanent tranquillity except in the restoration of the Bourbons. The renewal of the correspondence through Talleyrand seems to indicate that Bonaparte might at this time have really desired a peace. His own power needed consolidation; the French army in Italy seemed compromised, that in Egypt irretrievably cut off. The Emperor followed the same course as England, and refused to negotiate.

Bonaparte
and Eng-
land.

All hope of peace being at an end, Bonaparte prepared for war. The command of the army on the Rhine was given to Moreau, while the First Consul determined to proceed in person into Italy. After the departure of Suvorov from that country, the French had been defeated with considerable loss at Savigliano, Fossano, and Genola; Coni had surrendered December 5th, completing the occupation of Piedmont by the Austrians. Ancona had also been taken; and thus Genoa and its Riviera was all that the French held in Italy. In the spring of 1800, the right wing of the French army, consisting of 40,000 men, under Masséna, leaned upon Genoa; its left upon the Var. From many of its posts it had been driven as well by the Austrians as by the fire of the British cruisers. Mélas succeeded in dividing it, in taking Nice, and driving Suchet beyond the Var, while Masséna had been compelled to throw himself into Genoa. Such was the posture of affairs when Bonaparte entered Italy in May. His army of 60,000 or 70,000 men crossed the Alps in four columns. Bonaparte himself crossed the great St. Bernard, the natural obstacles of that route having been surmounted with great skill and indomitable perseverance; another column passed Mont Cénis, a third the Simplon, a fourth the St. Gothard. Bonaparte entered Milan June 2nd, and proclaimed the re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic. Mélas was thus placed between Bonaparte's army and that of Suchet; while the fourth column of the French, under

Battle of
Marengo,
1800.

¹ See the letter of December 25th, 1799, in *Corr. de Nap. I. t. vi.* p. 36.

Moncey, had marched upon Brescia, to cut off the retreat of the Austrians into the Venetian States. It became necessary, therefore, for Mélas to fight a battle in order to restore his communications. On the 9th of June, Lannes defeated the Austrians under Ott at Montebello, near Casteggio. On the 14th, Mélas, having passed the Bormida opposite Alessandria, gave battle to Bonaparte at MARENGO.¹ The action began at eight o'clock in the morning, and towards the close of the day the Austrians appeared to be victorious. The right wing of the French had been turned; Mélas, secure of victory, had entered Alessandria to refresh himself, when Desaix, arriving with his division, broke the Austrian left, which had extended itself too much, and compelled a body of 5,000 Austrian grenadiers, posted in the village of Marengo, to surrender. Desaix, however, was killed in the engagement. The Austrians recrossed the Bormida under cover of the night, and the French remained masters of the field. This battle, which had so nearly become a defeat for Bonaparte, but which he was accustomed to speak of as one of his most glorious achievements, although tacticians reproach him with having committed several mistakes, proved nevertheless decisive. Mélas, an old man of eighty, completely lost his head. Great was the astonishment at the French headquarters on the following day, at receiving from him proposals for an armistice. The Convention of Alessandria, signed June 16th,² is one of the most disgraceful capitulations recorded in history. Mélas, on condition of being allowed to retire beyond the Mincio, abandoned the whole of Piedmont and Lombardy, as far as the Oglio; also Genoa. This city had been captured with the aid of the English fleet under Admiral Keith, June 4th, and had been revictualled by the English. The Austrian commander therefore had no right to surrender it; had he possessed ordinary resolution, Genoa would have served him as a *point d'appui*, and the English being masters of the sea, he could always have received provisions and reinforcements. After this short, but brilliant campaign, which had lasted less than six weeks,

¹ For a description of the battle, see De Gross, *Historisch-militärisches Handbuch*. Also the account given by Mélas himself to the Archduke Charles, in Mailath, *Gesch. Oestreichs*, t. v. p. 234-242. See also Thiers and Sargent, *The Campaign of Marengo*.

² Martens, t. vii. p. 71

Bonaparte returned to Paris, leaving Masséna to reconquer Italy, in case it could not be recovered by negotiation.

Meanwhile the campaign upon the Rhine had been opened April 25th. The French army, under Moreau, passed the Rhine at six different points between Kehl and Dreienhofen. The Austrians were now commanded by Kray. The Archduke Charles having pronounced himself in favour of a peace with France, Thugut and the English party had procured his removal from the army in Germany, under pretence of making him commander-in-chief in Bohemia. Great Britain, after the defection of Paul I. from the Coalition, had entered into treaties with the Electors of Bavaria and Mainz, and the Duke of Würtemberg, for supplying about 20,000 men. These had been added to the Austrian army concentrated at Liptingen and Stockach. Bonaparte, in order that Moreau's success might not eclipse his own glory, had wished that general to stand on the defensive; but Moreau was by no means inclined to play so subordinate a part. Advancing from Basle, Moreau defeated Kray at Engen, May 3rd, at Möskirch, 5th, at Pfullendorf, 6th, while Richepanse repulsed the Austrians at Biberach, 9th, and Lecourbe at Memmingen, 10th. Kray now threw himself into Ulm, which had been newly fortified. But Moreau, having advanced into Bavaria, Kray again took the field, and crossing the Danube, marched down the left bank of that river. Moreau despatched Lecourbe against him with 30,000 men, who, crossing the river between Dillingen and Donauwörth, defeated the Austrian rearguard at Hochstädt, June 19th. Kray now directed his march towards the Upper Palatinate, thus abandoning Bavaria to the French. Decaen entered Munich, June 27th. On the same day Lecourbe defeated Kray at Neuburg, who then took up a position at Ingolstadt. Affairs were in this state when news arrived of the cessation of hostilities in Italy; in consequence of which an armistice was also concluded for Germany, at Parsdorf, July 15th,¹ which arrested the progress of the French towards Austria. The French were to occupy both the Rhenish Circles, all Suabia, and great part of Franconia and Bavaria, in order, as the Convention expressed it, to place the safety of property and of the established Government in this part of the Empire under the

German
Campaign,
1800.

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 75.

protection of the honour of the French army. Yet the contributions exacted by the French, reached in August the sum of twenty-four million thalers (£3,600,000 sterling)!¹

Francis II.
and Eng-
land.

Francis II. had at first hesitated to ratify the Convention of Alessandria. Only a few hours before the news of it arrived at Vienna, he had concluded with Great Britain a fresh treaty of subsidies (June 20th, 1800),² by which, in consideration of an advance of two millions sterling, he agreed to continue the war with all his forces, in conjunction with England. That Power was to put at the disposal of the Emperor the troops which she had hired from the German Princes; and both the contracting parties agreed to make no separate peace with the French Republic before February 1st, 1801. When the Emperor despatched Count St. Julien to Paris with the ratification of the armistice, that envoy was instructed to sound the First Consul respecting the possibility of a peace in which Great Britain and Naples should be included. St. Julien overstepped his instructions, and signed the preliminaries of an advantageous but separate peace, for which act he was committed to the fortress of Klausenburg, in Transylvania. The Cabinet of Vienna now endeavoured to persuade the First Consul to include Great Britain in the negotiations; and the armistice, which had expired in Germany, September 10th, was a second time extended on the 20th for a period of forty-five days by the Convention of Hohenlinden;³ by which, however, Moreau insisted that Philippsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt should be placed in his hands.

The English
take Malta,
Sept., 1800.

The hopes of a peace were for the present frustrated. The English Cabinet was not inclined to grant the First Consul's demand for a naval armistice, which would have released the ports of France from blockade, and enabled the French Government to reinforce and revictual their troops in Egypt and Malta. The last-named island surrendered to the English September 5th, after a blockade of nearly two years, which had reduced the French garrison to the last extremity of famine, and diminished its numbers to about 5,000 men. On the 12th of November the French gave the fortnight's notice agreed upon of their renunciation of the armistice,

¹ Menzel, *N. Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vi. S. 393.

² Martens, t. vii. p. 61.

³ *Ibid.* p. 84.

and hostilities were resumed in Germany on the 28th. The Austrian army, now under the command of the Archduke John, crossed the Inn, and, after a trifling success at Ampfing, gave battle to Moreau at HOHENLINDEN, December 3rd. Here Moreau gained one of his most splendid victories. The Austrians lost 7,000 slain, and 11,000 prisoners, and near 100 guns; the most terrible defeat they had sustained in the two wars of the Revolution. They now retired behind the Enns, while the French pushed on to Linz and Salzburg. At the entreaty of Francis, his brother, the Archduke Charles, now resumed the command, but found the army so diminished and disorganized that he was compelled to propose another armistice, intimating at the same time that the Emperor had resolved upon a peace, whatever might be the views of his allies. Moreau, who was himself in a somewhat critical position, having advanced one hundred leagues beyond his supports, and being liable to an attack in the rear from the Austrians in Tyrol, deemed it prudent not to reject these offers. An armistice was accordingly concluded at Steyer,¹ December 25th, 1800, for an indefinite period, though not less than thirty days, with fifteen days' notice of its expiration. Just at this time the First Consul nearly lost his life by a conspiracy. A barrel full of combustibles, called *the infernal machine*, was exploded in the Rue St. Nicaise, now swallowed up in the Place du Carrousel, as Bonaparte was proceeding to the opera on the evening of December 24th. He had passed just in time to escape its effects, but upwards of fifty persons were killed. Two Chouans were executed for this attempt, which served only to strengthen Bonaparte's power by enabling him to adopt stringent police measures.

Meanwhile in Italy the armistice of Alessandria had also been prolonged by that of Castiglione, September 29th.² General Brune, by whom Masséna had been superseded in the command of the army of Italy, profited by this interval to occupy Tuscany, which had not been mentioned in the Convention. The armistice expired about the middle of November; but Brune did not commence any active operations till December 25th. The Mincio was passed, then the Adige, January 1st, 1801; after which Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso were rapidly occupied. At the same time the French army

Battle of
Hohen-
linden.

Treaty of
Lunéville,
1801.

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 286.

² *Ibid.* p. 88.

in the Grisons had entered Tyrol and occupied Trent, January 7th. But hostilities were suspended by a Convention signed at Treviso, January 16th,¹ by which Peschiera, Sermonio, Verona, Legnago, Ferrara, Ancona, were transferred to the French, and finally also Mantua. This armistice was followed by the PEACE OF LUNEVILLE, February 9th.² Count Cobenzl and Joseph Bonaparte, who, as plenipotentiaries for Austria and France, had met at Lunéville early in the previous November, when it was hoped that England might be included in the negotiations, now again proceeded thither to treat for a separate peace. Their conferences were secret, and the Ministers of no other Powers were admitted. Francis II. undertook to sign the peace in the name of the Empire as well as his own; but the conditions stipulated in the name of the German Confederation were only what their deputation had already agreed to at Rastadt. The Adige was constituted the boundary of the Austrian possessions in Italy. The Duchy of Modena was annexed to the Cisalpine Republic, and the Duke of Modena was indemnified with the Breisgau. Tuscany and Elba were ceded to the Infant of Parma; the Grand Duke was to obtain an indemnity in Germany; Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were to remain to the French, and the Princes injured by this cession were to have compensation in Germany. The independence of the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics was guaranteed.³

The arrangement concerning Tuscany was the result of a secret treaty between France and Spain, concluded at St. Ildefonso, October 1st, 1800. The possession of Tuscany was purchased by Spain for the Infant Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Parma, not only by the sacrifice of that Duchy, but also of Louisiana, the abandonment of six ships of the line, and the payment of a considerable sum of money.⁴ The transaction was finally arranged by the Treaty of Madrid between France and Spain, March 21st, 1801.⁵ The Prince

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 291.

² *Ibid.* p. 296.

³ Fournier, *Gentz und Cobenzl*; Krones, *Geschichte Oesterreichs im Zeitalter des französischen Kriegs und des Restauration.*

⁴ Garden, t. vi. p. 265. The treaty of St. Ildefonso is not in Martens' collection, but there is a Spanish version of it in Cantillo, *Tratados de Paz*, p. 692; and a French translation of it in Garden, t. viii. p. 46 sq.

⁵ Martens, *ibid.* p. 337.

of Parma, who had resided several years at Madrid, and had married one of Charles's daughters, proceeded in the summer to Florence, where he was proclaimed "King of Etruria," August 2nd. The Emperor, by his peace with the French Republic, had abandoned the King of the Two Sicilies to his fate. The Count de Damas, the commander of the Neapolitan army, claimed to be comprehended in the armistice of Treviso, as having acted under the commands of General Bellegarde, but, in fact, no stipulation had been made in favour of Naples in that Convention. Murat, who commanded a French army which was preparing to invade the Neapolitan dominions, would recognize no such claim, and under the circumstances, Ferdinand IV. deemed it prudent to enter into negotiations with the First Consul. An armistice was concluded at Foligno, February 18th, 1801, followed by a treaty of peace, signed at Florence, March 28th,¹ by which King Ferdinand engaged to shut his ports against all English and Turkish vessels, whether of war or commerce, till those nations should have concluded a peace with France. By the fourth Article, Ferdinand renounced his claims to the isle of Elba and the principality of Piombino in Tuscany, forming part of the new Kingdom of Etruria. These possessions, which really belonged to the family of Buoncompagni, were not, however, assigned to the Duke of Parma, and were eventually seized by the French. Elba was annexed to France by a decree of the Senate, August 26th, 1802, while the principality of Piombino was erected by Bonaparte into a fief of the French Empire, March, 1805, and bestowed on his sister Eliza and her husband, Felix Bacciocchi.² There were also secret articles in the Treaty of Florence, by one of which the French were allowed to occupy the peninsula of Otranto, and part of the Abruzzi, with 16,000 men, and Soult entered the peninsula in April with the stipulated force. The object seems to have been to keep this army, at the expense of Naples, in readiness to be transported to Egypt or Greece.

Bonaparte, again supreme in Italy, did not manifest any hostility towards the Pope. The Papacy had remained in abeyance after the death of Pius VI. (August 29th, 1799), till the election of Cardinal Chiaramonte by a conclave held at

The Concordat.

¹ Martens, *ibid.* pp. 343, 345.

² Garden, t. vi. p. 271.

Venice, March 14th, 1800, under Austrian influence. As Bishop of Imola, Chiaramonte had displayed his approbation of the French democratic and revolutionary principles. On his elevation to the Papal Chair he assumed the title of Pius VII.; but he continued to reside at Venice till after the battle of Marengo, when Bonaparte consented to his installation at Rome. The maintenance of the Papal authority now formed part of Bonaparte's policy in the restoration which he meditated of the Monarchical system in his own favour. On the 15th of July, 1801, he concluded a Concordat with Pius VII., by which the Papal authority, though in a modified form, was re-established in France; an act extremely unpopular, and especially among the generals of the army.

The Coalition was thus gradually dissolving. Portugal was soon to be added to the list of seceding States. Bonaparte entertained a violent hatred of that country, now almost the only one of Europe that remained open to British commerce. Charles IV. of Spain, one of whose daughters had married the Prince Regent of Portugal, displaying an unwillingness to coerce that kingdom, or to admit the passage of a French army for that purpose, Lucien Bonaparte was despatched to Madrid, towards the close of 1800, to stimulate that Court to action. Assisted by the Prince of the Peace, Lucien persuaded Charles IV. to publish a declaration of war against Portugal, February 18th, 1801. A French army having entered Spain in April, in order to march against Portugal, Charles, to disembarass himself of so dangerous an ally, resolved to adopt more vigorous measures. A Spanish army soon overran a great part of Portugal, and compelled the Regent to conclude with Spain the Peace of Badajoz, June 6th, 1801; the chief article of which was, that the Portuguese ports should be closed against British vessels.¹ The French troops were, however, still retained in Spain. The First Consul having expressed great dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Badajoz, and ordered his brother-in-law, Leclerc, to march upon Lisbon, Great Britain, which was then negotiating with France the Peace of Amiens, advised Portugal, under these circumstances, to reconcile herself with France, releasing her, for that purpose, from all the obligations she had contracted. A treaty between the French Republic and Portugal was accordingly signed at

Treaty
between
France and
Portugal.

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 348.

Madrid, September 29th, 1801.¹ The neutrality of Portugal was established; though the article by which the Portuguese ports were to be closed against the English and open to the French can hardly be brought under that category. The British Cabinet, however, seeing that the effects of this treaty would cease on the conclusion of the peace with France, connived at, and even promoted, the treaty.

We have already mentioned the dissatisfaction of the Tsar Paul I. at the reverses of his troops in Switzerland and Holland; a result which he attributed to the want of cordial co-operation on the part of Austria and England. Paul's irritation was increased by the refusal of Austria to restore the King of Sardinia after the conquest of Piedmont, as well as that of England to give up Malta. He affirmed that Great Britain, by a Convention of December 30th, 1798, had agreed to restore that island to the Knights of St. John, of whom he had declared himself the Grand Master, while the British Cabinet denied that any such arrangement had been completed. Paul's discontent was artfully fomented by Bonaparte. The First Consul, for whom Paul had conceived a vast admiration, on account of his anti-revolutionary tendencies, entered into an active correspondence with that autocrat, and excited his irascible temper by causing to be forwarded to him all the abusive pamphlets and articles published against him in England. By way of courting the Tsar, he sent back, newly clothed, and without ransom, the Russians who had been captured, and tuned the French journals to sound the autocrat's praises. By these arts he induced Paul to make extensive preparations for an overland attack on the English possessions in India, as well as for marching on Constantinople, in order to compel the Turks to withdraw their forces from Egypt. To please his new friend, the Tsar even condescended to banish Louis XVIII. from his dominions. That Prince now took up his abode at Warsaw. Paul not only withdrew from the Coalition, but at length, at the instigation of Bonaparte, took an active part against Great Britain, by joining the Northern ARMED NEUTRALITY.

The Armed
Neutrality,
1800.

The extraordinary nature of that war, or rather of the principles which then prevailed in France, led the French, and the English also, to adopt practices of naval warfare

Maritime
Regula-
tions.

¹ Martens, p. 373.

which cannot be reconciled with the commonly received Law of Nations.¹ The Convention, rejecting the maxims formerly advocated by France respecting the privileges of the neutral flag, and even positive treaties with Denmark and other Powers, had, by a decree of May 9th, 1793, authorized French ships of war and privateers to seize neutral vessels carrying provisions, although also the property of neutrals, to an enemy's port, as well as all goods belonging to an enemy. England, on her side, had by an instruction dated June 8th, 1793, authorized the arrest of vessels laden with grain destined for a French port, or a port occupied by the French armies; such vessels to be sent into some British harbour, where the cargo could be bought for the account of the English Government, or the captain be permitted, on giving sufficient security, to carry his cargo to some friendly port. And, in addition to the usual laws of blockade, it was insisted that a mere declaration, or paper blockade, should be respected. This instruction was communicated to the neutral Powers, and its unusual provisions were justified on the ground that the French Government could not be regarded as a legitimate and established one. Such were the grounds urged by Mr. Hailes, the English Minister at Copenhagen, in a note to Count Bernstorff, the Danish Foreign Minister.

Meanwhile the English Admiralty had adopted the new doctrine, that neutral nations had a right to carry to foreign countries only their own produce and manufactures; according to which the payment for the cargoes and freight of several neutral vessels was refused. In order to cut off all commerce between France and her colonies by means of neutral vessels, Great Britain also proclaimed the principle that neutrals could not carry on, in time of war, a commerce forbidden to them by a belligerent Power in time of peace. These acts were wound up by a secret order issued by the English Government in March, 1794, enjoining captains to seize all vessels laden with provisions or naval stores, what-

Action of
England.

¹ Respecting the Armed Neutrality, see Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. vi. pp. 303-383; where several of the original documents will be found. See also *Decisions of the High Court of Admiralty during the time of Sir G. Hay and of Sir J. Marriott*, London, 1801, 4to.; M. J. Marriott, *Mém. justificatif de la conduite de la Grande Bretagne en arrêtant les navires étrangers*, London, 1802, 8vo.; Sulpicius, *Letters on the Northern Confederacy*.

ever might be their destination, and to bring them into a British port; where the crews were subjected to an interrogatory of twenty questions, of a truly inquisitorial nature.

These proceedings at length induced Sweden as well as Denmark to enter into a defensive alliance for the protection of their commerce, concluded at Copenhagen, March 27th, 1794.¹ By Article X., the Baltic was declared closed. But this treaty could not preserve their commerce from Great Britain and France. After the establishment of the Directory, the injustice exercised by France towards neutral commerce exceeded anything that had been done by England. The law of January 18th, 1798, established the monstrous principle that the quality of ships should be determined by their cargo; consequently, that every ship, laden wholly or *in part* with English merchandise, should be lawful prize, whoever might be the owner of the merchandise. This was virtually an order to every European Power to renounce all commerce with Great Britain.

Alliance between Denmark and Sweden.

The Kings of Sweden and Denmark, to protect the navigation of their subjects, appointed frigates and other armed vessels to sail at certain fixed periods and convoy merchant vessels bound for Lisbon and the Mediterranean. At first, indeed, vessels so escorted were suffered to pass by the British cruisers. The principle was first contested by Admiral Keith, in the case of a Danish frigate with convoy, near Gibraltar, in 1799. More flagrant instances occurred next year. On July 25th, 1800, the Danish frigate "Freya," with a convoy of six vessels, was stopped by an English squadron at the entrance of the Channel, and, after some resistance, was conducted with its convoy to the Downs, where the vessels were searched, but nothing of a contraband nature discovered. A warm discussion ensued between the English and Danish Governments; Lord Whitworth was sent to Copenhagen, and a fleet of sixteen ships of war was despatched to support his arguments. Count Bernstorff proposed the mediation of Russia, which was declined, and Denmark was compelled to yield. An arrangement was concluded, August 29th,² by which the Danish convoys were suspended till some definite convention should be concluded; meanwhile the "Freya" and her convoys were released.

¹ Martens, t. v. p. 274.

² *Ibid.* t. vii. p. 149.

Declaration
of Paul I.

Before the arrival of Lord Whitworth in Denmark, the Court of Copenhagen had notified to the Tsar the outrage committed on the Danish flag, and had invoked his interference. Paul I., who already thought that he had several causes of complaint against England, resolved to constitute himself the arbiter of the Baltic and the protector of neutral rights. Accordingly, without awaiting the result of the negotiations between England and Denmark, he addressed a circular¹ to the Kings of Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, who had all occasion to complain of insults to their flags, inviting them to revive the ARMED NEUTRALITY established in the reign of Catharine II. in 1780. The Convention arranged between Great Britain and Denmark caused him at first to relax the measures which he had taken to carry out this policy; but the news of the seizure of Malta by the English goaded him to fury, and on November 7th, 1800, an embargo was laid on all British ships in the ports of the Russian Empire. This was a manifest violation of the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Russia, of February 21st, 1797, which provided that, in case of a rupture, a term of at least a twelvemonth should be allowed to merchants to retire and dispose of their effects.²

Principles
of the
armed
neutrality.

Gustavus Adolphus IV. of Sweden was the first to adhere to the Russian proposition. In December, 1800, that Sovereign proceeded in person to St. Petersburg, to arrange with the Tsar the basis of the proposed association, and a series of treaties was signed forming a regular Quadruple Alliance, viz., between Russia and Sweden, and Russia and Denmark, December 16th, and on the 18th between Russia and Prussia.³ The main principles adopted by this confederacy were, that arms and ammunition alone are contraband of war, unless particular treaties with a belligerent determined otherwise; that goods belonging to the subjects of a belligerent Power are covered by the neutral flag, except contraband of war; that no port can be regarded as blockaded unless the blockade be real and effectual, rendering it dangerous to enter; that the declaration of an officer commanding a ship or ships of war, to the effect that there is nothing contraband on board his convoy, suffices to exempt it from search.

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 150.

² Art. xii. ap. Martens, t. vi. p. 363.

³ *Ibid.* t. vii. p. 172 sqq.

Mr. Drummond having demanded from the Court of Denmark a plain and satisfactory answer respecting the negotiations with Russia, Count Bernstorff, in reply, denied that the engagements which Denmark was about to contract were either hostile to Great Britain, or at variance with those of the Convention of August 29th; and he asserted that the principles, respecting which the Northern Powers were about to come to an agreement, so far from compromising their neutrality, were designed only to confirm it.¹ In consequence of this note the English Government placed an embargo on all Russian, Swedish, and Danish vessels, January 14th, 1801; and at the same time orders were given for the invasion of the Danish islands in the West Indies, and for the preparation of a Baltic fleet. Meanwhile, the Tsar had recalled his Minister from Copenhagen, because the Court of Denmark had hesitated to ratify absolutely the treaty of December 16th. The King of Denmark, thus placed between two dangers, acceded unconditionally to the Armed Neutrality, February 27th, 1801.

The British Ministry, wishing to conciliate Prussia, had laid no embargo on the ships of that Power, although she had joined the Northern League. Yet Prussia and Denmark concerted a project for excluding English vessels from the Elbe and Weser, to which also Paul I. acceded. The Danes, however, used no reprisals against England, even in their own harbours, till March 29th, when an embargo was placed upon all English ships. At the same time 12,000 Danish troops occupied Hamburg, caused the buoys to be removed between Cuxhaven and Glückstadt, put an embargo on all ships bound for England, and seized all English property that could be found in Hamburg. Another Danish corps of 3,000 men occupied Lübeck, April 5th. An English fleet, under Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson, had already reached the entrance of the Kattegat on the 18th of March. On April 4th 24,000 Prussian troops entered the Electorate of Hanover by virtue of a convention with the Hanoverian Ministry. It has been thought that this occupation was arranged with the Cabinet of London, in order to prevent Hanover from being seized by the French. It is at all events certain that, even after this event, no embargo was laid in

England
at war with
Denmark,
1801.

¹ Garden, t. vi. p. 360.

England upon Prussian ships, nor in Prussia upon those of England. Bremen was also taken possession of by Prussian troops, April 12th.

Nelson at
Copen-
hagen.

We have thus explained at some length the origin of the Armed Neutrality of 1800, and of the short war with Denmark which ensued. Mr. Vansittart, who was sent as a special envoy to Copenhagen, having failed in his attempts to induce the Court of Denmark to withdraw from the Russian alliance, recourse was had to compulsion. The history of the expedition to Copenhagen under Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson is well known. The Sound was passed by the English fleet with little or no damage from the guns of Kronborg Castle, while the Swedes on their side offered no resistance. On April 2nd, Lord Nelson, disregarding the signal of Sir Hyde Parker to withdraw from the combat, gained a decisive victory over the Danish fleet stationed in front of Copenhagen; but not without a brave and prolonged resistance on the part of the Danes, by which the English vessels were considerably damaged. On the following day Nelson proceeded to Copenhagen to arrange an accommodation. The Danish Government rejected some advantageous offers for a defensive alliance, but concluded a convention for an armistice of fourteen weeks (April 9th):¹ during which period the Danish fleet was to remain in its actual state, and the treaty with Russia of December 16th, 1800, that is, the Armed Neutrality, was, so far as concerned Denmark, to remain in abeyance. In the West Indies, Admiral Duckworth had, in the course of March, reduced the Danish islands of St. Martin, St. Thomas, and St. John, and the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew.

A few days after the conclusion of the convention with Denmark, Sir Hyde Parker, leaving Nelson at Copenhagen, proceeded with twenty-eight ships into the Baltic. He appeared before the Swedish port of Carlskrona, April 19th, and summoned the commandant to make known his intentions. Gustavus IV., who had come to Carlskrona in person, directed the commandant to reply that the King of Sweden would remain faithful to his engagements with his allies. At this critical juncture hostilities were arrested by intelligence of the death of Paul I., and by the change of policy adopted by

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. vii. p. 238.

his son and successor, the Emperor Alexander, immediately on his accession to the Russian throne.

Although Paul I. was loyal and generous, and not without a certain kind of intellect, his violence and eccentricities caused him to be dreaded and shunned. His recent policy and abandonment of the English alliance were also regarded by a powerful party with disapprobation. It was feared, too, that Paul would restore the Kingdom of Poland. Paul was murdered on the night of March 24th, and the next day it was given out that the Emperor had been carried off by apoplexy. Alexander I. received the homage of the Court and Senate, and the announcement of a new reign spread an unconcealed joy through the Russian metropolis.

Death of
Paul I.
Accession
of Alex-
ander I.,
1801.

Alexander was no sooner seated on his father's throne than a new line of policy was adopted. He abandoned the French alliance, and one of his first acts was to inform the English admiral that he accepted the proposal made by Great Britain to his predecessor, to arrange the differences which had produced the war; and Count Pahlen, one of the chief agents in the murder of Paul I., and now Minister of Foreign Affairs, requested a suspension of hostilities till he could receive the instructions of his Court. This demand was acceded to by Admiral Parker, and the Northern War terminated. At the instance of the Emperor of Russia the Danish troops evacuated Hamburg and Lübeck; the King of Prussia also showed himself willing to forward the views of Alexander. Nevertheless, the Prussian troops continued to occupy Hanover, till the preliminaries of a peace between that country and France had been ratified. A Congress was opened at St. Petersburg, and on June 17th, 1801, a convention was concluded between Russia and Great Britain, which established a new maritime code.¹ Great Britain obtained the recognition of two principles which were deemed of the highest importance: 1. That the flag does not cover the goods; 2. That vessels under convoy may be visited. On the other hand, the English Cabinet renounced some of its pretensions; especially the validity of what is called "a paper-blockade." As between Russia and Great Britain arms and ammunition alone were declared contraband of war, to the exclusion of provision and building-timber; with other

End of the
Northern
War.

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 260.

nations contraband goods were to be determined by treaty. By two separate articles the armistice between Great Britain and the Scandinavian kingdoms was prolonged for three months; and the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Russia of February 21st, 1797, was renewed.

This convention excited considerable dissatisfaction in Denmark and Sweden. Danish blood alone had flowed in maintaining principles first proclaimed by Russia, but which that Power now abandoned. The Court of Copenhagen was, however, at length compelled to yield, and acceded to the Convention of St. Petersburg, October 23rd, 1801. Sweden held out longer, and did not adhere to the convention till March 30th, 1802. Great Britain, in conformity with it, restored the islands which she had taken from the two Scandinavian Powers.

Treaties
between
France and
Russia.

The Coalition, for which the Emperor Paul had taken up arms, having been dissolved by the Peace of Lunéville, Alexander entered into negotiations for a peace with France and her allies. A treaty with Spain was first concluded at Paris, October 4th, 1801.¹ The treaty with France was signed four days later (October 8th).² A secret convention concluded between France and Russia, October 11th, was of more political importance than the treaty of peace. The two Powers agreed to act in intimate concert in arranging the affairs of Italy and Germany; that Russia should mediate the re-establishment of peace between France and the Porte; that France should withdraw her troops from Naples; that the King of Sardinia should be indemnified; that the Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands should be recognized and guaranteed; that the two Powers should unite to consolidate the general peace, to establish a just equilibrium in the four quarters of the globe, and to assure the liberty of the seas.³

Convention
of El
Arish,
1800.

In Egypt the departure of Bonaparte had spread discontent and dejection among the French army, and these feelings were mitigated only by their confidence in the great military qualities of Kléber, to whom the command had been left. The Turks effected another descent at Damietta, November 1st, 1799. They were repulsed with great loss; but Kléber,

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 385.

² *Ibid.* p. 386.

³ Garden, t. vi. p. 287 sq.

on learning that the Grand Vizier was approaching with a large army through Syria, and that he had taken the fortress of El Arisch, December 29th, deemed it prudent to enter into negotiations. These had been begun by Bonaparte before his departure, and he had recommended Kléber to follow them up. Kléber preferred to treat through English mediation rather than directly with the Turks. He had already had some correspondence with Sir Sidney Smith, and conferences were opened on board the Commodore's ship, the "Tiger," December 22nd. Sir Sidney Smith was not authorized to treat by his Government; and, in fact, his negotiations with Desaix and Poussielgue, whom Kléber had deputed, were not conducted in the name of England, but of the Grand Vizier. The "Tiger" being driven out to sea by a violent storm, came to anchor at El Arisch, January 9th, 1800, where the camp of the Grand Vizier was then established. By a convention signed at this place January 24th, by Desaix and Poussielgue, and the plenipotentiaries of the Grand Vizier, an armistice in Egypt of three months was agreed upon; the Turks engaged to transport the French army, with arms and baggage, to France, and to provide for its subsistence.¹

Sir Sidney Smith, at the time this convention was arranged, had no reason to suspect that it would be distasteful to his Government. But meanwhile the English Cabinet, relying apparently on an intercepted letter of Kléber's, in which the distress to which the French army had been reduced was painted in the most vivid colours, had resolved to listen to no terms with them short of a surrender as prisoners of war; and they had already given Lord Keith, their admiral in the Mediterranean, secret instructions to this effect. Sir Sidney Smith did not learn these orders till February 22nd, at Cyprus; and he immediately hastened to communicate them to Kléber lest that general should have reason to complain that he had been deceived.² Kléber had already restored Salahieh, Katijeh, Belbeis, and Damietta to the Grand Vizier, when he received a summons from Lord Keith to surrender at discretion. He immediately resumed hostilities. The Turks were completely defeated at Heliopolis, March 20th. But Kléber was assassinated by a fanatical Turk, June 14th; when the command devolved on Menou, one of the most in-

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 1.

² Garden, t. vi. p. 214.

Abercrombie at Aboukir.

competent of the French generals. It became necessary to reduce him by force, and General Abercrombie was despatched to Egypt with 17,000 men. Lord Elgin, British Minister at Constantinople, pressed the Porte to assist. But Paul I. had inspired the Turks with a distrust of England; the Turkish armament was retarded, and Abercrombie, after waiting in vain for the Ottoman fleet, disembarked near Aboukir, March 1st, 1801, and after a sharp contest made himself master of that place. In the battle of Canopus, or Rhamanieh, March 21st, Menou was defeated with a loss of 1,700 killed, and 2,000 prisoners. But Abercrombie received a mortal wound, and Menou contrived to retreat in good order to Alexandria.

English successes.

The command of the English army now devolved on General Hutchinson, who, being reinforced by 6,000 Turks, took Rosetta, April 19th. Reinforcements from the East Indies, under General Baird, as well as from the Cape of Good Hope, disembarked at Cosseir on the Red Sea, but came too late to be of any service. An army of 20,000 Turks, marching through Syria, had joined the English, June 5th; and General Belliard, commandant of Cairo, seeing no hope of resisting such superior forces, signed a capitulation, June 27th, 1801.¹ By virtue of this capitulation, 14,000 men, including civil officers and scientific and literary men, were carried to Toulon free of expense; which port they reached in September. As Menou refused to include in the capitulation the garrison of Alexandria, that place was invested, and had to suffer all the horrors of a siege. At length, despairing of relief, which had been vainly attempted by Admiral Gantheaume, Menou was compelled to capitulate, August 30th. He did not obtain such advantageous terms as Belliard. The French were obliged to relinquish their Arab MSS., maps, and objects of antiquity, and to surrender their vessels and the greater part of their guns.

Peace between France and Turkey.

The Porte being assured of the evacuation of Egypt by the French, the preliminaries of a peace with France were signed at Paris, October 9th, 1801; but they were not converted into a definitive treaty till June 25th, 1802, after the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens between France and England.² The Turkish dominions were to be placed in the *status quo*

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 416.

before the war; the French were to enjoy all their former privileges of navigation and commerce, and particularly were to have the right of entering the Black Sea. The Porte acceded to the treaty of Amiens.

After the Peace of Lunéville, France had no active opponent except Great Britain. The First Consul was sincerely desirous of a peace with this country also. With the view of procuring it, M. Otto, who had been *chargé d'affaires* at Berlin, a man of conciliating manners and well acquainted with the English language and customs, was sent to London as commissioner for treating with regard to prisoners of war; and he availed himself of the opportunities thus afforded to open indirect communications with the English Ministers and other influential statesmen. These views were promoted by a change in the English Ministry. Pitt resigned office, February 9th, 1801, in consequence of his advocacy of Catholic emancipation; a measure which George III. would not hear of. Pitt was succeeded as Premier by Henry Addington, the Speaker of the House of Commons; Lord Hawkesbury became Foreign Secretary instead of Lord Grenville, and Lord Hobart succeeded Mr. Dundas in the War Department. The new Ministers were inclined for peace. Immediately on their accession to office they despatched to Paris one Messeria, a Corsican, to sound the intentions of Bonaparte, and to propose the opening of a conference. The First Consul's inclination for peace had, however, at this time somewhat abated. He beheld in the North a formidable combination against England: the Emperor Paul I. seemed warmly disposed to second all the French plans of aggression, while Egypt continued to be occupied by the troops of the Republic. Negotiations, indeed, still went on, but in a desultory manner. At the same time Bonaparte sought to create alarm in England by preparations for an invasion. Camps had been formed at different points on the French coast from Ostend to Brest; a large force was stationed at Boulogne, and a great many vessels and flat boats had been collected in the different harbours. Lord Nelson was specially commissioned to watch and frustrate these preparations; but though he was fully persuaded that an invasion could not be successfully attempted, the victor of Aboukir and Copenhagen failed in an attempt to destroy the French flotilla at Boulogne. The reverses of the French arms in Egypt, the

The Peace
of Amiens,
1802.

death of the Emperor Paul, the dissolution of the Northern Confederacy, the ascendancy of British maritime power, discontents in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont, discussions in Germany respecting the execution of the Treaty of Lunéville, and the indemnification of dispossessed Princes, the state of public opinion in France, and other causes inclined the French Consul more seriously to peace. Preliminaries were signed at London, October 1st, 1801. Amiens was fixed upon as the place for negotiating a definitive treaty, which was to include Spain and the Batavian Republic; and conferences were opened early in December. Great Britain was represented by the Marquis Cornwallis, France by Joseph Bonaparte. The Chevalier D'Azara and M. Schimmelpenninck were the plenipotentiaries for Spain and Holland, but took no part in the general conferences; they were appealed to only when the interests of those Powers were concerned. Malta was the chief obstacle to an arrangement, and occasioned long and warm discussions. At length, however, the definitive PEACE OF AMIENS was signed, March 27th, 1802.¹ The following were the principal conditions. The Isle of Trinidad was ceded by Spain to Great Britain, and Ceylon by the Dutch: Great Britain restored all her other conquests. Portugal was to make some concessions to France in Guiana, and to cede to Spain the province of Olivença. The Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands was recognized. These islands, taken by the French from the Venetians, and recaptured by the combined Russian and Ottoman fleets, had been singularly enough erected into a Republic² by the two most despotic governments in the world, as mutual jealousies would not permit their possession by either of the conquering Powers. They were nominally placed under the suzerainty of the Porte, but with Russian guarantee of their integrity. The British Cabinet preferred passing over North Italy in silence to recognizing the new Italian Republics. In the preceding January, Bonaparte had caused himself to be elected President of the Cisalpine Republic, and had changed its name to that of the "Italian Republic."

Malta and
the Order
of St. John.

By Article X. of the Treaty of Amiens, Malta and its dependent isles were to be restored to the Order of St. John

¹ Martens, t. vii. p. 404. The preliminaries, *ibid.* p. 377. See also Pellew, *Life of Lord Sidmouth*.

² By a convention of March 21st 1800. Martens t. vii. p. 41.

of Jerusalem, who were to elect a Grand Master. No Frenchman or Englishman was to be admitted into the Order. Malta was to be evacuated by the British troops within three months after the exchange of ratifications, provided the Grand Master was ready to take possession, and that a garrison of 2,000 men, to be provided by the King of the Two Sicilies, had arrived. Half at least of the garrison was to be composed of Natives of Malta. The Maltese ports to be open to all nations except the States of Barbary. The present arrangement and the independence of the island, to be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia. The other more remarkable conditions of this Treaty were that the French troops should evacuate the Kingdom of Naples and the Roman State, and the British all the ports and islands in the Mediterranean and Adriatic. The French fisheries in Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence were to be restored to the footing they were on before the war. The House of Nassau was to be compensated for the loss of property accruing from the revolution in Holland: but the august and sovereign character of that House was ignored, nor was it stated whence the compensation was to be derived.

By the great mass of the English people, overwhelmed with the burdens of war, the Peace of Amiens was hailed with delight; the more discerning portion of the public foresaw that it was not likely to be durable.¹ None of the objects of the war had in fact been obtained. All that England could show for her enormous expenditure of blood and treasure during a period of nine years, were the comparatively unimportant possessions of Trinidad and Ceylon, which belonged to the allies of France, while France herself, the principal party of the war, had not been deprived of a single possession, and found her influence on the Continent increased to a formidable extent by connivance at her annexations and by the republics which she had established in Italy and the Netherlands. In France, on the contrary, the Peace of Amiens prodigiously increased the renown of the First Consul, who appeared to have established by negotiations the acqui-

Reception
of the Peace
of Amiens.

¹ See especially Windham's speech on the Address, October 29th; Adolphus, vol. vii. p. 545. Also Lord Grenville's in the Lords. Pitt in general defended the treaty, but regretted the loss of Malta. *Ibid.* p. 553.

Bonaparte
Consul for
life.

tions won by his arms. The Legislature resounded with his praises. It was declared that he was entitled to some signal mark of national gratitude; on May 8th he was re-elected Consul for an additional ten years, and a few months after (August 2nd, 1802) he was rewarded with the Consulate for life.

CHAPTER LXII

THE THIRD COALITION

AFTER the Peace of Amiens the attention of Bonaparte was directed to the consolidation of his own power. With this view he began to restore in his own favour the absolutism of the ancient *régime*, and to banish the traces of the Revolution by re-establishing a courtly etiquette, introducing substitutes for the ancient distinctions of rank, and restoring the observances and ceremonies of religion. In March, 1802, twenty of the more turbulent members of the tribunate were ejected by the Senate, and the number of the tribunate reduced to eighty. The Legislative body also underwent a purification. The Revolution of 16th *Thermidor*, an X (August 2nd, 1802), when Bonaparte was named Consul for life by the pretended suffrages of the people, established as absolute a despotism as any that France had yet experienced. The electors were now to be appointed for life, and the First Consul could increase their number. The Senate, the mere creatures of Bonaparte, were invested with power to alter the institutions of the State, and to dissolve the Tribunate and Legislative Body. The Council of State was recognized as a constituted authority, and its number was increased. The Tribunate underwent a second reduction to the number of fifty, by the elimination of thirty more of its boldest members. A sort of hierarchy was established among the tribunals by the appointment of a Court of Cassation, with power to censure and even suspend the inferior judges; while the whole were subordinate to the Minister of Justice.

The 16th
Thermidor,
1802.

Along with liberty, such as it had been, Bonaparte sought also to abolish equality. A sort of new order of nobility was

The Legion
of Honour.

established by the institution of a Legion of Honour (May 19th, 1802), destined to confer pecuniary rewards and marks of distinction on those who had signalized themselves by their civil or military services. The Legion was to consist of about 7,000 men, divided into cohorts and dispersed in different parts of France. The cohorts contained privates, subaltern and higher officers, with salaries varying according to rank from between 200 and 300 francs to 5,000.¹ This law was very strongly opposed. It passed the Legislature only by a small majority, and was very unpopular out of doors. Those first decorated with the *insignia* of the Order received them with a sort of derisive contempt; but the Order ultimately became a powerful means of attaching men to Bonaparte's service. Among other instruments of despotism may be mentioned a law for a conscription, which placed 120,000 recruits at the disposal of the First Consul's military ambition.

The Concordat,
1802.

The Concordat arranged with Pope Pius VII. in the previous year was adopted by the Legislature April 8th, 1802. By this act nine archbishoprics, and forty-one bishoprics, with chapters, were re-established in France. The salary of an archbishop was fixed at 15,000 francs; of a bishop at 10,000; of a curé of the first class, 1,500; of the second class, 1,000. The liberties of the Gallican Church were defined in seventy-seven articles, which were to form the only Ecclesiastical Code recognized by the French tribunals. Protestant worship was also admitted, and regulated by forty-four articles. The observance of Sunday and of the four grand festivals was restored; and the Government ceased to employ the system of decades, the first step towards the abandonment of the Republican calendar. The completion of the Concordat was celebrated with great pomp at Notre Dame. The First Consul and his suite proceeded thither in the royal carriages, amid salvos of artillery, and with all the etiquette of monarchy.² The pliant Pius VII. displayed his gratitude to Talleyrand, the ex-Bishop of

¹ Goldsmith, *Recueil*, etc. t. i. p. 426.

² The Concordat, or treaty of Bonaparte with the Pope, had been arranged without any synod, between Joseph Bonaparte and Cardinal Consalvi, with the aid of Cardinal Spina and two or three theologians. It will be found in Martens' *Recueil*, t. vii. p. 353 sqq. Cf. L'Abbé de Pradt, *Les Quatre Concordats*, t. i.

Autun, by a brief of June 29th, releasing him from all ecclesiastical censures, authorizing him to wear a secular dress, and to take upon himself the conduct of secular affairs. Under this authority Talleyrand soon afterwards married.¹

It would be unjust not to mention that, along with his acts of despotism, Bonaparte introduced many excellent alterations and reforms, by protecting religion, encouraging the arts and sciences, and by setting an example of social propriety and the virtues of domestic life. He applied his attention to the development of manufactures and commerce, and to the construction of canals, roads, ports, bridges, and other public works. He promoted education by establishing in the different *communes* primary and secondary schools, as well as special schools and lyceums supported at the public expense. He took a personal share in the labours of the committees which had been appointed to draw up new codes of civil and criminal law. He performed an act of policy as well as justice by granting a general amnesty to all emigrants (except about 1,000 attached to the person of the *Pretender*, Louis XVIII.) who should return to France before September 23rd. The list of emigrants formed nine volumes, and presented a total of near 150,000 names.² Large quantities of them were already in France, but after this invitation they returned in great numbers; and in a few years many of the former courtiers of Versailles might be observed worshipping the new idol who had established himself in the palace of the Bourbons. Returned emigrants were to remain ten years under the surveillance of the Government. They could not reclaim such property as had been disposed of by the Republic; but, with certain exceptions, what still remained in the hands of the State was to be restored to them.

Measures
of reform.

The reduction of St. Domingo added another laurel to the First Consul's wreath. That island had long been in a state of rebellion, which the maritime inferiority of the French prevented them from quelling. Under the conduct of Toussaint l'Ouverture, a man who, though born in the condition of a common negro slave, possessed great intelligence and many admirable qualities, the negroes of St. Domingo, after

Reduction
of St.
Domingo.

¹ Montgaillard, t. v. p. 476.

² *Ibid.*, p. 466.

subduing the Spanish portion of that island, had, in July, 1801, constituted it and some adjacent islands into a separate colony, decreed a constitution and the perpetual abolition of slavery, and appointed Toussaint l'Ouverture to be their governor. After the signing of the preliminary treaty with England, Bonaparte despatched a fleet to the West Indies, with a considerable land force under Le Clerc; which, in a few months, chiefly through the rivalry and disunion which prevailed among the negroes, succeeded in reducing them to obedience. Christophe, the relative and lieutenant of Toussaint, was the first to surrender, and in May, 1802, Toussaint himself tendered his submission. He was allowed to retire to his estate; but, in the month of June, he was treacherously seized, and carried to France; and was imprisoned in the Castle of Joux, in Normandy.

Foreign
affairs.

With regard to foreign affairs, Bonaparte, partly by diplomacy, partly by fresh aggressions, continued after the Peace of Amiens to extend and confirm the influence of France upon the Continent. By the former of these methods he intervened in the affairs of Germany, and succeeded in overturning some of the fundamental principles of the Empire, and in rendering it less able to resist his future attacks; an object, however, in which he could not have succeeded but for the jealousies and quarrels, the shortsighted ambition, and the selfish policy, of Austria and Prussia.

Indemnifi-
cation of
German
Princes.

The Peace of Lunéville had been concluded by the Emperor Francis II., not only for his Austrian dominions, but also for the German body; it had been ratified by the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; and it remained to indemnify, under the seventh article of the treaty, the Princes who had been deprived of their possessions by the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, as well as the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena, who had been driven from their Italian dominions. The Empire had consented at the Congress of Rastadt to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and had admitted the principle that the Princes dispossessed by this cession should be compensated by the secularization of ecclesiastical domains, which now remained to be carried out. Francis was invited to conduct the settlement of the Empire by a decree of the Diet of Ratisbon, April 30th, 1801. The participation of France in this matter was not then anticipated. No such participation had been

stipulated in the Treaty of Lunéville, though it had been in the secret articles of Campo Formio. Had the Emperor immediately complied with the requisition of the Diet, the affair might have been arranged without French intervention, but the Cabinet of Vienna adopted the fatal policy of delay. Thugut had now retired from the Ministry, and had been succeeded by Count Franz Colloredo; but the affairs of Austria were in reality directed by the Vice-Chancellor, Count Cobenzl. Francis himself appears to have suggested the interference of France, with the intention, probably, of anticipating Prussia and Bavaria in such an appeal.¹ Nothing could have been more ill-advised than this step. It failed in conciliating the First Consul, who, throughout the negotiations, took a decided part against Austria.

On October 8th, 1801, the Diet appointed a Deputation of eight members, with unlimited powers to settle the question of indemnification and its collateral issues. These plenipotentiaries were the delegates of the Electors of Mainz, Bohemia (the Emperor), Saxony, Brandenburg (King of Prussia), Bavaria, of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, of the Duke of Würtemberg, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. But the Cabinet of Vienna suffered the matter to remain in abeyance another ten months; during which Bonaparte had made peace with England, and had concluded with the Emperor Alexander the Convention already mentioned for their joint action in the affairs of Germany, and, indeed, of the whole world.² Alexander, who was connected by ties of relationship with several of the German Princes, was anxious to take a part in the settlement of Germany; a proceeding also conformable to the policy of his grandmother, Catharine II., who, in the Peace of Téschen, had exhibited herself as protectress of the Empire. Alexander's interview with Frederick William III. at Memel, in June, 1802, which produced a personal friendship between those two Sovereigns, was an incident calculated to have an injurious effect upon the interests of Austria.

The Emperor Francis, finding that nothing was to be gained by delay, at length called the Deputation together, August 2nd, 1802. But France and Russia had now taken

Interven-
tion of
France and
Russia.

¹ Menzel, *N. Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vi. S. 398 f.

² See above, p. 324.

the matter into their own hands. Early in 1802 Paris had become the centre of negotiations respecting the affairs of Germany. As Austria and Prussia treated there respecting their particular indemnifications, it is more excusable that the minor German Princes should have adopted the same method. The result of these negotiations was five treaties: namely, two between France and Prussia, May 23rd, 1802; one between France and Bavaria, May 24th; one between France and Russia, June 3rd; and one between France and Würtemberg, June 20th. Most of these treaties were secret. It is unnecessary here to state the substance of them;¹ their effects will appear in the final settlement of the Empire. By one of the treaties with France, the King of Prussia guaranteed all the arrangements made by the First Consul in Italy; namely, the existence of the Italian Republic, of the Kingdom of Etruria, and of the annexation of Piedmont to France, which we shall have to mention further on. The second treaty with Prussia concerned the House of Nassau. When the Peace of Amiens was signed, France entered into an engagement with the Batavian Republic, that the compensation for the House of Nassau stipulated by that treaty should not be at the expense of the Dutch. By the treaty between France and Prussia, May 23rd,² it was agreed that the Prince of Nassau-Orange-Dillenburg-Diez should receive compensation in Germany; but he was to renounce for himself and his heirs the dignity of Stadholder, and all his estates and domains in the Batavian Republic. In consequence of these treaties, Prussia and Bavaria proceeded to occupy the districts assigned to them, before the Deputation of the Empire which was to sanction the occupation had even assembled. Austria, however, anticipated Bavaria in occupying the town of Passau, which the Emperor claimed for his brother the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and Austrian troops also took possession of the Archbishopric of Salzburg. The Imperial authority convoking the Deputation purported that they were to arrange the questions arising out of the 5th and 7th Articles of the Treaty of Lunéville, with the Emperor's plenipotentiary, and *in conjunction with the French Government*. During the Emperor's delay, France and Russia had

¹ It is given by Garden, t. vii. p. 140 sqq.

² Martens, t. vii. p. 424.

drawn up a scheme of indemnification; their Ministers, M. Laforest and M. de Klüpfell, attended the sittings of the Deputation as mediators; and before the opening of the conferences they handed in the scheme alluded to, with the intimation that it was the will of the Emperor of Russia and of the First Consul that it should not be altered, and that the Deputation must abstain from delay in settling this matter beyond the two months allowed to them. The Deputation did not literally comply with these injunctions. Their *Recess* was not completed till February 25th, 1803; and though in all matters which concerned the policy of the French and Russian Governments they observed the course dictated to them, they were allowed more liberty in such questions as regarded only the internal affairs of Germany.

French and
Russian
scheme.

The Emperor, for the cession of Ortenau to the Duke of Modena, received from the hands of France and Russia, Trent and Brixen, two bishoprics situated in his own dominions. The Breisgau and Ortenau were made over to the Duke of Modena in compensation for his Italian dominions. The Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, received on the same account the Archbishopric of Salzburg, Berchtsgaden, and parts of the Bishoprics of Passau and Eichstädt, with the title of Elector of Salzburg. Prussia obtained the lion's share in this partition of spoils. By the cession of her dominions on the left bank of the Rhine she had lost part of the Duchy of Cleves, the principality of Mœurs, the Duchy of Geldern, with two or three more places, and the tolls of the Rhine and Meuse. These territories were computed at 48 German square miles, containing 137,000 inhabitants, with an estimated revenue of 1,400,000 florins. In lieu of them she received the Bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, part of the Bishopric of Münster, the Eichfeld with Trefurt, Erfurt, Untergleichen, Mülhausen, Nordhausen, Goslar, Herforden, Quedlinburg, Elten, Essen, Werden, and Kappenberg; in all 221 square miles, with 526,000 inhabitants, and a revenue of 3,800,000 florins. Bavaria, which had lost in the Palatinate and in the Duchies of Jülich and Zwei-Brücken, in Alsace, etc., 220 square miles, with a population of 780,000 souls, and a revenue of 5,870,000 florins, received instead the Bishoprics of Würzburg, Bamberg, Augsburg, Freysing, Passau, with numerous abbeys and other

Reconsti-
tution of
Germany.

places, reckoned at 268 square miles, containing 792,000 inhabitants, and producing a revenue of 6,178,000 florins. The Margrave of Baden, the Duke of Würtemberg, the two branches of the House of Hesse (Cassel and Darmstadt) also received, through the favour of the French and Russian Governments, large accessions of territory. The first of these Princes, in particular, was compensated more than sixfold for his territorial losses, and his revenues were doubled. The Prince of Nassau-Orange obtained the Bishoprics of Fulda and Corvey, the Imperial city of Dortmund, the abbey of Weingarten, and other places. The other branches of the House of Nassau also received compensations, and George III., as Elector of Hanover and Brunswick-Lüneburg, for certain rights and pretensions which he lost, received the Bishopric of Osnabrück.¹ By the new arrangement, two of the three spiritual Electors, those of Cologne and Trèves, vanished entirely from the German system. The Elector of Mainz, Charles von Dalberg, Archchancellor of the Empire, who had courted the First Consul with success, was alone spared. The Archiepiscopal seat of Mainz was transferred to the cathedral church of Ratisbon, and was endowed, as to its temporalities, with the principalities of Aschaffenburg and Ratisbon, with a revenue of one million florins. Pope Pius VII. affected to shut his eyes to the secularization of ecclesiastical property, and the suppression of convents throughout Germany; though he made an attempt at the Congress of Vienna to obtain a reversal of these acts, but without success. The number of Electors was more than made up by the elevation to that dignity of the Duke of Würtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany as Elector of Salzburg. Of the forty-five free cities of the Empire, only six now remained, those of Frankfurt, Augsburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, and Nuremberg. Four had fallen to the share of France; namely, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Worms, and Spire. These changes were merely the prelude to the final overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire.

Bonaparte's interference in the affairs of Switzerland,

¹ For the reconstitution of Germany, see Hausser, *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen*; Gaspair, *Der Reichs deputations-hauptschluss*; Rambaud, *La domination française en Allemagne*.

though totally unjustifiable, since the independence of that country and the right to form its own government had been guaranteed by the Peace of Lunéville, was not, however, so tyrannical and injurious as some of his other steps of the same kind. After the establishment of the Helvetic Republic, two political parties had grown up in Switzerland, called *Unionists* and *Federalists*. The Unionists were for establishing a central government, and merging the aristocratic towns and democratic cantons in one common system of political and civil equality. The Federalists, on the contrary, who formed the much larger portion of the nation, thinking it impossible to unite under one form of government many small bodies of people differing in their language, their customs, and their religion, were for maintaining the ancient system of separate governments with a federal Diet. Through the influence of the French party, however, which favoured the Unionists, an Extraordinary Assembly of forty-eight Notables from all the cantons was convened at Bern, April 17th, 1802, and a central Government proclaimed May 20th. To confirm this change they even ventured to appeal to universal suffrage; and though their plan was condemned by a large majority, yet, as a great part of the people had not voted, they, with shameless audacity, took their silence for consent, and proclaimed the establishment of the new constitution.¹ But the ancient cantons, led by the Landamman and patriot, Aloys Reding, flew to arms, and prepared to overthrow the new Government by force. At this juncture Bonaparte withdrew the French troops from Switzerland, with the view probably of bringing the two parties into collision, and thus obtaining a plausible pretence for interfering. Under the influence of Reding a congress of the ancient cantons now assembled at Schwytz, declared their independence, and their determination to establish a constitution suited to their wants; but at the same time they expressed their willingness to come to an arrangement with the central Government; and Reding communicated what had been done to the First Consul, with whom he had had an interview in the previous December, and who, he had reason to think, would not disapprove of their proceedings. The insurrection spread to several other cantons; the peasantry took up arms, the Helvetic Government, after

Disturbances in Switzerland.

¹ Dändliker, *Histoire du peuple Suisse*.

applying to Bonaparte for aid, which was at first refused, was driven from Bern, and compelled to retire to Lausanne, and the Federal Diet was re-established. But the Helvetic Government was soon afterwards restored by a proclamation of Bonaparte, dated at St. Cloud, September 30th, 1802. The ancient cantons, led by Reding, prepared to resist; but Ney having entered Switzerland with a large force, the Diet, after protesting against this violence, declared itself dissolved. Ney caused Reding, Herzel, and some other leaders to be arrested. Reding was imprisoned at Aarburg, and subsequently in the castle of Chillon. Deputies from both parties were now invited to Paris, and after considerable discussion, the First Consul arranged their differences by an *Act of Mediation*, February 19th, 1803. The Constitution thus established was perhaps as good as the circumstances would admit. The different Cantons, which, by the erection of six new ones, namely, Aargau, St. Gall, the Grison Leagues, the Tessin, Turgovia, and Lemman, or Pays de Vaud, had been increased to nineteen, were placed under governments more or less democratic or aristocratic, agreeably to their ancient customs. A Federal Diet was appointed to meet in alternate years at Freiburg, Bern, Soleure, Basle, Zürich, and Lucerne, which thus became in turn *directorial cantons*. The Avoyer, or Burgomaster, of each of these cantons became, during its directorial year, Landamman of Switzerland; in which capacity he presided over the Diet, communicated with foreign ministers, etc. On September 27th, 1803, a new defensive alliance was concluded between France and Switzerland.¹ This treaty was more favourable to the Swiss than the alliance of 1798, which was offensive as well as defensive, thus involving them in all French wars. By the new treaty it was agreed that the French should have in their service 16,000 Swiss. Ney, however, compelled the Swiss to purchase these advantages by delivering up their arms and paying 625,000 francs for costs; nor did he depart with his army till the treaty had been arranged according to Bonaparte's wishes.

¹ Martens, t. viii. p. 139. The constitutions of the different cantons will also be found in the same collection, *Suppl.* t. iii. p. 373. An analysis of the Act of Mediation in Garden, t. viii. p. 28 sqq. See also Muralt, *Hans von Reinhard, Bürgermeister des eidgenössischen Standes Zürich und Landamman der Schweiz*; a life of one of the chief aristocratical leaders in the revolution.

A more flagrant act of the First Consul's at this time was the annexation of Piedmont. Although that country was reconquered by the Austro-Russian army in 1799, the King of Sardinia had not been restored when, by the battle of Marengo, it came again into the possession of the French. Bonaparte then united part of it to the Cisalpine Republic, and promised to erect the rest into a separate State; but he afterwards changed his mind; and by a decree of April 20th, 1801, ordered that Piedmont should form a military division of France under an Administrator-General. Such was its state at the time of the Peace of Amiens. The English Cabinet in that treaty had taken no notice of the affairs of the King of Sardinia, Tuscany, Parma, Holland, and Switzerland. The Emperor of Russia, however, in the Convention with the First Consul of October 11th, 1801, had stipulated an indemnification for Charles Emanuel IV., a condition which he had renewed in ratifying the Treaty of Paris of June 3rd, 1802. The English Ministers were probably not ignorant of this engagement; and by trusting to it for justice towards the King of Sardinia, passed him over in silence rather than recognize or discuss the other proceedings of France in Northern Italy. But Charles Emanuel, disgusted with the injustice and insults to which he was exposed, having abdicated his throne in favour of his brother Victor Emanuel, Duke of Aosta, June 4th, 1802, Bonaparte, in spite of his agreement with Russia, caused that part of Piedmont which had not been united to the Italian Republic to be annexed to France, as the twenty-seventh Military Department, by a formal *Senatus-Consulte*. A little after, October 11th, on the death of Ferdinand de Bourbon, Duke of Parma, father of the King of Etruria, that Duchy was also seized by the rapacious French Republic. The isle of Elba had also been united to France by a *Senatus-Consulte* of August 26th.

Bonaparte
annexes
Piedmont.

Besides these aggressions Bonaparte had given Holland a new constitution, November, 1801, by which the Batavian Government, in imitation of the French Consulate of 1800, became almost aristocratic. The legislative body was now composed of no more than thirty-three members; and the Republic at length received, in the person of Schimmelpenninck, a sort of chief like the President of the United States, who, with the title of Grand Pensionary, was invested with a more extensive authority than the House of Orange

A new con-
stitution for
Holland.

had ever enjoyed; a first step towards that Monarchy which it was destined soon to become.¹

These proceedings, which so plainly showed the aggressive ambition of the First Consul, could not be regarded with indifference in England; and, unfortunately, there were many other causes of complaint, on both sides, which revealed to all reflecting persons that the peace between Great Britain and France could not be long preserved. After the conclusion of the preliminaries, but before the definitive treaty of peace was signed, Bonaparte had displayed his feelings towards England by causing the "Fame" packet, bound to Jersey, but driven into Cherbourg by stress of weather, to be confiscated, agreeably to a law passed by the Convention in the time of Robespierre. Many other instances of the same kind occurred, and all explanations and remonstrances were disregarded or rejected. Bonaparte also refused to restore three English vessels captured in India after the peace. English commerce was prohibited through French influence in Holland, Spain, and Italy, and English property sequestered during the war was still retained, although restitution had been made of all French property agreeably to the treaty.² The irritation on both sides was kept alive by scurrilous articles published in newspapers and pamphlets. Some of the French emigrants, as well as English writers, abused the liberty of the press in England to make unwarrantable attacks upon the First Consul and his policy; and a Frenchman named Peltier even recommended the assassination of Bonaparte. When the First Consul complained of these attacks, the English Ministry truly replied that they had no power to suppress them, except by civil action; and a suit was actually instituted against Peltier. On the other hand, libels upon English statesmen were published with impunity in the French journals, with the connivance of the Government; the most virulent of them appeared in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the Government, and some of them are known to have proceeded from Bonaparte himself.³ Another cause of complaint on the part

¹ *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 293 sq.

² *Ibid.* t. viii. p. 178 sq.

³ *Ibid.* t. viii. p. 184. A specimen of them will be found in the *Moniteur* of 20 *Thermidor an X* (August 8th, 1802); in which Pitt is accused of having encouraged the murder of Louis XVI., of being the

of England was the employment of French spies, under the guise of commercial agents, in several of the chief ports of the Empire.

The relations between France and England had become so unsatisfactory that already on opening the session, November 23rd, 1802, George III. had given intimation that the duration of the peace could hardly be relied on. Addington still endeavoured to conciliate matters, though the prevalent opinion in England appeared to be adverse to the maintenance of the peace. This feeling was vastly strengthened by the official publication in the *Moniteur* (January 30th, 1803) of Colonel Sebastiani's Report of his mission to Egypt. The French agent, though his mission was disguised under the pretence of commercial interests, spoke openly of his intrigues with the Egyptian Pashas and Sheiks, reported his examination of the fortifications and defences of the country, gave an estimate of the material and moral force of the Turkish army, and expressed an opinion that 6,000 Frenchmen would suffice for the conquest of Egypt.¹ The only inference which could be drawn from all this was that the views of the First Consul were still directed towards the occupation of that country. Sebastiani, on his return, visited Djezzar Pasha at Acre, whose friendship he endeavoured to obtain. He also proceeded to the Ionian Islands, and announced, as the result of his observations and conduct, that they were ready to declare for France at the shortest notice.

Sebastiani's
report.

Lord Whitworth, the English Ambassador at Paris, urged this Report, and several other alleged grievances, on the notice of the French Government. Among these were the annexation of Piedmont and the interference in the affairs of Switzerland.

Mutual
complaints.

The French Government, on their side, had several grievances to allege. We cannot, indeed, place in this category the First Consul's demand that the Princes of the House of Bourbon, actually in England, should be recommended to proceed to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family; and that such Frenchmen as continued to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient Government of France should be directed to quit the British territories.

author of the September massacres at Paris, and of the revolts of Toulon, Lyons, and La Vendée.

¹ The Report will be found *in extenso* in Garden, t. viii. pp. 110-132.

But the First Consul, ignoring his own aggressions, complained that Egypt was still occupied by the English troops though the French had evacuated that country more than fifteen months; that the Cape of Good Hope had not been restored to the Dutch, nor Malta to the Order of St. John, though the conditions for the restoration of that island had been fulfilled by the arrival of the Neapolitan garrison, and by the election of a Grand Master. All these, though justifiable under the circumstances, were infractions of the Treaty of Amiens. The first two grievances were indeed removed before the discussions between France and England were concluded. Egypt was evacuated by the British troops, March 17th, 1803, in order to avoid a rupture with Russia; and the Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Batavian Republic, February 21st. Malta, however, was still retained—a circumstance which afforded France a reason for declaring war.

War
between
England
and France,
1803.

The war, however, was commenced by England. George III. sent a message to Parliament, March 8th, calling on them to enable him to adopt the measures necessary for supporting the honour of the Crown and the interests of the country, which were endangered by extensive preparations in the ports of France and Holland. Lord Whitworth had several angry and unsatisfactory interviews with Bonaparte and Talleyrand. On March 1st, the First Consul, in one of those fits of blustering rage which he often assumed, insulted the English Ambassador by his violence before the diplomatic circle at the Tuileries. He is even said to have menaced Lord Whitworth with his cane; and the Ambassador laid his hand on his sword with the determination of using it had he been struck. These angry negotiations were terminated in May by a rupture. On the 10th of that month Lord Whitworth delivered the ultimatum of his Government, viz., that the King of Great Britain should retain possession of Malta for at least ten years, after which it should be abandoned to the inhabitants and recognized as an independent State; that France should not oppose the cession by the King of the Two Sicilies of the Isle of Lampedula to Great Britain, as a naval station; that the territory of the Batavian Republic should be evacuated by the French troops within a month after the conclusion of a convention; that Great Britain should recognize the King of Etruria, and the Italian

and Ligurian Republics ; that Switzerland should be evacuated by the French troops ; that a suitable territorial provision in Italy should be assigned to the King of Sardinia. The First Consul had consented that Malta should be held either by Austria, Russia, or Prussia, the three Powers that had guaranteed its independence ; but this proposition was not acceptable to the English Cabinet.¹ The English ultimatum was refused ; Lord Whitworth quitted Paris, May 12th, and General Andr  ossi, the French Ambassador, was at the same time dismissed from London.

On May 16th, an embargo was placed on all French and Dutch vessels in English harbours, and on the 18th appeared the English declaration of war. Bonaparte, at the same time, not only laid an embargo on English vessels, but also caused all English travellers in France, from the age of eighteen to sixty years, to be arrested on the pretext that they should serve as hostages for all Frenchmen that might be captured by the English on board French vessels navigating in ignorance of the rupture of the peace. In order to entrap them Bonaparte had caused to be inserted in the *Argus* newspaper of May 10th, a paragraph in which the English who should remain in France after the departure of their ambassador were assured of protection. By this tyrannical act some thousands of British subjects were, contrary to international law, detained at Verdun till the peace, separated from their families and friends, their homes and business. The English Government offered the Batavian Republic to respect its neutrality if the French troops were withdrawn from its territory. The Batavian Government solicited the First Consul to consent to this step ; the only reply was an order for the arrest of all the English in Holland. This was executed, June 9th, and on the same day, Mr. Liston, the British

The d  tenus
of Verdun.

¹ The English Cabinet professed that it would accept the occupation of Russia, but asserted that that Power was not inclined to undertake it. Time, however, was not allowed to ascertain that fact ; and, on the very day of the English ambassador's declaration, a letter arrived from the Emperor renewing the assurances of his guarantee of Malta, and tendering his mediation. See the *Rapport au Tribunat* of M. Daru, and the Special Commission respecting the negotiations, May 23rd, 1803, ap. Garden, t. viii. p. 172. This Report, drawn up with great ability, makes out a very strong case for France ; which country, technically at least, must be allowed to have had the best of the argument.

Minister, left the Hague. Thus the Batavian Republic became a belligerent, with the certain prospect of the loss of its colonies. A French army of 7,000 men had entered Holland at the end of March. General Mortier took the command of it in May, entered the county of Bentheim, under the sovereignty of George III. as elector of Brunswick, on the 26th of that month, and continued his march towards Osnabrück and the Hanoverian Electorate. This invasion was a manifest violation of the neutrality of the Empire, as well as of international law; but the Empire, weakened by intestine divisions, dared not to take any notice of the insult. The Hanoverian Government entered into a convention, at Suhlingen, with General Mortier, June 3rd,¹ by which the French troops were to occupy the Electorate; the Hanoverian troops were to retire beyond the Elbe, and not to bear arms against France or her allies during the present war. Hanover was treated as a conquered country; the French general was to make what alterations he pleased in its administration; the French army was to be maintained, clothed, and mounted at its expense, and all its revenues were to be at the disposal of the French Government. On June 14th, Mortier committed a second violation of Imperial rights, by causing, without the slightest pretext whatsoever, Cuxhaven and Ritzebütel to be occupied by his troops, places which belonged to the city of Hamburg. Talleyrand, in a note to Lord Hawkesbury, June 10th, announced that Hanover had been seized as a pledge for the evacuation of Malta; proposed to exchange the Hanoverian army against French prisoners, and stated that if the Convention of Suhlingen was not ratified Hanover would be treated with all the rigour of war. Lord Hawkesbury having replied that the King of Great Britain refused to identify himself in that capacity with the Elector of Hanover, and that he was resolved to appeal to the Empire, Mortier declared the Convention of Suhlingen null, and compelled Field-Marshal Walmoden, the Hanoverian commander, to sign a capitulation, July 5th,² by which he agreed to surrender all his arms, artillery, and horses, and to disband his troops. Mortier then took possession of the Duchy of Lüneburg; and thus the whole Electorate, with a population of a million souls, became the prey of the French,

The Convention of
Suhlingen.
The French
seize
Hanover.

¹ Martens, t. viii. p. 84.

² *Ibid.* p. 89.

In vain the Hanoverian Minister appealed to the Empire for aid, not a voice replied ; in fact, the Empire no longer existed except in name. Masters of the Elbe, the French refused to allow any English merchandise to pass. England replied by blockading the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, causing a total stagnation of the commerce of North Germany.

The Emperor of Russia now offered his mediation on the base that the French should evacuate Holland, Switzerland, and all Italy, except Piedmont, and that the King of Sardinia should receive a sufficient indemnification ; he also offered to occupy Malta for a certain period. The First Consul declined these conditions, and from this moment a coldness sprang up between the Cabinets of Paris and St. Petersburg. The King of Prussia also failed in an attempt to procure the evacuation of Hanover by the French.

The rupture between France and Great Britain entitled Bonaparte to demand the aid of Spain, agreeably to the Treaty of Alliance of August 15th, 1796. But Spain had been alienated from the First Consul by the cession which she had been compelled to make of Trinidad, and by the sale of Louisiana to the United States of America. It will be remembered that at the peace of 1763, France had, by a secret treaty, ceded Louisiana to Spain ; and that, after the battle of Marengo, Bonaparte had recovered that possession for France, by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, as one of the considerations for making the infant Duke of Parma King of Etruria. But, though it does not appear in the treaty, Spain, in subsequent negotiations, made it a condition of the cession that she should have the preference in case France, in her turn, should be disposed to cede Louisiana. The French Government had not taken regular possession of it when the war with England broke out ; and Bonaparte hastened to sell that Province to the Americans, who had already cast their eyes upon it, with the view both of preventing the English from ravishing it from him, and of procuring funds to carry on the war. By a convention with Mr. Munroe and Mr. Livingston, the American Ministers at Paris, Bonaparte disposed of Louisiana to the United States for the net sum of sixty million francs.¹

France and
Spain.
Sale of
Louisiana.

¹ Garden, t. viii. p. 81.

Piqued by these transactions, the Spanish Government attempted to elude their obligations towards France; while the First Consul, on his side, evinced a determination to enforce their discharge. An army of 30,000 men, under Augereau, was assembled in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, and Spain also increased her forces in the Pyrenees. An understanding was, however, effected, and a convention signed at Paris, October 19th, 1803. Bonaparte preferred the Spaniards' money to their vessels or their troops; it suited him that Spain should remain neutral, as he could then make use of her ports, and enjoy her commerce without risking the loss of her colonies, which might prove an obstacle in concluding a peace. By this convention Spain engaged to pay to France six million francs a month during the war, of which, however, two millions were to be retained on account of expenses in repairing and provisioning French ships in Spanish harbours, etc. France was to recognize the neutrality of Spain, and also of Portugal, that Power engaging to pay one million a month of the stipulated subsidy.¹ The sums payable by Spain under this treaty are computed at more than double the amount of her engagements under that of San Ildefonso. Her refusal to communicate it to the Cabinet of London produced a war with Great Britain. The Regent of Portugal, after some resistance, was at length also compelled by the threats of Bonaparte to purchase his neutrality by the payment of twelve millions, or, according to some, sixteen millions a year (December 23rd, 1803).

French preparations for an invasion of England.

Among the first steps of Bonaparte after the breaking out of the war was the reoccupation of Naples. The troops which had been withdrawn had been kept on the frontiers of the Italian Republic and the Roman States, and towards the end of June they were again marched to the south under the command of General Gouvion St. Cyr. The feeble Government of Naples submitted to all the conditions exacted. But the First Consul's chief care seemed to be directed to an invasion of England. A great quantity of flat-boats was assembled in all the ports of the Channel and the North Sea; a numerous army, called, by anticipation, the "Army of

¹ Cantillo, p. 708; Garden, t. viii. p. 201 sqq. Cf. Gentz, *Verhältniss zwischen England und Spanien*.

England," under Victor, Ney, Davoust, and Soult, was cantoned between the Texel and the mouth of the Seine, and was frequently visited by Bonaparte. In England a spirit of patriotism was aroused. By August 10th 300,000 volunteers are said to have enrolled themselves. All the male population of the kingdom, from seventeen years of age to fifty-five, were divided into classes to be successively armed and exercised. The militia consisted of 84,000 men; the troops of the line of 96,000; and there were besides 25,000 troops destined for service at sea. The English fleet numbered 469 ships of war, and the coasts were guarded by a flotilla of 800 vessels. Attempts were made to destroy the vessels in the French harbours, and Havre, Granville, Dieppe, and Boulogne were bombarded, but with little result. The colonial operations of the English were more successful. The French and Dutch colonies of St. Lucie, St. Pierre, and Miquelon, Tobago, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were captured in a few months; General Rochambeau surrendered Cape Town in St. Domingo to Admiral Duckworth, November 30th, and all the French part of that island remained in the power of the negroes.

The year 1804 opened with a conspiracy for the overthrow of Bonaparte and the restoration of the Bourbons. The chief persons concerned in it in France were George Cadoudal, son of a miller in the Morbihan, and one of the most determined of the Chouans; General Pichegru, who had escaped from Guiana; General Moreau, and some members of the Polignac family. The plot was discovered. Moreau was apprehended, February 15th; Pichegru on the 28th; George Cadoudal on March 9th. Several other conspirators were also arrested. It is said that Bonaparte was to have been seized by about 1,200 Chouans, Vendéans, and other royalists, dressed in the uniform of the National Guard; Moreau was to have addressed the troops of the line, with whom he was very popular; the Duc d'Enghien, grandson of the Prince de Condé, was then to be summoned to Paris; and it was expected that the Bourbons would be proclaimed without much resistance.¹ For this plot George Cadoudal and eighteen of his accomplices were executed. Pichegru was found strangled in his prison. In his prosecution of this affair Bonaparte

Conspiracy
against
Bonaparte.

¹ Cadoudal, *Georges de Cadoudal et la Chouannerie*.

compelled the Electors of Bavaria, Hesse-Cassel, and Baden to dismiss the English Ministers from their Courts; caused Wagstaff, an English Cabinet-messenger, to be stopped near Lübeck and robbed of his despatches, and Sir George Rumbold, the English Minister at Hamburg, who was also implicated, to be seized on neutral ground and brought to Paris, where he would certainly have been shot by a military commission had not the King of Prussia interceded in his behalf.¹ Austria, which Power had greatly increased her forces in Tyrol and Suabia, was also suspected of being concerned in the plot. Napoleon, by threats of invasion, compelled the Emperor to reduce his armaments.

Murder of
the Duc
d'Enghien,
1804.

The discovery of this conspiracy made the First Consul more popular, and served to strengthen his grasp of power. This popularity was, however, lost among all right-thinking people, and especially in foreign countries, by an atrocious crime which Bonaparte soon afterwards committed. The First Consul, not content with that dignity, had now resolved to seat himself on the throne of the Bourbons. He had even had the audacity to demand from Louis XVIII. the cession in his favour of the rights of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France.² The asserted complicity of the Duc d'Enghien in the plot of Cadoudal, which appears to have had no foundation in truth, afforded him a pretext to get rid of one of the members of that House. The Duke was residing at Ettenheim, in the neutral territory of Baden, when Bonaparte, in violation of international law and the rights of the Empire,³ caused him to be seized on the night of March 15th, by a party of *gens d'armes* and to be carried to the Castle of Vincennes, where, after a sort of mock trial, he was shot in the fosse of the fortress, March 21st.

Napoleon
prepares to
take the
Imperial
title.

Numerous indications had gradually prepared the minds of men for the assumption of the crown by Napoleon. The Court of the Tuileries had put on all the aspect of royalty. Prefects of the Palace had been appointed to do its honours; when the First Consul drove out his carriage was attended

¹ Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten. Jahrhts.* B. vi. S. 489; *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 378.

² Barante, *Lettres et Instructions de Louis XVIII au Comte de St. Priest*, Paris, 1845. Cf. *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 317, and *Pièce Justificative*, G.

³ Welschinger, *Le duc d'Enghien*.

by an escort of cavalry with drawn sabres. The press had been subjected to a rigid censorship, while the journal which was supposed to convey the ideas of Bonaparte advocated the restoration of the monarchical principle, and incessantly attacked the philosophers, whose writings had contributed to the Revolution. The clergy gained fresh credit and power; even the Jesuits had ventured to reappear, under the name of *pères de la foi*.¹ George Cadoudal's plot hastened Bonaparte's last step towards absolutism. Men anxiously contemplated what would be the fate of France, if deprived of the firm hand which ruled it, and plunged again into anarchy. All who surrounded Bonaparte, his family, his friends, his ministers, urged him to establish his dynasty, and render it hereditary. At the instigation of Fouché, the servile Senate addressed the First Consul, and vaguely demanded institutions which should destroy the hopes of conspirators, by assuring the existence of the Government beyond the lifetime of its head. Bonaparte, with well-acted surprise, assured the deputation, with equal vagueness, that he would consider the subject in the course of the year.²

The deliberation of the legislative bodies on this subject was little more than a solemn farce. Bonaparte had half a million bayonets at his back. It was given out that he would visit all the camps, from Brest to Hanover; the soldiers, no doubt, would salute him Emperor, and their choice would be confirmed by the acclamations of the people. It was the interest of the Legislature to anticipate what it could not oppose.³ There was, however, more opposition in the Council of State than was pleasing to Bonaparte. He had hoped for unanimity; but seven members out of twenty-seven boldly supported, for the last time, the principles of Republicanism. The Tribune was more compliant. On May 3rd it voted, almost unanimously, an hereditary Empire. Carnot alone ventured to raise his voice against it. In a vigorous discourse he deplored the fall of the Republic, the ruin of liberty, and the re-establishment of monarchical institutions. Bonaparte had invited the Senate to declare their opinion. His message was immediately taken into con-

Napoleon
Emperor,
1804.

¹ Their establishments were, however, dissolved by an Imperial decree, June 23rd, 1804. Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 128.

² Lefèbvre, *Cabinets de l'Europe*, ch. x.; Garden, t. viii. p. 214 sqq.

³ Pelet de la Lozère, *Opinions de Napoléon*, p. 59 sqq.

sideration; and he was desired to assume the Empire with only four dissentient votes—those of Sieyès, Volney, Grégoire, and Lanjuinais. The *Senatus-Consulte* for regulating the new Empire, which had been drawn up by Bonaparte himself after several conferences with various members of the Legislature, was immediately passed, May 18th, 1804; and, on the same day, the Senate proceeded to St. Cloud, to present to the First Consul the Act which declared him Emperor.¹

Settlement
of the
French
Empire.

By this Act the Imperial dignity was declared hereditary in Napoleon's male issue, by order of primogeniture. He might adopt the sons or grandsons of his brothers, in case he had himself no male issue at the time of the adoption; but the right of adoption was forbidden to his successors and their descendants. In default of heirs of Napoleon the Imperial dignity was to devolve to his brother Joseph and his descendants; in their default on his brother Louis and his descendants. Napoleon had excluded his brothers Lucien and Jerome from the succession, in consequence of their having contracted marriages of which he disapproved; but he had promised to restore their rights if they would dismiss their wives. The Council of State was instituted as an integral part and superior authority of the Empire. The fifty tribunes were suffered to remain for the present, as well as the Legislative Body of 300 members, who no longer represented the opinions and will of the nation. The salaries of the senators and tribunes were considerably augmented. Several new Imperial dignities were created. The Consul Cambacérès was appointed Arch-Chancellor, the Consul Lebrun, Arch-Treasurer, Prince Joseph Bonaparte, Grand Elector, and Prince Louis, Constable. Eighteen of Napoleon's most distinguished generals were made Marshals of the Empire, viz., Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefèbvre, Pérignon, Serrurier. Nearly all these men had been born in a very humble rank. Moreau, the greatest of Bonaparte's generals, as great perhaps as Bonaparte himself, though not so fortunate, but as timid a politician as he was a brave soldier, was now languishing

¹ For the history of the Empire and the policy of Napoleon, see the histories of Fournier, Lanfrey, Thibaudeau, and others.

in prison. The new Emperor of the French endeavoured to persuade the judges to condemn Moreau to death, in order that he might have the glory of pardoning him; but the majority of them were too courageous to obey. Moreau was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Napoleon, dreading a military insurrection in Moreau's favour, offered him facilities of escape, of which he would not avail himself. Eventually a sort of composition was made with him, by which he consented to proceed, by way of Spain, to the United States.¹

The EMPEROR NAPOLEON I. deemed two things still wanting to the confirmation of his new dignity—its ratification by the French people and its consecration by the Pope. As he had been already elected Consul for life, the question put to the people regarded not his elevation to the Imperial title, but whether the Crown should be hereditary in his family. To this question 3,521,675 voters out of 3,580,000 are said to have replied in the affirmative.² Negotiations were entered into with Pope Pius VII. to induce him to come to Paris and celebrate the coronation of the new Charlemagne.³ The Pontiff consented, in the hope of obtaining important advantages for the Romish Church; including the restitution, perhaps, of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna. The ceremony took place at Notre Dame, December 2nd, 1804. But the Pope was allowed only to anoint Napoleon and his Empress, to bless their robes and insignia, to lead the Imperial couple to their throne, and to conclude the solemnity with a prayer. Although Cardinal Fesch had promised Pius that he should crown the Emperor, Napoleon with his own hand put the crown on his own head and on that of Josephine. The endeavours of Pius to recover the Legations proved also abortive.

Napoleon
crowned by
the Pope.

With the exception of England, the only voice raised against the violence and aggressions of Napoleon came from the North. The Emperor Alexander alone ventured to remonstrate, as one of the guarantees of the Treaty of Lunéville, against the occupation of Hanover and Naples, and the closing of the Weser and the Elbe, as hurtful to the Han-

Remon-
strance of
Russia.

¹ Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 125.

² Lefèbvre, ch. x.

³ The parallel was so striking that the Pope proposed December 25th, the anniversary of Charlemagne's coronation, for that of Napoleon. Lefèbvre, ch. x.

seatic towns and German Principalities, of which he declared himself the protector. Napoleon replied by treating Markoff, the Russian Ambassador, with studied indignity. After the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, d'Oubril, the Russian *chargé d'affaires* at Paris (Markoff having been recalled) was instructed to express the Emperor's surprise and grief at that event, and at the violation of the territory of Baden. The Russian Minister at Ratisbon also handed in to the Diet, May 6th, 1804,¹ a note in which the Empire was called upon in the most forcible manner to remonstrate with the French Government against the violation of its territory by an act of unparalleled violence. On the 12th of the same month d'Oubril delivered to the French Government an official note to the same effect.

The
Russian
Ultimatum.

Talleyrand, in reply, denied the right of Russia to interfere, and accused the Cabinet of St. Petersburg of meditating a fresh coalition, and the renewal of the war. The *chargé d'affaires* was reprimanded by his Court for accepting his note; and on July 12th he delivered the Russian ultimatum: that the French troops should evacuate the Kingdom of Naples; that the French Government should immediately establish, in concert with Russia, a basis for regulating the affairs of Italy; that it should engage to indemnify the King of Sardinia without delay; that it should at once withdraw its troops from the North of Germany, and engage strictly to respect the neutrality of the German Confederation. Talleyrand replied in a haughty note dictated to him by Napoleon from Boulogne, in which the Russian demands were evaded; and the Russian Minister, after answering with dignity and moderation, and recapitulating all the complaints of his Sovereign against France, quitted Paris with all the Legation. The Emperor Alexander manifested his indignation at the murder of the Duc d'Enghien by causing a monument to be erected to his memory in the principal church of St. Petersburg, with a Latin inscription purporting that "he had been cruelly murdered by the Corsican brute."²

Sub-
servience of
German
Sovereigns.

Sweden alone joined Russia in these remonstrances and complaints. Gustavus IV. was in the dominions of the Elector of Baden when the crime against d'Enghien was com-

¹ *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 347.

² "Quem Corsica bellua immaniter trucidavit."—Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 41.

mitted almost under his eyes. The Swedish minister at Paris presented a note against that violation of the German territory, May 14th. A violent attack upon the King of Sweden, published in the French official journal, the *Moniteur*, determined Gustavus to recall his Legation from Paris. The French *chargé d'affaires* at Stockholm was informed, in a note of September 7th, that all diplomatic intercourse must cease between the two countries.¹ The German Sovereigns displayed their usual subservience to Napoleon. The King of Prussia was silent about the fate of d'Enghien and the violation of the German territory till May, 1806. He had hastened to recognize Napoleon as Emperor of the French;² whereupon Louis XVIII. retired from Warsaw to the Russian town of Grodno. Here he employed himself in drawing up a protest against Napoleon's usurpation; but Alexander would not suffer such an act in his dominions, and the French King, or, as he was now called, "the Pretender," embarked for Sweden, and published his protest at Calmar.³ The Emperor Francis II. had winked at the murder of the Duke of Enghien. The Austrian ambassador at Paris, Count Philip Cobenzl, had declared in the presence of the First Consul that there were circumstances which obliged a government to take measures for its safety which other governments should abstain from judging. In fact, Austria herself had sometimes resorted to such "measures." When the Emperor Alexander brought the subject before the Diet Austria joined Prussia in obtaining its suppression.⁴ Francis II. did not recognize Napoleon's new title without some stipulations in favour of himself. As his own dignity of Roman Emperor was elective, it might one day happen, through Protestant and foreign influence, that the House of Austria might be deprived of it, when the reigning Prince, being only Archduke of Austria and King of Bohemia and Hungary, would find himself inferior in rank to the Emperors of France and Russia. It was therefore decided by the Cabinet of Vienna that Francis should immediately assume the title of hereditary EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA; and negotiations were entered into with Napoleon for the reciprocal acknowledgment of the new titles. Napoleon insisted upon being first recognized; and

The
Emperor
Francis II.
becomes
Emperor of
Austria.

¹ Garden, t. viii. p. 274.

² By a letter dated May 27th, 1804.

³ *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 402.

⁴ Lefebvre, *Hist. des Cabinets*, ch. ix.

when that had been done Francis proclaimed himself hereditary Emperor of Austria, August 11th, 1804.¹

England
and Spain.

The breach of Russia and Sweden with France offered the elements of a new coalition, which Pitt, who had returned to power in May, 1804, on the resignation of Addington, made it a principal object of his policy to establish. But before that could be effected another enemy had entered the lists against England. The Treaty of San Ildefonso, between France and Spain, confirmed, though modified, by that of October 19th, 1803, being offensive, or, as the publicists call it, a *partnership of war*, would justify Great Britain in treating Spain as an enemy. But there remained the question of policy. Negotiations² were entered into with the Cabinet of Madrid, with the view of inducing it to remain neutral. But, meanwhile, it was discovered in September, 1804, that large naval expeditions, consisting of French vessels, were preparing in the ports of Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagena; and as Spain was not at war with any other country the only inference could be that they were destined against England. Orders were consequently given for a strict blockade of Ferrol, and British commanders were enjoined to stop and bring into port all Spanish vessels laden with warlike stores.³

War
between
England
and Spain,
1804.

In consequence of the orders issued by the English Government, Captain Moore, with a squadron of four English frigates, captured, October 5th, near Cape St. Mary's, three Spanish frigates from La Plata, having on board about £240,000 sterling in money, and many valuable effects. Another frigate blew up, and sunk with all her crew. The English Government declared this treasure sequestered, by way of securing English merchants having credits in Spain. In spite of this affair attempts were made to preserve neutrality with Spain; but as the Cabinet of Madrid would not explain the nature of its engagements with France, and of the preparations in its ports, Mr. Frere, the English Minister, quitted Madrid, November 7th. Orders were given to commence hostilities against Great Britain towards the end of that month: a Spanish manifesto appeared December

¹ As Emperor of Austria he was of course Francis I.

² See for them Gentz, *Authentische Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen England und Spanien*.

³ On this point see Gardien, *Traité de Diplomatie*, t. ii. p. 255, and Wheaton.

12th, and was answered by Great Britain, January 25th, 1805.

The warlike operations of the year 1804, which were only maritime, were not of much importance. In Europe they were confined to Napoleon's preparations for invading England, and the attempts of the English to frustrate them. The French and Dutch coasts were observed by Lord Cornwallis and Sir Sidney Smith, while Nelson blockaded Toulon and Genoa and observed the other ports of the Mediterranean. The French flotilla having been collected in large numbers in Boulogne harbour, an attempt was made early in October, under the conduct of Lord Keith, to destroy it by means of fire-ships, and by machines called *catamarans*, consisting of copper vessels filled with combustibles, which were to be stealthily affixed in the darkness of night to the bottoms of the enemy's vessels, and exploded by means of clock-work. But this scheme utterly failed. In the West Indies, the important Dutch colony of Surinam was reduced by Commodore Hood and General Green, April 29th. In the East, Admiral Linois, with a small French squadron, infested English commerce from his station in the Isle of France.

Maritime
Operations.

Meanwhile Napoleon was sensible that Pitt was preparing against him another coalition, although as yet he had no positive proof of the concert between the Cabinets of London, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. By way of counterpoise he endeavoured to effect an intimate alliance with the King of Prussia; and he tempted Frederick William III., but without success, by offering to support him in extending his dominions and assuming the title of Emperor.¹ The substitution of Hardenberg for Haugwitz at this time in the Cabinet of Berlin, effected through the influence of the Queen, was adverse to Napoleon's policy. The King of Prussia was also courted at this juncture by the Emperor Alexander. We have already alluded to the friendship which had sprung up between those two Monarchs, and the occupation of Hanover by the French had served to draw it closer. Frederick William, alarmed by that step, and by the arming of the Swedes, which threatened to render North Germany the theatre of war, entered into a secret convention with the Emperor Alexander, May 24th, 1804, which stipulated that if

Russo-
Austrian
Alliance.

¹ Lefèbvre, ch. xi.

the number of the French troops in the Hanoverian Electorate should be increased beyond 30,000, or if any other German State should be invaded, they should unite their arms against France, and the Emperor, in this case, put all the forces of his Empire at the disposal of Prussia.¹ But Frederick William III. was desirous of preserving both the peace of Europe and his own neutrality; and in order to heal the misunderstanding which had grown up between France and Russia he offered his mediation. He proposed a plan which, though accepted with some reservation by Napoleon, was at once rejected by Alexander. The latter Sovereign demanded the entire fulfilment by France of the Convention of October 11th, 1801, and especially with regard to the affairs of Italy.² His insisting on a point which, while it did not much concern himself, was of vital importance to Austria, confirmed Napoleon in his suspicions of a secret understanding between Austria and Russia. Francis had, in fact, concluded with Alexander a secret convention, November 6th, 1804, which was to have the same effect for the south of Europe as the convention with Prussia for the north. If France committed new usurpations in Italy, extended her occupation in Naples beyond the Gulf of Taranto, effected further annexations in Italy, or threatened Egypt or any part of the Turkish Empire, Austria was to resist with an army of 150,000 men. For this service, if the allied arms were successful, Austria was to have the district as far as the Adda and the Po; the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be restored to their dominions, and Salzburg and the Breisgau, thus vacated, were to revert to the Emperor. The House of Savoy was to be re-established in Piedmont, Genoa, and the Milanese.³

War
imminent

Although Napoleon had no certain knowledge of this treaty, observation had convinced him that the Continental peace could not much longer be preserved. Under this apprehension he had addressed a letter to "his brother," King George III., January 2nd, 1805,⁴ conceived in much the same

¹ This convention, first published by Thiers, in his *Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire*, t. v. p. 25, will also be found in Garden, t. viii. p. 385.

² Lefebvre, ch. xi.

³ Also first published by Thiers, *Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire*, t. v. p. 355. Garden, t. viii. p. 397 sqq.

⁴ *Corr. de Nap. I.* t. x. p. 100.

style as a former one; in which he invoked a peace in the name of "humanity and reason." Lord Mulgrave, now Foreign Secretary, in his answer of January 14th, addressed to Talleyrand, observed that nothing could be done except in concert with the Continental Powers, and particularly Russia. The speech of George III. on opening Parliament the following day, was couched in terms which showed little hope of a pacification.¹ But if any doubt existed, it must have been removed a few days after (February 18th) by Pitt's motion for a grant of five millions for Continental purposes.

The English Ministry, in fact, doubted not of their ability to establish a formidable coalition against France. A treaty was first concluded with Gustavus IV. of Sweden, December 3rd, 1804, by which Great Britain engaged to pay that Sovereign £80,000 for the defence of Stralsund, Gustavus permitting that place, or the Isle of Rügen, to be a *dépôt* for a Hanoverian corps which the King of Great Britain proposed to form: also that Stralsund should be an *entrepôt* for British merchandise and manufactures. The French Government having obtained knowledge of this treaty, employed the King of Prussia to threaten Sweden; whereupon Gustavus appealed to the Emperor of Russia, with whom he had concluded an intimate alliance, January 14, 1805, with the expressed view "of maintaining the balance between the Powers of Europe, and guaranteeing the independence of Germany." At the instance of Alexander, Frederick William III. desisted from his threats against Sweden; but a coldness sprang up; the Prussian Minister quitted Stockholm, May 29th, 1805, and all communication between the two Powers entirely ceased.

But the true foundation of the Third Coalition was laid in a communication from the British Government to M. Novosiltzof, the Russian Ambassador at London, January 19th, 1805.² The genius of Pitt had planned a scheme of warfare on a scale worthy of England, of the adversary with whom she had to cope, and of the vast European interests at stake. The objects of this gigantic project were—1. To wrest from the domination of France the countries which she had subjugated since the commencement of the Revolution, and to

Pitt
organizes
a new
European
Coalition
against
Napoleon,
1805.

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1805; *State Papers*, p. 605.

² It will be found *in extenso* in *Garden*, t. viii. p. 318 sqq.

reduce her within her previous limits; 2. To make such arrangements with regard to these countries as might insure their peace and welfare, and at the same time render them barriers against the future aggressions of France; 3. To conclude, after the restoration of peace, a convention and guarantee for the mutual surety of the different Powers, and to establish in Europe a general system of public law. The English Cabinet felt that it was impossible to carry out these views, as a whole, without the co-operation of Austria and Prussia. Of the aid of the latter Power little hope was entertained; and the want of it, as Pitt had apprehended, caused the failure of the Coalition. In fact, had a Prussian army operated on the left wing of the French in the campaign of 1805, it would in all probability have been impossible for Napoleon to advance into the Austrian dominions. Both Prussia and Austria were to be induced to join the league by holding out to them the hope, in case of success, of some material rewards for their co-operation. Prussia was to have the territories wrested from France on the left bank of the Rhine, while Austria was to be rewarded with an extension of her dominions in Italy, and by the re-establishment of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena in that country; when the districts which had been assigned to those Princes in Germany, by way of compensation, would revert to Austria.

Anglo-
Russian
Alliance.

The Emperor Alexander entered heartily and readily into the English scheme, and on April 11, 1805, a treaty of alliance was concluded at St. Petersburg.¹ The general object of the contracting Powers in this *treaty of concert* was stated to be, to form a general league of the European States, so that a force of 500,000 effective men should be collected, independently of those furnished by the King of Great Britain. The more specific ends to be obtained were: the evacuation by the French of Hanover and North Germany; the establishment of the independence of Holland and Switzerland; the restoration of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large a territory as circumstances might permit; the evacuation of Italy, and the future safety of the Kingdom of Naples; the establishment of such an order of things in Europe as

¹ The treaty is given only imperfectly by Martens, t. viii. p. 330. See Garden, t. viii. p. 327. *Ann. Register*, 1806.

might effectually guarantee the safety and independence of the different States, and present a solid barrier against further usurpations. Great Britain engaged to contribute to the common efforts with her land and sea forces, by providing transports, and by paying subsidies at the rate of £1,250,000 sterling for every 100,000 regular troops furnished. For this purpose Pitt had demanded five millions from Parliament, afterwards, on the refusal of Prussia to join the league, reduced to three-and-a-half millions. No peace was to be made without the consent of all the parties to the league. The most remarkable conditions of the articles are: that active operations should commence when a force of 400,000 men was assembled; of which 250,000 were to be furnished by Austria, 115,000 by Russia, besides levies in Albania, etc.; and the rest were to be composed of Hanoverians, Neapolitans, Sardinians, etc. Certain general principles of justice and international law were to be recognized in the mode of proceeding. Thus neither France nor other countries were to be coerced with regard to their internal government; no conquests were to be appropriated before the peace; at the conclusion of the war a general Congress was to be assembled to fix with more precision the principles of the Law of Nations, and to insure their observation by a federative system formed with reference to the situation of the different European States.

The principles laid down by Pitt in these negotiations with Russia were, after ten more years of war, ultimately carried out in their main outlines in 1814; and the shade of the great English Minister may be said to have presided over the deliberations of Vienna. Austria did not deem it politic at once to join the league. There could, however, be no doubt of her ultimate co-operation, and she was consulted respecting the plan of the campaign. The King of Prussia resisted alike the enticements and the menaces of Russia. His situation at this time offered the greatest opportunities, though accompanied, no doubt, with dangers. Courted by both sides, he might probably have aggrandized himself by joining either, or if he preferred the dictates of equity to those of ambition, he might, as an armed mediator, have compelled a peace. But Frederick William III. inherited no portion of the spirit of the great Frederick. He followed none of these courses. He thought only of securing his neutrality, and

Fatal
policy of
Prussia.

adopted the apparently safe, but, as it proved, fatal policy of doing nothing.

Napoleon
King of
Italy,
1805.

While the storm was thus gathering over Napoleon's head he was ardently pursuing his ambitious schemes. On March 15th, 1805, a deputation of the Italian Republic, which he had summoned from Milan, offered to him the crown of Italy. On March 18th he declared to the French Senate that he had accepted the Lombard crown. He set off for Milan early in May, and was received in that city "with incredible transports of joy and enthusiasm."¹ On May 26th he crowned himself with the iron crown of the old Lombard Kings; pronouncing at the same time the accustomed words, to which the circumstances of the time gave an additionally solemn and formidable character: *Dio me la diede; guai a chi la tocca.*²

Napoleon's
oppressive
rule in
Italy.

Napoleon ruled Italy with a rod of iron. Making no allowance for habits and customs, he enforced in Lombardy the same regulations which he had made for France; nay, he even caused the *Code Napoléon* to be literally translated into Italian, and ordered it to be adopted and executed; a thing utterly impossible, as many of its provisions referred to customs which existed not in Italy. Napoleon alone convoked and adjourned the Legislative Assembly, ordered all public works, appointed to all civil and military employments. A small State of four million souls, which had been less taxed than any other in Europe, was compelled to pay him near seventy-seven million francs, besides twenty-five millions for the support of a French army in Italy; to which, also, it was compelled to furnish conscripts. These oppressions naturally engendered a spirit of revolt. The little town of Crespino having betrayed some Austrian tendencies, Napoleon placed it under martial law, doubled its contributions, and increased the rigour of its penal code. Before Napoleon left Milan, Genoa and the Ligurian Republic were incorporated with France, June 3rd, 1805. This was the fourth Republic which, contrary to the Treaty of Lunéville, he kept under his domination or subjected to his crown. The Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which, together with Guastalla, had been already seized, were declared dependencies of the French Empire by

¹ Lefèbvre, ch. x ii.

² "God gave it to me; woe to him who touches it."

an Imperial decree of July 21st. The Principality of Piombino was bestowed on Napoleon's sister Eliza, wife of the Senator Baccocchi, but on conditions which retained it under the Emperor's suzerainty: and the little State was increased by the addition of the Republic of Lucca.

Napoleon, the better to conceal his designs upon England, had remained at Milan till late in the summer; when, thinking the time come that Villeneuve might join him with the French fleet to cover the invasion, he quitted Milan secretly, and traversing the Alps and France with the greatest celerity, suddenly appeared in the camp at Boulogne on the night of August 2nd. The army of invasion numbered 167,000 well disciplined troops. But Napoleon found it not so easy to direct the operations of a fleet as the manœuvres of an army. Villeneuve, escaping from the blockade of Toulon, and accompanied by the Spanish Admiral Gravina from Cadiz, had proceeded in April to the West Indies in order to deceive Nelson and the other English Admirals as to his real intentions. But on his return to Europe he was encountered off Cape Finisterre by the English fleet under Sir Robert Calder. An action ensued, July 22nd, in which the English captured two Spanish line-of-battle ships. On the following day the hostile fleets were still in sight, but neither seemed disposed to renew the combat, although the French Admiral bore up several times in order of battle; after which he proceeded to Ferrol. In spite of the imperative instructions of Napoleon to proceed immediately to the English Channel, Villeneuve consumed eleven days in revictualling at Ferrol. He at length came out, August 13th; but the English fleet being reported, retreated to Cadiz with thirty-three sail of the line; where he was blockaded by Sir R. Calder, now joined by Collingwood, with twenty-five. Thus vanished all Napoleon's hopes of commanding the Channel.¹ Meanwhile the hostile intentions of Austria had become apparent, and Napoleon was compelled to abandon his scheme of invading England, to turn against another enemy. Francis I., who had long been increasing his forces in Italy and Germany, formally acceded, August 9th, 1805, to the Anglo-Russian treaty of April 11th, and thus completed the formation of the THIRD

Abandonment of the invasion of England.

¹ Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*.

The Third
Coalition.

COALITION. After some negotiation the English Cabinet had agreed to pay Austria a subsidy of three millions for the year 1805, and four millions for every subsequent year that the war might last. On August 28th appeared an ordinance putting the Austrian army on a war footing. Nevertheless Francis, who offered his mediation with England and Russia, still continued in September to assure the French Government of his pacific intentions. The Austrian Cabinet wanted to gain time to complete their preparations; but their notes soon assumed a tone which Napoleon could only regard as a declaration of war.

CHAPTER LXIII

AUSTERLITZ AND JENA

NAPOLEON did not abandon all hope of the appearance of his fleet till August 28th, when, hearing that Villeneuve had put into Cadiz, and also that the Austrians were in motion, he issued orders for raising the camps upon the coast. The troops were directed towards the Rhine in four divisions, under Davoust, Soult, Lannes, and Ney, with orders to be in position between Strassburg and Mainz before the end of September. At the same time the army of Holland, under Marmont, also marched towards Mainz, and that of Hanover, under Bernadotte, was put in motion; but its destination was concealed, in order to deceive the King of Prussia, in case of the failure of the negotiations which were still in progress. The allied Powers had formed a plan to frighten Frederick William III. out of his neutrality. A Russian army was to advance to the frontiers of Prussian Poland, to force them, if necessary, and to advance through Silesia towards the Danube. Another army, composed of 45,000 English, Swedes, and Russians, was to land in Swedish Pomerania and at the mouth of the Weser, and thence to make an irruption into Hanover. The Allies hoped that, Prussia being thus surrounded with a network of troops, Frederick William, as well from fear as from a secret sympathy with their cause, would be induced to join the Coalition. To oppose these designs, Napoleon, who knew that the King of Prussia had long coveted Hanover, proposed to him, through the French Ambassador, M. de la Forest, to deliver over to him that Electorate, to be incorporated in the Prussian dominions, as the price of his alliance with France. The proposition was supported by Hardenburg. To the King's scruples at robbing the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg, his relatives, Hardenberg replied,

Vacillation
of Frederick
William
III.

that the morality of a Sovereign resembled not that of an individual; that the operation was one calculated to place his Monarchy in the rank it ought to occupy in the world, as well as to allay the storm that menaced the Continent, and to force England to a peace.¹ Frederick William, yielding to these arguments, notified his assent to the French proposal, but on condition that France should engage to respect the independence of Switzerland, Holland, and those States of the Italian Peninsula which belonged not to the French Empire nor to the Kingdom of Italy. Encouraged by this progress, Napoleon despatched Duroc, the Grand-Marshal of his Palace, to Berlin, to bring the negotiations to a conclusion; without, however, consenting to the conditions respecting Italy, and the Swiss and Batavian Republics. But before Duroc could arrive the timorous Frederick William had changed his mind. The hope of preserving the peace of Europe had induced him, as much as the acquisition of Hanover, to listen to Napoleon's offer; and meanwhile he had discovered that war was inevitable. The Allies had also worked on his fears, by representing to him the gigantic projects of ambition entertained by the French Emperor, and their representations were supported by the Queen of Prussia, as well as by the greater part of Frederick William's Court. After an attempt at mediation, the last decision of Frederick William was for a strict neutrality; but in this he was firm as well as sincere. The Emperor Alexander, in pursuance of the plan already mentioned, marched an army towards the Prussian frontiers; requested that it should be permitted to pass through the Prussian dominions towards the Inn; and asked for a personal interview with Frederick William. M. Alopéus, the Emperor's Minister at Berlin, even went so far as to name the day when the Russian troops would cross the frontiers of Prussia. But this insult filled Frederick William with all the energy of anger, and he immediately ordered an extraordinary levy of 80,000 men. At the same time France was informed that the King of Prussia would sign an alliance with her on the slightest infraction of his neutrality by Russia; while the Emperor Alexander received

¹ This is Lefèbvre's account. In the *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 466 sq., the matter is softened down; but enough remains to show that the statement is substantially correct.

a similar assurance in case of an aggression on Prussia by France. Such was the position of the Prussian Monarchy when the campaign opened on the Danube.¹

The operations of the Coalition were conceived on an immense scale; they embraced Germany and Italy, and extended from the mouth of the Weser to the Gulf of Taranto. Austria was ready to enter upon the campaign early in September. Her army in Italy, commanded by the Archduke Charles, consisted of 120,000 men; a second of 35,000, under the Archduke John, was posted in Tyrol; a third, in Germany, of about 80,000 men, was nominally commanded by the Archduke Ferdinand, a cousin of the Emperor, but in reality by General Mack. His appointment seems to have been effected through the influence of the English Cabinet, in spite of his signal failure in Italy. Mack had been condemned by the greatest general of the age, the Emperor Napoleon. Nelson, who saw him at Naples, had also condemned him. This incompetent man was now to decide the fate of empires.²

Prepara-
tions of the
Coalition.

An army of Russians and Swedes was to operate in North Germany; while two Russian armies of about 60,000 men each, under the orders of Kutusov and Buxhövdén, were to march through Galicia and join Mack on the Upper Danube. Russian troops from the Ionian Islands, combined with some English detachments from Malta, were to land in the Neapolitan dominions, drive out the French, and assist the operations of the Austrians in Northern Italy. To frustrate this plan, as well as to assume the appearance of having removed one of the obstacles to peace, and, at the same time, to be enabled to employ his troops in Southern Italy against the Archduke Charles, Napoleon concluded at Paris a convention with the Marquis San Gallo, September 21st, 1805, by which the French troops were to evacuate the Kingdom of Naples; Ferdinand IV. undertaking, on his side, to observe a strict neutrality, to repel by force any attempt to violate it, and to permit no belligerent squadron to enter his ports. This convention was very distasteful to the Court of Naples; but the dread of immediate hostilities compelled Ferdinand to ratify it.

¹ For these negotiations with Prussia, see Lefèbvre, ch. xiii.

² In a letter to Lord Spencer, November 9th, 1795.

Bavaria
joins
France.

It was of the highest importance to the success of the campaign in Germany that Austria should assure herself of the co-operation of the electors of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden. From the situation of their dominions between the contending Powers, it was impossible for those Princes to remain neutral. They were known to be inclined towards Napoleon, by whom, as we have seen, they had been highly favoured in the matter of the indemnifications; and the only method by which Austria could hope to insure their aid was to compel it by a sudden invasion. Instead of this, the Cabinet of Vienna attempted to conciliate the employment of force with the observance of forms. On September 6th Prince Schwarzenberg arrived in Munich with a letter from the Emperor Francis, beseeching Maximilian Joseph to unite his arms with those of Austria, and guaranteeing to him the integrity of his dominions, whatever might be the event of the war. The Elector, after giving a ready assent to this request, addressed on the following day a letter to the Emperor Francis, in which he stated that his son, the Electoral Prince, was in France; that he would be lost if the Bavarian troops were to march against Napoleon; and he, therefore, supplicated his Imperial Majesty to be allowed to to maintain his neutrality. In fact, however, Maximilian Joseph had already signed the preliminaries of an alliance with Napoleon, August 24th; and actuated by the fear of being crushed between two such Powers, he wrote an abject letter, September 8th, to M. Otto, the French Minister at Munich, stating what he had done, and deprecating the anger of Napoleon. M. Otto, perceiving that the Elector was about to secede, hastened to the palace, and, partly by threats, partly by painting to him in vivid colours the ignominy of his situation if he remained a day longer at Munich, he, with the aid of the Minister Mongelas, persuaded Maximilian to set off with his Court that very night for Würzburg; where he would be protected by the advancing French columns. The Bavarian troops, 26,000 in number, followed by forced marches.

Invasion of
Bavaria by
Austria,
1805.

The day after the Elector's flight, and when it was no longer possible to secure him, the Austrian army crossed the Inn, and entered Bavaria (September 19th). Thus deprived of the co-operation of the Bavarians, Mack should have awaited in that Electorate the arrival of the Russian army

under Kutusov, which was still at a great distance. Instead of doing so, he traversed Bavaria, entered Suabia, and took up a position on the Iller, between Ulm and Memmingen, occupied the defiles of the Black Forest, and pushed the heads of his columns as far as Stockach; thus throwing himself into the jaws of his formidable enemy, and separating himself more and more from the Russians. Unfortunately for Mack, Napoleon in person had undertaken the German campaign with the greater part of his forces; while the Austrian Cabinet, thinking that Italy would be the chief point of attack, had posted their best general and their largest army in that country. Napoleon, after appearing at Paris in the Senate, September 23rd, set off to join his army. He had formed a plan to surprise and overwhelm Mack on the Upper Danube, with all his forces, and to cut him off from the Russians and from Vienna. The French army destined to operate in Germany consisted of 190,000 men. Besides the four divisions already mentioned, and those of Marmont and Bernadotte in Holland and Hanover, a seventh corps, from Brest, with the guard and reserves of cavalry, was directed on Haguenau, Strassburg, and Schlettstadt. The success of Napoleon's plan depended on the precision with which the movements of the different corps were executed. Davoust passed the Rhine at Mannheim, September 26th, and directed his march on Oettingen. Soult and Ney also passed the Rhine on the 26th, the first at Spire, the second at Karlsruhe, and made for Donauwörth and Dillingen. Bernadotte in Hanover, Marmont in Holland, were both to direct their march on Würzburg; the former by Göttingen, the latter by Utrecht and Mainz. Thus, while Mack was expecting an attack in front, nearly the whole French army was "*pivoting*" on his right, and manœuvring to cross the Danube in his rear. Napoleon, to keep up his delusion, ordered a false attack in front. Lannes, with his division, and Murat, with 7,000 cavalry, having passed the Rhine, September 27th, marched straight forwards towards Reuchen and Hornberg, as if they would force the defiles of the Black Forest. Napoleon having joined this division, October 1st, directed its march upon Stuttgart. Here he signed a treaty of alliance with the Elector of Würtemberg, October 3rd, who agreed to furnish 8,000 men during the war. Napoleon now made some false demonstrations and manœuvres to con-

Advance
of the
French.

ceal from the enemy the march of his columns upon Donauwörth. Marmont's and Bernadotte's divisions had already arrived at Würzburg. From this place the Elector of Bavaria had sent a declaration to the Emperor Francis, that he had determined to remain neutral, and that all the menaces of France should not make him abandon this unalterable resolution. Yet in less than a fortnight after these solemn assurances the Bavarians joined Bernadotte and Marmont immediately on their appearance; and on October 12th the Elector ratified the provisional treaty with France of August 24th.¹

Mack
outman
œuvred.

Bernadotte, by the junction of Marmont's division and the Bavarians, finding himself at the head of 60,000 men, directed his march towards the Danube. The union of so large a force at Würzburg should have opened Mack's eyes; but he imagined that Bernadotte was stationed there to watch the Prussians, and he did not begin to perceive that Marshal's real intentions till he arrived at Eichstädt and Donauwörth. The direct road between Würzburg and Eichstädt traverses the margraviate of Anspach, belonging to Prussia. A circuitous route might have spoilt Napoleon's combinations, and his troops took that of Anspach at the risk of provoking the hostility of the King of Prussia by this violation of his neutrality. By the 8th of October 180,000 French had crossed the Danube at different points: Bernadotte and the Bavarians at Ingolstadt, whence he marched rapidly upon Munich; Davoust and Marmont at Neuburg; Soult, Lannes, Murat, and the Guard at Donauwörth and Dillingen. The Austrian General, Kienmayer, with 12,000 men, appointed to guard the bridges, was compelled to fly beyond the Isar. Marmont and Soult advanced towards Augsburg; Napoleon in person, with Lannes and Murat, on Zusmarshausen. Ney, with 40,000 men, remained on the left bank of the Danube. Mack might have retreated into Tyrol and joined the army of the Archduke John; but he persisted in thinking that Napoleon was still in his front, and that Bernadotte alone had gotten into his rear. Under the influence of this idea, recalling the corps which he had posted in the Black Forest, he wheeled

¹ Lefèbre, ch. xiv. *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 471 sqq.; Mailath, *Gesch. Oestreichs*, B. v. S. 255 f.; Pelet de la Lozère, *Opinions de Napoléon*.

about, and advanced, as he supposed, against Bernadotte and Marmont. He was soon undeceived. At Wertingen his advanced guard fell in with Murat and the French cavalry, and was completely routed; 4,000 Austrian grenadiers and all their artillery were captured (October 8th). This affair opened Mack's eyes; but, though the road to Tyrol was still open, he persisted in remaining at Ulm.¹ Matters growing hourly worse, he at length adopted the resolution of forcing his way towards Bohemia. With this view he endeavoured to force Ney's positions at Günzburg and Albeck, but was repulsed with considerable loss (October 9th). Napoleon, meanwhile, investing Ulm with his centre and right, extended his left so as to cut off Mack's retreat to Tyrol. The investment on this side was completed by the occupation of Memmingen by Soult, October 14th.

Meanwhile the Russians were approaching; their advanced guard had passed Linz, and the Archduke Charles had detached thirty-three battalions from the army of Italy to proceed to Mack's rescue. Napoleon drew closer the blockade of Ulm. Shut up in such a town with some 60,000 men, with provisions and ammunition only for a small garrison, Mack's position was becoming desperate. Another attempt was made to force the road to Bavaria, October 14th, when the Austrians were defeated with great loss by Ney at Elchingen. The Archduke Ferdinand, however, and Prince Schwarzenberg, succeeded in forcing a passage with upwards of 20,000 men, and gained Heidenheim. On the 15th, Napoleon, having carried the heights which command Ulm, summoned Mack to surrender, and in an interview with Prince Lichtenstein pointed out that Mack's position was inextricable, and threatened, if forced to it, to treat the Austrian army as he had treated the garrison of Jaffa. To avoid an assault Mack capitulated on the 17th. On the morning of October 20th 24,000 Austrians defiled before

Capitulation of Ulm,
1805

¹ Military authorities say, that besides Tyrol and the road to Bohemia, Mack had also two other means of escape; namely, by entering Switzerland at Schaffhausen, where he might have been joined by the Archduke John from Tyrol; or by retiring upon the Main and thence into Hesse, and compelling its Sovereign to make common cause with him. This last march would have put him in communication with the Hanoverian, Russian, and Swedish troops, and have decided the King of Prussia. Garden, t. ix. p. 55, note.

Napoleon, and laid down their arms at his feet as prisoners of war.¹

The French
enter
Vienna.

The Russian advanced guard under Prince Bagration had effected a junction, October 16th, at Braunau with Kienmayer, who had retreated beyond the Inn, pursued and harassed by Bernadotte and the Bavarians. But they were compelled to evacuate Braunau on the approach of the French, who, with the exception of Ney's corps, advanced rapidly after the surrender of Ulm. Lannes occupied Braunau. October 29th; Bernadotte entered Salzburg on the 30th. On the 4th of November the French army passed the Enns. On the 5th Ney took the fort of Scharnitz, which opened the road to Innsbruck. On the 7th an action took place at Maria Zell between the advanced guard of Davoust and the Austrians under Meerveldt; who lost 4,000 prisoners and sixteen guns. On the 9th the Russians repassed the Danube at Grein; and on the 11th an action between Marshal Mortier and Prince Kutusov took place near Dürrenstein, a castle rendered famous by the captivity of Richard Cœur de Lion. The French general, who had only 5,000 men, cut his way through four times that number of Russians, and succeeded in reaching Davoust's division. Kutusov continued his retreat towards Moravia, to join the Russian corps which was coming to his aid. In these disastrous circumstances, the Emperor of Austria, in order to save his capital, sent Count Giulay to Napoleon's headquarters to inquire on what terms he would grant an armistice for the negotiation of a peace. Napoleon demanded that the Russians should return into their own country, that the Hungarian insurrection should be dissolved, and that Venice and Tyrol should be provisionally abandoned to the French. Francis refused these conditions, which were, in fact, equivalent to surrendering at discretion. But it seems probable that the offer was made only to gain time for the advance of the Russians under Buxhövdén and the completion of the Hungarian insurrection. Meanwhile the French army continued its march along the right bank of

¹ Respecting the surrender of Ulm, see *Mémoires du Général Rapp*, chap. vi. Mack was arraigned before a court-martial, which, singularly enough, was presided over by Mélas, who had made almost as disgraceful a capitulation as himself. *Homme d'état*, t. viii. p. 487. Mack was condemned to a short imprisonment, but ultimately retired on a pension.

the Danube, and on the 13th of November Murat and Lannes entered Vienna without resistance. Such had been the orders of Francis, on quitting his capital a few days before to join at Brünn the Emperor Alexander, who accompanied the second Russian division: and, in fact, Vienna was not in a condition to make any defence.

In Italy the Austrians had made vast preparations in the anticipation that it would be the principal scene of action. But Napoleon's movements gave quite an unexpected turn to affairs, and rendered the campaign in Italy only subsidiary to that in Germany. Masséna had at first only 30,000 men to oppose to the vast army of the Archduke Charles, and he was therefore instructed to stand on the defensive on the Adige. On the other hand, the Archduke, through Mack's disasters, which had compelled him to detach a large force to the assistance of that general, was prevented from taking the offensive. After the King of Naples had ratified the Treaty of Paris, Gouvion St. Cyr, who occupied the peninsula of Otranto with 25,000 men, hastened to join Masséna. But these troops had not yet come up when Masséna, whose army, by reinforcements from other quarters, now numbered near 60,000 men, and about equalled the Archduke's, having learned the capitulation of Ulm, and foreseeing that the Archduke would fly to the defence of Vienna, impetuously attacked the Austrians in their position at Caldiero between Verona and Vicenza (October 29th). In a desperate struggle, which lasted three days, the French lost 6,000 men, were completely repulsed, abandoned the field of battle, and retreated to Verona. Yet Thiers and other French writers¹ claim a brilliant victory! The Archduke Charles was now at liberty to pursue his road into Austria, by way of Croatia; a movement, however, which could not but look like a retreat. He was pursued by the French; and a corps of 5,000 men, which he had left behind to cover his march, was compelled to capitulate at Casa Albertini, November 2nd. He summoned his brother John with his army to join him from

Battle of
Caldiero.

¹ *Hist. du Consulat et de l'Empire*, t. vi. liv. 23: cf. *Victoires et Conquêtes*, t. xv. p. 164 sqq.; Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 171. Lefèbvre, ch. xiv. is more just, and allows that it was a drawn battle. The true account may be seen in the Archduke Charles's report, drawn up with his characteristic modesty, and printed from the Austrian archives by Count Mailath, *Gesch. Oestreichs*, B. v. S. 260-270.

Tyrol; the two Archdukes effected a junction near Cilli, towards the end of November, and, with their united forces, hastened to the Danube, but were too late to be present at the decisive battle. The Archduke John had also summoned Jellachich from the Vorarlberg; but that commander had been obliged to capitulate to the French.

French
advance.

The French made no halt at Vienna, but crossed the Danube, November 14th, in pursuit of the Russians. Prince Auersperg, who had been instructed to destroy the Tabor bridge, suffered himself to be deceived by Murat, who pretended that a truce had been concluded, and the French were permitted to pass over. This *ruse* was as good as a victory to the French. Marshal Lannes came up with the Russians at Hollabrünn, November 15th. Kutusov, to escape from a bad position, pretended to parley for an armistice; and leaving Prince Bagration behind, with a corps of 6,000 men, whom he abandoned in order to deceive the enemy, hastened his march northwards. Bagration, though attacked by upwards of 30,000 men at Hollabrünn, November 16th, and again at Guntersdorf on the following day, contrived to save part of his troops, and rejoined Kutusov at Wischau, on the 19th. That general, having been joined by the Russian army under Buxhövdén from Galicia, had now arrested his retrograde march. Murat had entered Brünn, November 18th, and Napoleon fixed his head-quarters in that town on the 20th.

Negotia-
tions with
Prussia.

At this moment the Emperors Francis and Alexander were at Olmütz. The Russian Emperor had had, a little before, an interview with Frederick William III. at Berlin, where he arrived unexpectedly, October 25th. Demonstrations of affection were lavished on both sides; the Queen, especially, was charmed by Alexander's grace of manner and chivalrous bearing. The King of Prussia and his subjects were, at this time, filled with rage and indignation at Napoleon's violation of the Prussian territory; a cry for war again arose at Berlin; when, suddenly, came the news of Mack's capitulation. Alexander, however, persuaded Frederick William to sign a secret convention at Potsdam, November 3rd, by which he acceded to the Coalition; with the reservation, however, of making a last attempt to bring Napoleon to moderate views. As the conditions of a general peace, based on that of Lunéville, a military frontier was to be demanded for Austria, an indemnity for the King of Sardinia, the evacuation of Holland

and Switzerland, a guarantee for the independence of those two countries, and the separation of the crown of Italy from that of France. Count Haugwitz was to carry these conditions to Napoleon, and, in case of their rejection, war was to be declared, December 15th. At the same time all the Prussian forces were put upon a war footing.

By way of compensation for the French insults, one of the Prussian King's first steps had been to forward to Alexander an authority for his troops to traverse Silesia and Lauenburg; in consequence of which 36,000 Russians had entered Silesia, while 18,000 more under Tolstoï, and 12,000 Swedes, disembarking at Stralsund, directed their march through Lauenburg upon Hanover. Of this last army, Gustavus IV. of Sweden was to have taken the command in person; and, after its union with 12,000 Hanoverians at Stade, and some British troops under Lord Cathcart, it was to have made a powerful diversion in Holland. But that capricious Sovereign, who had called on Prussia for an explanation of her armaments, offended by an imaginary slight on the part of the Emperor of Russia, laid down the command of the combined army, and recalled his troops, already on their march for the Elbe, into Pomerania. Several weeks were lost in negotiations before the Swedes were again put in motion; and, shortly after, the battle of Austerlitz changed the policy of the various Cabinets.¹ Frederick William also announced to the French Government, October 14th, that henceforth he regarded himself as released from all his engagements respecting the neutrality of North Germany. He had not, however, made these efforts, though necessary for his own honour, and even safety, without asking to be compensated. In return for his eventual co-operation, he demanded that the King of England should cede to him Hanover, in exchange for the Prussian possessions in Westphalia. The English Cabinet would not accede to this demand; but promised to cede that part of the Electorate which is surrounded by the Prussian dominions, provided Prussia should make war upon France.²

Prussian
Policy.

Even now Frederick William's intentions were not sincere; and had they been so, Haugwitz was not a fit agent to carry them out. In spite of the convention, it is evident that a

¹ Garden, t. ix. p. 83 sq.

² *Ibid.* p. 72; *Homme d'état*, t. vii. p. 482; Lefèbvre, ch. xv.; Menzel, B. vi. S. 462.

great latitude had been allowed to that Minister; that his demands were to rise or fall, according to the fortune of the French arms. Haugwitz did not obtain an interview with Napoleon till November 28th, at his head-quarters at Brunn. The French Emperor diverted the negotiations from the main subject to collateral ones, and Haugwitz, who saw that a great battle was impending, was not unwilling to wait. Napoleon's situation was by no means secure. He was faced by an Austro-Russian army, superior in number to his own; 45,000 English, Russians, and Swedes were assembled in North Germany; the Hungarian levy or insurrection was going on; the Archdukes, Charles and John, were advancing. Under the circumstances, Prussia really held in her hands the fate of the campaign and the destinies of Europe. Had Frederick William put his troops in motion, the allies would not have delivered the battle of Austerlitz; they would have waited till Haugwitz had discharged his mission, and have allowed time for the Prussian troops to come up.

The Tsar
Alexander
at Potsdam.

On the night before he quitted Potsdam, Alexander, accompanied by the King and Queen of Prussia, had visited by torchlight the tomb of Frederick the Great, in the garrison-church of that place; the Sovereigns had prostrated themselves before the tomb, and had sworn to one another an eternal friendship. But events soon showed that this romantic scene was without meaning. From Potsdam, Alexander flew to put himself at the head of his army at Olmütz. Here he supplicated in vain for an auxiliary corps of 10,000 Prussians; more, perhaps, with the view of irrevocably engaging Frederick William in the war, than for the actual benefit of their services. The King of Prussia could no longer hope to be sincerely pardoned by Napoleon. His only safety lay in striking a rapid blow; but when it was necessary to act his heart failed him. He determined to await the result of Haugwitz's negotiations. Thus, as a French writer has observed,¹ in the hands of this Prince an armed mediation united all the inconveniences both of neutrality and war. Without the security of the first, or the glorious chances of the second, it menaced, without coercing, Napoleon, and deceived Austria and Russia with false hopes.

The Austro-Russian army occupied a very strong position

¹ Lefèbvre, ch. xvii

between Olmütz and Olschan. The foremost columns of the Archduke Charles had reached Weinpassing, on the road between Oedenburg and Vienna. The Russian corps of Essen and Beningsen were also coming up. The allies, therefore, had every reason to await the decision of Prussia, and to postpone a battle, till December 15th, whilst the same motives urged Napoleon to seek one. Alexander, however, and the youthful warriors who surrounded him, trusting in their superior force, were for immediate action. Another motive was the want of stores for the support of so large a force. Some parley took place before the battle. The Emperors of Austria and Russia sent Counts Giulay and Stadion to Napoleon's camp, with proposals for a peace, but on conditions which the French Emperor could not listen to. Napoleon, on his side, on the arrival of Alexander at Olmütz, twice despatched General Savary to compliment him, and to request an interview. His object was, apparently, to impress the Russians with the idea that he dreaded a battle, and thus to entice them into one. Alexander declined the proposed interview; but he sent Prince Dolgorouki, who only offended the French Emperor by his arrogant pretensions.

Battle of
Austerlitz.

A feigned retreat by Napoleon for some miles increased the ardour of the Russians for battle. Kutusov's plan was to turn the right of the French, in order to drive them into the mountains of Bohemia, and cut off their communications with Vienna. Napoleon immediately penetrated this design, and delivered at AUSTERLITZ, December 2nd, a battle, which has been reckoned one of his masterpieces. Although he had fewer men than his opponents, yet, at the decisive point, he had massed twice as many as they. The heights of Pratzen, which lay in the middle of the Austro-Russian line, were the key of their position. These he stormed and took, thus dividing the line of the allies, and separating their centre both from the right and left wings. The battle was now lost, though some detached fights ensued. The losses of the allies were great; 12,000 men were killed or wounded, 15,000 made prisoners, and 80 guns were captured. The French loss was probably 10,000 men,¹ though Napoleon's bulletin stated it at only 3,900. The defeat was serious, but with skill and courage, perhaps, not irretrievable. The formidable position

¹ Mailath, B. v. S. 274.

which the Austro-Russians had held at Olmütz, might have been regained and defended with 50,000 men. The Archdukes, Charles and John, were advancing with 80,000 men, who had not been beaten; they were in communication with Hungary, which was fast rising; the Archduke Ferdinand was bringing 20,000 men from Bohemia; another Russian corps was approaching, and the whole Russian Empire was behind them; 180,000 Prussian, Saxons, and Hessians were in arms, but on these it would have been imprudent to reckon. The allied Emperors and their general, Kutusov, appear, however, to have lost their courage. After an interview with Alexander, December 4th, Francis proceeded by appointment to the French camp. He found Napoleon at the bivouac of Saroschütz. The two Emperors soon came to an agreement for an armistice, which was definitely concluded, December 6th, at Austerlitz. The French were to occupy Austria with Venice and its territory, the circle of Montabor in Bohemia, and all to the east of the road from Tabor to Linz, also a part of Moravia and the town of Pressburg in Hungary; the Russian army was to evacuate Moravia and Hungary within a fortnight, and Galicia within a month; the levies in Hungary and Bohemia were to be stopped; no foreign army was to enter the Austrian territory; negotiations for a peace were to be opened at Nikolsburg.¹ The day after the signature of this armistice Napoleon levied on the Austrian provinces a contribution of 100,000,000 francs. The Russians began their homeward march towards Poland. The Emperor Alexander had given no pledge as to his ulterior intentions. Napoleon, who wished to gain his friendship, not only ordered his retreat to be respected, but also sent back Prince Repnin and all the soldiers of the Imperial Guard who had been captured at Austerlitz. Alexander placed his troops in Silesia and Mecklenburg at the disposal of the King of Prussia, and released him from the engagements which he had entered into by the Convention of Potsdam.

Frederick William's prospects began to look gloomy. When Haugwitz congratulated Napoleon on his success, the latter answered: "This compliment was meant for others, but fortune has changed the address." He then bitterly denounced the King of Prussia's understanding with his enemies;

The
Bivouac of
Saroschütz.

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. viii. p. 386.

but ended with promising to forgive what had happened, provided Prussia would form a close alliance with France, offensive and defensive, and as a pledge of sincerity should take formal possession of Hanover. General Don, with the Hanoverian legion and some English troops, had disembarked at Stade, November 17th; some Swedish and Russian troops also subsequently passed the Elbe, and the Electorate had been restored to the possession of George III. Haugwitz, instead of fulfilling his instructions, signed at Schönbrunn, December 15th—the very day on which Frederick William had promised to declare war against France if his ultimatum was refused—a convention laid before him by Napoleon, of which the principal points were, the cession to France of Neuchâtel in Switzerland, and of the remaining portion of the Duchy of Cleves; also of the Principality of Anspach to Bavaria. Prussia, in return, was to take possession of the Electorate of Hanover.

The armistice between France and Austria was soon followed by the PEACE OF PRESSBURG, signed December 26th;¹ to which place the negotiations, if such they can be called, had been transferred. Talleyrand had followed the French army; the treaty was drawn up by him, and the Austrian plenipotentiaries had only to affix their signatures. The Emperor Francis recognized all that Napoleon had done in Italy, and renounced the Venetian States ceded to him by the Treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville. These were now to be united to the Kingdom of Italy. Napoleon was recognized as King of Italy; but that Kingdom was ultimately to be separated from France; though Napoleon was to name his successor. Thus the House of Austria was completely excluded from Italy, where she had ruled for centuries, and where she now possessed not even a single fief. The Peace included Napoleon's allies, the Electors of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden; which Princes, as we have seen, he had attached to his fortunes by giving them so large a share of the ecclesiastical spoils in the matter of the indemnifications. The title of King now assumed by the Electors of Würtemberg and Bavaria was recognized by Francis; and these two Sovereigns caused their new dignity to be proclaimed, January 1st, 1806.²

Peace of
Pressburg,
1805.

Würtem-
berg and
Bavaria
Kingdoms.

¹ Martens, *Recueil*, t. viii. p. 388.

² Pfister, *König Friedrich von Würtemberg und seine Zeit*.

The Elector of Baden assumed the title of Grand Duke. By Article VIII. Austria made considerable territorial cessions to these three Princes. Bavaria, especially, was augmented by the addition of the Vorarlberg, Tyrol, with Brixen and Trent, the Principality of Eichstädt, part of that of Passau, and several other districts. Napoleon regarded the transfer of Tyrol to Bavaria as necessary to the safety of his Italian Kingdom. The cession of these provinces was particularly grievous to the Emperor Francis. They had been the patrimony of his family from the most ancient times; from their geographical situation they were necessary to the security of his frontiers; and he now saw himself compelled to abandon them to Princes against whom he had several causes of complaint, and who had failed in their engagements towards him. Austria was cut off from her communications with Italy and Switzerland, and deprived of her influence in Germany; she lost a population of nearly three million souls, with a revenue of between thirteen and fourteen million florins.¹ Salzburg was the only compensation which she received, and the hereditary right of appointing the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. The Grand Duke Leopold, to whom Salzburg had been assigned in 1803, was compensated with the Principality of Würzburg, with the electoral vote.

Austrian
resistance
inevitable.

Such were the effects of a campaign of two months! one of the military *chefs-d'œuvre* of Napoleon, though easily achieved through the unskilfulness of the generals with whom he had to contend, the irresolution of the allies, and the conduct of Prussia. But the Peace of Pressburg was too humiliating to be lasting. A treaty exacted by force which compromised the safety of the Austrian Monarchy, and violated the rights and constitution of the Empire, could be regarded only as a truce, to be broken on the first favourable opportunity. The victor, by abusing his power, and exceeding the bounds of moderation, was only arming against himself the animosity of all Europe.

Battle of
Trafalgar
1805.

Napoleon's success had experienced only one material drawback. On October 21st, 1805, Nelson had almost annihilated, off TRAFALGAR, the combined French and Spanish fleets. Of the combined fleet of thirty-three sail of the line, twenty were taken or destroyed by the English at Trafalgar, while four which had escaped from the action were subsequently captured

¹ Garden, t. ix., p. 50 sq.

by Sir Richard Strahan, November 4th. This decisive battle secured to England the sovereignty of the seas. The news of it reached Napoleon on his march to Vienna. He saw at once the whole extent of its consequences, and exclaimed, "I cannot be everywhere!" The destruction or capture of a French squadron of five vessels off St. Domingo, by Admiral Duckworth, February 6th, 1806, gave the finishing blow to the French marine. It never rose again during the war. From May, 1803, to October, 1806, the combined French and Spanish navies lost 32 ships of the line, 26 frigates, and 83 smaller ships.

To the loss of her greatest naval hero England was soon after to add that of her foremost statesman. Pitt expired January 23rd, 1806, at the age of forty-six. Pitt's Ministry was succeeded by that of "all the talents," with Lord Grenville at its head, and Fox for Foreign Secretary. Fox, who had always denounced the war as unjust and impolitic, opened negotiations with the French Government for a peace; which, however, had no result.¹ They went off chiefly on the subject of Sicily, which the French Government at first consented to include in the *uti possidetis*, but withdrew that concession after effecting a peace with Russia. Fox did not live to see these negotiations terminated. He expired a few months after his great antagonist, September 13th, 1806.

Death of
Pitt.

The nature of the convention which Haugwitz had concluded at Schönbrunn with Napoleon, disclosed on that Minister's return to Berlin, filled Frederick William III. with astonishment and grief. With his usual timid and compromising policy he laid the treaty before a Grand Council, collected all the principal objections to it in the form of an explanatory memoir, which he annexed to the act of ratification, and sent Haugwitz to Paris to defend this mutilated monument of his weakness and irresolution. At the same time he caused his troops to enter Hanover; but hastened to inform the British Government that the occupation of the Electorate was only provisional till the general peace. He also proceeded to reduce his army to the peace establishment, and he invited Russia and England to withdraw their troops from Hanover and Lauenburg. Never were so many fatal errors committed in so short a time. Napoleon kept his eyes fixed on the

Humilia-
tion of
Prussia.

¹ They will be found in Garden, t. ix. pp. 290-306, and official correspondence, pp. 310-494.

Prussian King. He was persuaded that Frederick William was secretly hostile to him; that he was only seeking to gain time and avoid a rupture with England. But he said nothing, deferred an interview with Haugwitz, and waited till Prussia had disarmed herself; when he received the Prussian Minister, and brow-beat and frightened him with one of those bursts of rage which were half real, half assumed. A few days after Talleyrand notified to Haugwitz that the treaty of December 15th not having been ratified within the prescribed time, must be considered as null, and laid before him for signature another and more disadvantageous one, in which no compensation was allowed to Prussia for the cession of Anspach; and, in order to involve her in a war with the English, Napoleon's principal object, she was required to shut against them the mouths of the Weser and Elbe and all the Prussian ports, and to declare the occupation of Hanover definitive. Haugwitz was told that if he refused to accept this treaty the French armies would immediately march into Prussia; and under this threat he signed it, February 16th, 1806. Frederick William III. ratified it, March 9th. Thus the successor of Frederick the Great had fallen all at once to the condition of an Elector of Brandenburg.

The
Prussians
seize
Hanover,
1806.

In consequence of this treaty the King of Prussia declared that having by a convention with France, and in consideration of the cession of three Provinces, obtained lawful possession of the German States of the House of Brunswick Lüneburg, belonging to France by right of conquest, he hereby took possession of them, and henceforward they were to be considered as subject to Prussia. The Baron d'Ompéda, Minister of George III., as Elector of Hanover, at Berlin, demanded his passports, April 7th; and on the 20th the King published a manifesto reproaching Prussia with her conduct, and calling upon the Emperor and the German body for aid, as one of the States of the Empire. At the same time an embargo was laid on Prussian vessels in British ports, and all communication with Prussia forbidden. The blockade of the Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave was declared (May 16th), but that of the Trave was raised a few days after in favour of Russian and Swedish commerce. On the 11th of June Great Britain declared war against Prussia.¹ The occupation of Hanover

¹ Garden, t. ix. p. 81 sqq.

by the Prussians also led to a declaration of war against that Power by Sweden. Gustavus IV. was a warm partisan of Great Britain; even against the desire of the British Cabinet he persisted in occupying the Duchy of Lauenburg, part of the Hanoverian dominions, after Prussia had announced her intention to take possession of them. Hostilities, however, were chiefly confined to a blockade of the Prussian ports by the Swedes, and were terminated in a few months without any event of importance.²

Such, in Northern Europe, were the consequences of the battle of Austerlitz and Peace of Pressburg. We must now consider their effects in the South. Upwards of 13,000 Russians from Corfû, and about 6,000 English from Malta, had landed in the Bay of Naples, November 20th, 1805. The King of the Two Sicilies, although bound by the treaty of September 21st to resist by force any infringement of his neutrality, not only made no opposition to the landing of these troops, but openly joined in the coalition, by putting the Neapolitan army at the disposal of General Lacy, the Russian commander. The Court of Naples thus committed, no doubt a technical breach of its engagements. The matter, however, resolves itself into a question of policy; and in this view no doubt Ferdinand IV., or rather Queen Caroline, committed an error, but a very natural and excusable one. The Anglo-Russian and Neapolitan armies, when united, numbered more than 60,000 men, and it was decided that this force should traverse Italy and throw itself upon Masséna's rear. To oppose this movement, the Viceroy, Prince Eugene Beauharnais, detached all the men that could be spared from Gouvion St. Cyr's force at Venice, mobilized 25,000 of the National Guard, and with the addition of the garrison of Ancona, and some detachments from Leghorn, collected on the frontiers of the Roman States an army of 45,000 men.

The French
in Italy.

Napoleon at first dissembled his resentment against the Court of Naples. It was not till after the Peace of Pressburg had been signed that he drew up at Schönbrunn, December 27th, 1805, a proclamation addressed to his army, but intended for all Europe, in which he denounced the ingratitude of the King of Naples, lauded his own generosity, and an-

The French
enter
Naples,
1806.

¹ For the latter years of the reign of Gustavus IV. see *Historisches Gemälde der letzten Regierungsjahre des gewesenen Königs Gustav IV. Adolfs*; translated from a semi-official Swedish work.

nounced that the Neapolitan Dynasty had ceased to reign. The proclamation, however, was not published at Paris till January 31st, 1806, after Napoleon's return, when he had ripened his plans and assured himself of all the advantages of the Treaty of Pressburg. Napoleon gave the nominal command of the army destined against Naples to his brother Joseph, thus designating him as the successor of Ferdinand IV.; but the operations were in reality directed by Masséna. The invasion of the Neapolitan dominions was a mere military promenade. The day after his defeat at Austerlitz the Emperor Alexander had directed General Lacy to evacuate Italy and return to Corfû. The English were consequently also obliged to retire, but they proceeded only into Sicily. Queen Caroline, thus deserted by her allies, despatched Cardinal Ruffo to deprecate Napoleon's wrath, and to offer very humble conditions; but he refused to receive her ambassador. Ferdinand, perceiving that all was lost, embarked for Sicily, January 13th. Caroline, who inherited her mother's spirit, remained behind, and raised an army composed of the brigands of Calabria and the Abruzzi, and the *lazzaroni* of the metropolis, with whom were joined the prisoners in the jails. But the richer and more respectable classes, alarmed at a proceeding which threatened their properties and their lives, also armed, formed themselves into regiments, and awaited the approach of the French as liberators. Masséna arrived before Naples with the centre of the French army without having fought a battle, February 14th, and entered the capital without resistance. The Queen did not quit Naples till the French had arrived, when she embarked for Sicily. Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples, February 15th. He was received by the common people with feelings of hatred, by the citizens and nobles with undisguised joy.

Joseph
King of
the two
Sicilies.

The Prince Royal had retired into Calabria with about 18,000 men under Marshal Rosenheim and Count Roger de Damas; while the Prince of Hesse Philippsthal, with another division of the Neapolitan army, had thrown himself into Gaeta and announced his intention to hold out to the last extremity. Masséna undertook the siege of Gaeta; General Reynier was despatched against the Count de Damas and Rosenheim, whose troops he soon dispersed. The Prince Royal embarked at Scylla for Sicily. Joseph Bonaparte now proceeded into Apulia and Calabria, and received at Sciliagno

the Imperial Decree of April 1st, 1806, which constituted him King of the Two Sicilies. The crown was to be hereditary in the male line, and his rights to the crown of France were reserved, but the two crowns could not be united on the same head. Napoleon, however, still kept his brother in dependence by giving him, at the same time with the Neapolitan crown, the dignity of Grand Elector of the French Empire, and thus reducing him to the rank of a feudatory.

King Joseph did not enjoy his new dignity altogether unmolested. The revolution had caused great discontent in the provinces, the lawless population of which revolted at the severe administration introduced by the French. Their discontent was encouraged by Queen Caroline, who opened a correspondence with the brigands of Calabria, engaged their two most famous chiefs, Michael Pezzo, better known as Fra Diavolo, and Sciarpa, to organize an insurrection, and placed them at the head of the royal army. The movement was assisted by the English. General Stuart, embarking at Messina, July 1st, 1806, with 6,000 English and 3,000 Neapolitans, landed in the Gulf of Eufemia. Stuart defeated at Maïda, July 5th, the French under Reynier, inflicted on them a loss of 4,000 men, and compelled them to retreat to Catanzaro. A general rising of the peasantry now took place; many of the French were massacred, Reynier was surrounded at Catanzaro, but succeeded in cutting his way through the insurgent bands and reaching Cassano. The surrender of Gaeta at length enabled Masséna to come to his assistance. On July 10th the intrepid commandant of that place was wounded in the head, and conveyed on board an English vessel; and on the 18th it capitulated. Masséna soon succeeded in putting down the insurgent royalists. General Stuart re-embarked for Sicily, September 5th, and thus put a virtual end to the insurrection. Some of the more obstinate, however, still held out, as Fra Diavolo, who, however, was captured at Sora, and guillotined at Naples, November 10th.

Battle of
Maïda, 1806.

After his splendid campaign of 1805, Napoleon proceeded with his favourite object of obliterating all traces of republicanism. On January 1st, 1806, the Republican calendar was suppressed and the Gregorian restored. The Pantheon was again dedicated to Divine worship. Before long the Tribunal was abolished. Bonaparte, who, on his accession

Elevation of
Napoleon's
relations.

to the Consulate, had proclaimed aloud the principles of liberty and equality, now proceeded to elevate his family by royal and princely marriages. His step-son, Eugene Beauharnais, was married to a daughter of the King of Bavaria. The Grand Duke of Baden demanded for his son the hand of Eugene's sister, Stéphanie. Of Napoleon's three sisters, the principality of Guastalla was conferred upon Pauline, married to Prince Borghese: Eliza, married to the Corsican Bacciocchi, had been invested with the Principalities of Lucca and Piombino, to which Massa Carrara was added: his third sister, Caroline, was married to Murat, on whom Berg and Cleves, ceded by Prussia, were now bestowed, with the title of Grand Duke of Berg. Two more brothers besides Joseph were soon to receive the royal diadem. The Venetian States were united to the Kingdom of Italy by Imperial Decrees, and the Provinces of Dalmatia, Istria, the Friuli, Cadore, Belluno, Conegliano, Treviso, Feltre, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, Rovigo, were erected into Duchies, grand fiefs of the Empire. Six more fiefs were created in the Kingdom of Naples, three in Parma and Piacenza. Berthier was presented with the Principality of Neuchâtel; Talleyrand with that of Benevento; Bernadotte with that of Ponte Corvo.¹

Louis King
of Holland,
1806.

A distinction began at this period to be drawn between France and the French Empire. Napoleon had revived the project of a universal monarchy. France was to become the centre of a political system, round which other States were to gravitate. But her government having become a despotism, a republic among her satellites would have been an incongruity; and the Dutch, who had already sacrificed their independence, were therefore now to lose even the forms of freedom. Their subjection to France had been productive of nothing but misery and discontent. The maritime war into which they had been compelled to enter had deprived them of their colonies and their trade.² In May, 1806, the Emperor's brother, Louis, with the title of King of Holland, received also that of Constable of France, reminding him that he was but a feudatory of the Empire. The burdens imposed

¹ For the character of Napoleon, see Paine, *Napoleon*; Levy, *Napoleon intime*; Rosebery, *Napoleon: the last Phase*; the works of Masson; and the *Memoirs* of Madame de Remusat and others.

² The Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope was reduced by the English in January, 1806.

upon his kingdom were of a corresponding nature. Holland was compelled to increase its army from 10,000 to 50,000 men, and to keep it on that footing by the French method of conscription. It is just, however, to say that Louis resisted as much as he could the tyranny of Napoleon.¹ The French Emperor did not venture to convert the Helvetic Republic into a monarchy, but contented himself with the office and title of Mediator.

The appropriation of the Kingdoms of Italy, Naples, and Holland, and the erection of the Italian fiefs, were the direct results of conquest; the overthrow of the Empire, the most audacious, and, it may be added, the most lasting act of Napoleon's reign, and the erection on its ruins of another subservient State, the CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE, though also due to the preponderance of the French arms, were effected by the fiat of Napoleon in the midst of peace, and with the consent of the Powers forming the Confederation. The Empire had long been declining. The Reformation had struck the first blow at it by dividing its unity and separating the interests of its various States. The growth of the Prussian kingdom, and especially the reign of Frederick the Great, had tended further to its ruin, not only by weakening the power and prestige of the House of Austria, in which the Imperial crown had become almost a heirloom, but also by destroying all respect for the forms of the ancient *régime*. The consequences became apparent in the war with the French Republic. The want of union among the German States in that struggle, we have already seen. Many of them adhered to the policy of defection adopted by Prussia, and hence the Imperial authority became little more than nominal. The Treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and the indemnifications and secularizations consequent upon it, gave the first tokens of dissolution; and after the Treaty of Pressburg the Holy Roman Empire existed only by sufferance.

Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.

The project of a Confederation of the secondary German States under the protection of some great foreign Power, originated with the Baron de Waitz, principal Minister of the Elector of Hesse, in 1804. It was proposed that the Confederation should consist of purely German States, that

¹ See Jorissen, *Napoléon I. et le roi Louis*.

is, such as were unconnected with any other country ; a regulation which excluded Austria, Prussia, and Hanover.¹ The scheme was favourably received by Talleyrand ; but so long as Napoleon hoped to obtain the alliance of Prussia, nothing was done towards its execution. That hope being entirely dissipated in 1806, the project was revived. The Baron Dalberg, Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, was the prime mover in it ;² and especially he appointed Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, to be his coadjutor, a step which gave great displeasure to the Emperor Francis. The matter was concluded by a treaty signed at Paris, July 12th, 1806, by Talleyrand and the Ministers of twelve Sovereign Houses of the Empire, of which the principal were the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Elector of Mainz, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. These Princes declared themselves perpetually severed from the Empire, and united together as "the Confederate States of the Rhine."³ The common interests of the Confederation were to be treated in a Diet to assemble at Frankfurt (Art. 6). This Diet, however, never met, nor was its Assembly ever invoked by any member of the League.

Mediatized
Princes.

The Emperor of the French was proclaimed Protector of the Confederation (Art. 12). As such, he was privileged to name the successor of the Prince-Primate, to call out the contingents of the members of the Confederation, and to concur in the admission of new members. Napoleon proclaimed, by a letter of September 11th, 1806, that he intended not to meddle with the internal affairs of the different States, and he kept his word ; for they were, in fact, a matter of perfect indifference to him. The sole object at which he aimed was secured by Article 35, which established an alliance between the French Empire and the Confederation, binding it to make common cause with Napoleon in all his wars ; an arrangement which immediately placed at his disposal nearly 70,000 men. The Confederation was gradually enlarged by the accession of other States up to the year 1808. They were admitted by Napoleon alone, without consulting the other members. The potentates thus subsequently ad-

¹ Garden, t. ix. p. 129 sqq.

² See Beaulieu-Marconnay, *Karl von Dalberg und seine Zeit*.

³ Beck, *Zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Rheinbunds* ; Rambaud, *La domination Française en Allemagne*.

mitted were the Elector of Würzburg, the Elector of Saxony, the new King of Westphalia, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Gotha, and many minor Princes. In 1810, the States composing the Confederation had a total population of between fourteen and fifteen million souls, bound to furnish contingents amounting to 120,682 men.¹ By Articles 24 and 25 of the Treaty of Confederation, the *immediate* German nobility, that is, those Princes and nobles who were before subjected only to the sovereignty of the Emperor and the Empire, were now reduced under that of the Princes in whose dominions their domains lay; and thus, from being subjects of the Empire, they became subjects of co-estates of the Empire. Such princes and nobles were said to be *mediatized*; a new euphemism, invented for an act of spoliation. Two of the few remaining Imperial cities, Nuremberg and Frankfurt, lost their independence by the Act of Confederation; Augsburg had been placed under the dominion of Bavaria by the Peace of Pressburg.

On August 1st, 1806, Bacher, Napoleon's *chargé d'affaires* at the Diet of Ratisbon, presented a note declaring that the French Emperor no longer recognized the Imperial Constitution, and that he had accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. A declaration to the same effect was also handed in by the Confederate Princes. Napoleon alleged as his principal reasons for this step: that the Treaty of Pressburg had placed the German Courts allied with France in a condition incompatible with that of States of the Empire; that the Empire had been reduced to such a condition of weakness as to afford no protection to its subjects, and to have become only a means of dissension and discord. Thus an Electorate had been suppressed by the union of Hanover with Prussia, and a Northern King had incorporated with his other States a Province of the Empire. This allusion referred to Gustavus IV. of Sweden, who, offended by the conduct of his Pomeranian subjects, had annulled, by a rescript of June 26th, 1806, the actual constitution of his German provinces, and introduced that of Sweden.

The Emperor Francis immediately determined to resign a

End of
the Holy
Roman
Empire,
1806.

¹ See Statistical Table, in Garden, t. ix. p. 279.

crown which had long been little more than a vain ornament. He published a declaration at Vienna, August 6th, 1806, to the effect that by the Confederation of the Rhine he considered himself released from all connection with the German body, and that in laying down the Imperial Crown and Government, he absolved the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire from their allegiance to him. At the same time he liberated all his German Provinces from their obligations towards the Empire.¹ Thus was extinguished, after a duration of more than a thousand years, the Holy Roman Empire. Francis II., the twenty-first Emperor of the House of Austria, henceforth bore the title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria.

All resistance would, indeed, have been useless, even had Francis been inclined to resist. Napoleon had retained 160,000 men in Bavaria and Suabia, who were supported at the expense of those subservient provinces. An act of the Russians afforded him a pretext for this proceeding. By the Treaty of Pressburg, Istria and Dalmatia were ceded to the French; but the Montenegrins, at the instigation of the Russians, who had a squadron in the Gulf of Cattaro, descended from the mountains to prevent the French General Molitor from taking possession of Cattaro; and Baron Brody, the Austrian commandant, under the plea of compulsion, had delivered that place, together with Budna and Castel Novo, to a few Russian troops (March 4th, 1806). Napoleon hereupon declared that it was for Austria to deliver to him these places agreeably to treaty; that he should not attempt to take them by force; but that meanwhile, till the treaty was fully executed, his army would continue to occupy the central provinces of Germany. In this occupation was included the Austrian town of Braunau, which the French had not yet evacuated.

Negotiations for a peace between France and Russia had been going on at the same time with those already mentioned between France and England. M. d'Oubril, the Russian plenipotentiary, signed a treaty at Paris, July 20th, 1806, by which it was agreed that the Russians should evacuate all the district known as the Bocca di Cattaro; Napoleon, on his side, consenting to restore the independence of the Republic

The Tsar
continues
the war.

¹ *Declaration in Garden, t. ix. p. 140 sqq.*

of Ragusa, which the French had seized, May 27th, and to withdraw his troops from Germany within three months after signature of the treaty. But the Emperor Alexander, alleging that d'Oubril had not observed his instructions, refused to ratify. The abolition of the Empire, indeed, in the maintenance of which Russia took a great interest, made an essential alteration in the questions between that country and France. Alexander declared in a manifesto addressed to his Senate, September 1st, 1806, that he found himself compelled to continue the war against Napoleon.¹ Hence the Bocca di Cattaro remained in the possession of the Russians till the Peace of Tilsit, August, 1807.

Napoleon's tyrannical proceedings in Germany, the extinction of the Empire, the burdens imposed upon the inhabitants for the maintenance of the French troops, excited indignation even among those who had once been his admirers. Numerous articles and pamphlets were published at Nuremberg and Leipsic, painting him in the darkest colours as the oppressor of Germany, and calling on the Germans to shake off the yoke. Marshal Berthier caused Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, charged with selling a pamphlet entitled *Germany in its deepest Humiliation*, to be apprehended and conducted to the fortress of Braunau; where, by sentence of a court-martial, he was shot, August 26th.² But this cruel and tyrannical act was calculated to inspire the Germans with a deeper hatred of Napoleon and the French than any pamphlets could have excited.

The
Bookseller
Palm shot.

The Confederation of the Rhine completed another great step towards universal domination. Napoleon was now master of Italy and Dalmatia; he had humbled Austria and overturned the first throne of Christendom; he was the Protector and Dictator of a great part of Germany. A German coalition against him was no longer possible; yet, while a military monarchy like Prussia remained intact, he could hardly be said to reign in Germany. That monarchy, how-

Napoleon's
position in
1806.

¹ Garden, t. ix. p. 310.

² "Ce n'est pas un crime ordinaire que de répandre des libelles dans un lieu où se trouvent les armées françaises; quand ces libelles provoquent à l'assassinat en insurgant les habitants contre les troupes, c'est un crime de haute trahison." Dumas, ap. Wachsmuth, *Gesch. Frankreichs im Revolutionszeitalter*, B. iii. S. 400; Menzel, B. vi. S. 470.

ever, was now isolated, and it would not be difficult to crush it. The subjection of Prussia would open out new paths to Napoleon's boundless ambition. The conquest of Denmark would then be easy, and would insure that of Sweden. Russia might next submit to the yoke; and then, if even England herself could not be subjugated, a march into Asia and the destruction of her empire in that quarter might at least cease to be chimerical.¹

French
insults to
Prussia.

The establishment of the Rhenish Confederation was at once an attack and an insult upon Prussia. Although she had the deepest interest in the matter, she had not been consulted; nay, it had been kept a profound secret from her. Contempt was thus added to perfidy. Both these were also manifested by the twenty-fourth article of the treaty, by which Frederick William's brother-in-law, the head of the House of Nassau-Orange, was *mediatized*, and one of the most illustrious princes of Europe reduced to the condition of a vassal under Murat, the new Grand Duke of Berg.² By way of conciliating the King of Prussia, he was told that if he should be inclined to unite the remaining German States into a new Confederation, and to assume the Imperial Crown for the House of Brandenburg, Napoleon would second the project.³ The latter part of this offer was at once declined by Frederick William, out of consideration for the House of Austria; but he appears to have joyfully accepted the idea of a new Confederation, and to have made some advances in that way to the Electors of Saxony and Hesse-Cassel, and to the Dukes of Mecklenburg. Napoleon, however, was not sincere in these overtures. The French Government took care to excite the suspicions of the Court of Dresden respecting the intentions of Prussia. The Elector of Hesse was openly menaced with the loss of Hanau, if he should accede to the rival Confederation, while the principality of Fulda was held out to him as a bait for joining that of the Rhine.

¹ That Napoleon really entertained projects of this sort, appears from Count Stadion's revelations. See Garden, t. ix. p. 286.

² *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 167.

³ Letter of Talleyrand to Laforêt, the French Ambassador at Berlin, July 22nd. Lefévre, ch. xx. Laforêt made the proposition to the Cabinet of Berlin only verbally and with some alteration in the terms. Thus, instead of saying that Napoleon would *second* it, he only said that he would *not oppose* it. *Homme d'état*, t. ix. p. 172 sq.

The towns of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck received imperious orders not to enter the Prussian League, though Napoleon had no right to dictate to those cities.¹ Napoleon's unfriendly intentions were also displayed by other measures. Marshal Bernadotte was ordered to occupy Nuremberg, and to advance towards the frontiers of Prussia and Saxony. The fortress of Wesel, on the right bank of the Rhine, was seized and incorporated with the department of the Roer. The Abbeys of Verden, Elten, and Essen, in Westphalia, were also seized by Murat. A large force was assembled on the Ems; the Duchy of Berg was inundated with troops, and the western frontier of Prussia appeared to be surrounded.

It is possible, however, that Frederick William III. might have overlooked these injuries and insults, but for another, which filled up the measure of them. It will be recollected that negotiations for a peace were at this time going on between England and France. When Frederick William learned, on August 7th, that Napoleon intended to restore to England Hanover which he had received in order to avert the French Emperor's wrath, and which he looked upon as the price of his dishonour, his rage knew no bounds. The news soon got abroad, and produced a like effect upon the people. It was, in fact, the immediate cause of the war which ensued. The Prussian Ministers affected to attribute their indignation solely to the perfidy of the French Government, in threatening to deprive them of a country which it had forced them to accept; but it is certain that the King and many leading personages had thrown a covetous eye upon Hanover, and that they were exceedingly sorry to be deprived of it.² The restoration of it was, however, now become necessary, in order to make their peace with England.

Napoleon affirmed that he was driven into the Prussian war; that it had not entered into his calculations. But it appears from the correspondence of his Foreign Office, that the overthrow of Prussia had been contemplated since November, 1805;³ his measures were well calculated to provoke a war, and the retaining of his troops in Germany to carry it

Prussia
resolves
on War.

¹ *Homme d'état*, p. 174 sqq.

² This appears from the confession of Lucchesini to the celebrated Prussian publicist, Gentz. See Gentz's *Mém. du mois d'Octobre*, in Garden, t. x. p. 354.

³ Garden, t. x. p. 8.

on with speed and success. On the other hand, Prussia chose an unfortunate moment to commence it. She had already accepted many insults, and if she could have digested those now offered to her but half a year, she might probably have found herself supported by another coalition. But a violent war party had arisen, at the head of which was the beautiful and spirited Queen, the King's cousin, Prince Louis, and many of the leading statesmen and generals of the Kingdom; and the melancholy and irresolute Frederick William found himself unable to resist the warlike ardour of his Court and people. Another motive seems also to have operated with his Ministry. Prussia was in a state of isolation. She had lost the confidence of Europe, and any propositions for support and alliance would not have been listened to, unless she first proved her sincerity by a war.¹

Prussian
Ultimatum.

A day or two after it was known in Berlin that Napoleon contemplated the restoration of Hanover to England, the Prussian army was ordered to be placed on a war footing. Before commencing the war, it was necessary for Prussia to disembarass herself of the enemies which her alliance with France had brought upon her. A reconciliation was effected with the King of Sweden, August 17th. Diplomatic relations were renewed with the English Government, and Lord Howick, who had succeeded Fox as Foreign Minister, announced, September 25th, the raising of the blockade of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems. Lord Morpeth was despatched a few days after to negotiate a treaty. On his arrival at Berlin, the King and Queen of Prussia had already set off for the army. He found them at Weimar, October 12th. A great battle was then impending, and Haugwitz would settle nothing with the English Ambassador till it had been decided. The King of Prussia, it is said, if his arms should be successful, was resolved to keep Hanover; in the other event, to exchange it for the alliance and subsidies of England.² As a last attempt to avert a war, which Frederick

¹ See the confession of the Marquis Lucchesini, ap. Gentz, *ubi supra*, p. 358.

² *Mémoires de Gentz*; Lefèbvre, ch. xxii. A treaty of peace between Great Britain and Prussia was signed at Memel, Jan. 28th, 1807, after Frederick William's terrible reverses, by which he agreed to restore Hanover. But subsequent events rendered this treaty null. Garden, t. x. p. 191.

William viewed with increasing dread as it became more imminent, General Knobelsdorf was despatched to Paris early in September to attempt a renewal of negotiations. When the Prussian ultimatum arrived, Napoleon was already at Bamberg, superintending the march of his army (October 7th). It demanded the immediate evacuation of Germany by the French troops; that France should not oppose a league of North Germany to embrace all the States not comprised in the Confederation of the Rhine; the opening, without delay, of a negotiation to arrange all matters still in dispute; with the basis, for Prussia, of the separation of Wesel from the French Empire, and the re-occupation of Elten, Essen, and Verden, by the Prussian troops.¹ Frederick William could hardly have imagined that such an ultimatum would be accepted; and it can, therefore, only be regarded as a declaration of war.

Such a declaration was formally issued, October 8th. Prussia had thus committed herself irrevocably to a struggle with all the might of France, without the hope of any timely succour. Frederick William had delayed to apply to the Emperor Alexander for aid till he had received his first despatch from Knobelsdorf, September 18th. A promise of assistance was frankly given by the Russian Emperor; but it was now impossible that his troops should arrive on the scene of action before the end of November. Application had also been made to the Emperor of Austria, but met with a refusal. Her only ally was Saxony, and that a forced one. Prince Hohenlohe had invaded that country, compelled the Court of Dresden to declare for Prussia, and enlisted under her banner the Saxon army of 18,000 men. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel maintained his neutrality, with the view of joining the winning side.

Russia
offers help
to Prussia.

The Prussian army consisted of about 180,000 men; good troops, no doubt, but of which only a small portion had seen any actual service. The King had intrusted the command-in-chief to the Duke of Brunswick, now upwards of seventy years of age, whose military reputation dated from the Seven Years' War. The rest of the Prussian *état major* was also for the most part composed of old men; as Marshal Möllendorf, Prince Hohenlohe, Gneisenau, Blücher, Kalkreuth;

Advance of
the French.

¹ Garden, t. x. p. 16; Lefèbvre, ch. xxi.

though Blücher, at more than sixty years of age, still retained all the fire and energy of youth. The army of France, superior in number to that of Prussia, was reinforced by a contingent of 25,000 men from the Rhenish Confederation. The French, commanded by Bonaparte in person, and his best generals, Bernadotte, Lannes, Davoust, Ney, Soult, Augereau, Lefèbvre, were already in Germany. But Brunswick, thinking that they were dispersed in Franconia, and not yet prepared to take the offensive, formed the plan of falling suddenly upon their dispersed divisions from the hills and forests of Thuringia. With this view he concentrated his centre at Erfurt, extending his right wing beyond Gotha towards Eisenach, while his left was placed between Jena and Blankenheim. But the Duke neither knew the true position of the French, nor allowed for the eagle's eye and the eagle's swoop of Napoleon. By October 8th, the French army was already assembled at the foot of the Fichtelgebirge, which separates the valley of the Main from that of the Saale. Napoleon had determined to repeat the grand manœuvre which he had performed with such wonderful success at Marengo and Ulm. Brunswick's position exposed his left to be turned, his communications with the Saale and the Elbe to be intercepted; and thus his retreat to be cut off, and his junction with the Russians prevented. The French advanced in three columns. On the right, the corps of Soult and Ney marched by Hof upon Plauen; on the left, Lannes and Augereau debouched from Coburg upon Grafenthal and Saalfeld; the centre, with Murat and the Imperial Guard, and the corps of Davoust and Bernadotte, took the direction of Lobenstein along the high road between Bamberg and Leipsic. Further on the same road, at the little town of Gera, all the three columns were to form a junction. Brunswick, on discovering this movement, instead of securing the bridges over the Saale, concentrated his forces at Weimar, as if to await a battle there. Bernadotte, having defeated a Prussian corps at Schleitz, October 9th, continued his march towards Gera. On the following day, Lannes, with the French left, obtained a still more important victory over the Prussians at Saalfeld. In this battle, Prince Louis was killed in a single combat with Guindet, a French *maréchal des logis*. On the 12th, Napoleon had established his head-quarters at Gera. Hence Davoust and Murat with the light cavalry were despatched to

seize Naumburg and the bridge of Kösen, thus cutting off the Prussian line of retreat from Weimar to Berlin; while Bernadotte was directed upon Dornburg. From Gera, Napoleon directed his main body towards the left, hoping to envelop the Prussians at Jena.

After the check at Saalfeld, Prince Hohenlohe and the greater part of the Prussian generals had expressed their opinion that no time should be lost in repassing the Saale, and retiring behind the Elbe. But the Duke of Brunswick took three days to decide. Meanwhile Naumburg had been seized, his left turned, and his army placed in the same situation as that of Mélas at Marengo, and Mack at Ulm. It was not till he heard that some of the French forces were marching upon Leipsic, quite in his rear, that he began to understand the true nature of his position. Now, at last, when it was too late, he began to move. The King and the Duke of Brunswick, with 65,000 men, the *élite* of the army, and the most distinguished generals, Möllendorf, Blücher, Schmettau, Kalkreuth, the Prince of Orange, the Princes Henry and William of Prussia, directed their march on Freiburg, by Auerstädt and Naumburg; the remainder, including the Saxons, under the command of Prince Hohenlohe, were left behind at JENA to cover the retreat. Here they were entirely defeated by Napoleon in person, with much superior forces, October 14th, and compelled to retreat beyond Weimar behind the Ilm. On the same day the King of Prussia and Brunswick fell in with Davoust at AUERSTÄDT, where they experienced a still more signal defeat, though the French forces scarcely numbered more than half the Prussians.¹ Brunswick was disabled by a wound in the forehead, and died not long afterwards at Oltensee; Möllendorf, who succeeded him in the command, was also mortally wounded. Frederick William, uninformed of the battle of Jena, ordered a retreat upon Weimar; but the flying troops fell in near Apolda with Bernadotte's van. Here also they learned that Weimar was

Indecision
of Brun-
swick.

Battles of
Jena and
Auerstädt,
1806.

¹ It is plain that the victory at Auerstädt was more important than that at Jena; yet because Napoleon gained the latter, he caused both to be called by its name, thus defrauding Davoust of his due merit. The two battles were entirely distinct, and fought at a distance of eighteen miles. Napoleon did not even know the direction taken by the King of Prussia and Brunswick, but thought that he had surprised the whole Prussian army at Jena.

occupied by the French. Now commenced a disorderly flight, the horror and confusion of which was soon augmented by the fugitives of Jena. A great part of the army dispersed; a portion, with which was the King, retreated by Sömmerda to Sondershausen; at which place Frederick William arrived October 16th, escorted by a regiment of Guards and a battalion of Grenadiers. Thence after a sojourn of a few hours, he set off for his northern provinces, leaving the command to Prince Hohenlohe, with instructions to make Magdeburg the rallying point.

The loss of the Prussians in these two battles is variously estimated, but, at the least, may be stated at 30,000 men, killed, wounded, or captured, with almost all their guns and magazines. Those who had escaped were in a state of complete demoralization. The Prussian Monarchy lay at Napoleon's mercy. Murat, Soult, and Ney were despatched after the Prussians, who were retreating upon Magdeburg; Davoust and Lannes were directed on Wittenberg and Dessau, *en route* for Berlin; Bernadotte on Halle, into which the Prince of Würtemberg had thrown himself with 16,000 men, and whence he was driven with great slaughter, October 17th. Murat and Ney had appeared at Erfurt on the 15th, where they took 14,000 prisoners, 120 guns, and large magazines. Among the captured were four wounded generals: the Prince of Orange, Grawert, Zweifel, and Field-Marshal Möllendorf; the last expired soon after. Napoleon dismissed all his Saxon prisoners, in number 6,000. This act had the effect intended. On the 23rd of October the Elector announced that he had separated his arms from those of Prussia, and proclaimed his neutrality.

Napoleon arrived at Potsdam, October 24th. Here he visited the tomb of Frederick the Great. The sword, the cordon of the Black Eagle, even the sash and stock of the Prussian hero, were seized, and sent as trophies to the Invalides at Paris. Napoleon entered Berlin October 27th, and was received with the acclamations of the populace.

Prince Hohenlohe, with the remnant of the Royal army, made no stay at Magdeburg, but hoping to reach Stettin and the Oder before the French, rapidly directed his march on that place by way of Rathenow, Ruppín, and Prenzlau. But at Zehdenick, where the road is crossed by that from Berlin through Oranienburg, the Prussian advanced guard was over-

Fall of
Prussia,
1806.

Napoleon
at Potsdam.

Blücher's
resistance.

taken and defeated by Murat and his cavalry. Murat, closely followed by Lannes, then hastened on to Prenzlau; and when Hohenlohe arrived at that place, October 28th, he found it occupied by the French. Some proposed to cut their way through, but the enterprise was clearly too desperate; and the Prince, after a short conference with Murat, surrendered at discretion. This division consisted of 16,000 foot, six regiments of cavalry, and 64 guns: the last considerable remains of the Prussian army. There were, however, still some dispersed corps. Of these, two were compelled to surrender at Pasewalk and Anclam. More to the North were Blücher, with a large body of cavalry, and a division under General Winning. Blücher learned at Boitzenburg the occupation of Prenzlau by the French, and, finding the road to Stettin thus intercepted, resolved to make for Stralsund. Having formed a junction with Winning, he found himself in command of about 20,000 men. But the active Murat, with his accustomed celerity, had occupied Demmin, cut off the road to Stralsund, and advanced upon Güstrow. Blücher being also pressed in other directions by the advance of Soult and Bernadotte, had no resource but to seize the neutral town of Lübeck, November 5th, and to maintain himself there a day or two, till he should have embarked his troops, and so gained the Baltic. But on the night of the 5th, the columns of all his pursuers entered the town in different directions. Blücher, after an heroic resistance, effected his escape to the left bank of the Trave, whilst Lübeck was subjected to all the horrors of a sack. But the Prussian general was surrounded, his escape hopeless, and on the 7th of November, he was obliged to surrender himself prisoner with all his division.

Several strong fortresses still remained to be reduced, but a panic seems to have seized the Prussian soldiery, and they were surrendered with a haste which does little credit to their commandants. Stettin, with a garrison of 6,000 men, 150 guns, and provisions for a long siege, capitulated at the first summons, October 29th. Cüstrin, an almost impregnable place on an island of the Oder, surrendered to a detachment of light cavalry, November 1st. Magdeburg on the Elbe, the chief fortress of the Prussian Monarchy, with a garrison of 20,000 men, after a blockade of a fortnight surrendered at discretion to Ney, who had only about 10,000 men, and was

Reduction
of Prussian
fortresses.

destitute of siege artillery, November 8th. In this place were found near 800 guns and immense magazines. Several smaller places capitulated in the like disgraceful manner. The surrender of these places rendered the French masters of the Elbe and the Oder, and may be said to have terminated the campaign. Rarely had a great Kingdom fallen so rapidly.

Hesse-Cassel, Swedish Pomerania, the Principality of Fulda, the Hanseatic Towns, the Duchies of Mecklenburg and Brunswick, condemned as more or less concerned in the Prussian cause, were occupied by the division of Marshal Mortier. A paragraph in the *Moniteur* announced soon after that the Elector of Hesse had ceased to reign. It remained to reduce the fortresses of Silesia, Glogau, Breslau, Brieg, Neisse, Schweidnitz, Glatz. This operation was intrusted to the troops of the Rhenish Confederation, under Prince Jérôme and General Vandamme. The commandants of most of these places distinguished themselves by a resistance which contrasted strongly with that of the Prussian towns; most of them were eventually reduced.

Flight
of the
Prussian
King.

While the French were advancing in their irresistible career, Frederick William III. was flying towards the eastern frontiers of his kingdom. From Cüstrin he had addressed a letter to Napoleon, October 25th, with offers of peace and friendship, and promises to send back the Russian army. But Napoleon's demands increased with his success. Although the Prussian plenipotentiaries notified their acceptance of the terms previously offered by Napoleon at Wittenberg, their note remained unanswered; nor did a second letter from Frederick William, from Graudenz, alter his determination. Lucchesini and General Zastrow, the Prussian negotiators, now endeavoured to obtain an armistice; which Napoleon granted, but on terms which he knew could not be accepted. They involved the occupation by the French of the Prussian provinces on the right bank of the Vistula, and the surrender by them of Thorn, Graudenz, Dantzic, Colberg, Glogau, Breslau, Hameln, and Neuburg; none of which places had at that time capitulated.¹ Indeed, Talleyrand plainly told the plenipotentiaries that the Emperor was not disposed to make a separate peace with Prussia; that France, and Spain and Holland, her allies, had lost many of their colonies; that

¹ Martens, t. viii. p. 550.

it was only just that the French conquests should serve to regain some of these possessions. Thus the successes of England were to compensate the reverses of Prussia. Napoleon publicly announced this to be his policy in a message to the Senate, November 21st.

Lucchesini and Zastrow, however, signed this capitulation at Charlottenburg, November 16th; but the King refused to ratify. In fact he was no longer in a condition to do so without the consent of the Emperor Alexander, whose troops now occupied part of the territories demanded by Napoleon. Napoleon, rejoicing at Frederick William's determination, applied himself to raise an insurrection in Prussian Poland, fixed his headquarters at Posen, November 24th, pushed forward his army to the Vistula, and with the view of inciting the Poles, caused a letter to be forged in the name of Kosciuszko, calling them to arms. But the Polish patriot, faithful to the oath which he had given to the Emperor Paul, refused all Napoleon's solicitations to engage him in the insurrection, and publicly disavowed the letter attributed to him. General Dombrowski, however, one of Kosciuszko's former associates, took an active part in organizing an insurrection. A national administration was everywhere substituted for that of Prussia, and a deputation waited upon the French Emperor to supplicate the re-establishment of Poland. But Napoleon had no such intention. His measures were intended only to aid him against Russia and Prussia, and to enable him to raise for that purpose two regiments of Polish patriots.

Napoleon
and
Prussian
Poland.

CHAPTER LXIV

TILSIT AND THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

Saxony a
Kingdom.

WHILST Napoleon was at Posen he concluded a peace with Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who had only by compulsion taken up arms against the French. By this treaty, signed December 11th, 1806, the Elector was created KING OF SAXONY, and agreed to enter into the Confederation of the Rhine.¹

Battle of
Eylau, 1807.

The French were now to encounter a new enemy. The Russian army of about 73,000 foot and 16,000 horse, under the command-in-chief of Field-marshal Kamenskoï, had entered Prussian Poland about the middle of November. Several affairs occurred between the French and Russians before the end of the year, and especially a double battle at Pultusk and Golymin, December 26th. Both sides claimed the victory, which seems, however, really to have been in favour of the French. At all events Kamenskoï now resigned the command, and Bennigsen, who succeeded him, found it necessary to retire upon his reserves at Lomza. These affairs, however, in which the French suffered very severely, were attended by no important results, although Napoleon, in his mendacious bulletins,² claimed the most decisive advantages. Both armies then went into winter quarters for a few weeks; but operations were resumed before the end of January, 1807. Bennigsen advanced with the view of raising the blockade of the Prussian fortresses on the Lower Vistula; a movement which produced a series of indecisive combats. The most important of these was the battle of Eylau,³ February 8th, at which Napoleon was present. The Russians were attacked in

¹ Martens, t. viii. p. 552.

² They became so notorious for this quality, that the French soldiers themselves adopted the phrase, *mentir comme un bulletin*.

³ Prussian Eylau, 20 or 30 miles south of Königsberg.

their position behind Eylau by the divisions of Davoust, Soult, Ney, Augereau, and by the cavalry of Murat. The loss was enormous on both sides. Napoleon, as usual, claimed a splendid and decisive victory; but the facts appear to be that the Russians remained in possession of the field; that Bennigsen did not begin his retreat towards the Pregel till three days afterwards, unmolested by the French; that Napoleon then advanced, and took possession for a few days of Eylau; but instead of pursuing the Russians, finally retired behind the Passarge.¹ Eylau was one of those battles in which Napoleon pitilessly sacrificed his men in that reckless manner which caused Kléber to call him *Général à 6,000 hommes par jour*. His loss was so great that it has been thought, if the Russians had advanced on the following day, the French army would have been exterminated.

The real state of the case may be best inferred from Napoleon's acts. After the battle of Eylau he sent General Bertrand to Bennigsen with pacific overtures; but the Russian general replied, "that his master had not sent him to negotiate, but to fight." Bertrand then repaired to the King of Prussia, at Memel, with a letter from Napoleon proposing a separate peace; but received an evasive answer.² Active operations in the field were not resumed till towards the end of May, though the sieges of the Prussian fortresses went on. In this interval the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia concluded the Convention of Bartenstein, April 26th, 1807, which was in fact, when it was now too late, the revival of Pitt's plan in 1805 for a general European coalition against France. This Convention shows to what an extent the battle of Eylau had revived the hopes of Alexander and Frederick William. Great Britain acceded to the Convention, and in June Canning, then Foreign Secretary, signed a treaty with Prussia, granting a subsidy of a million sterling; but the Peace of Tilsit, which ensued soon after, prevented this treaty from taking effect. On April 29th, Napoleon made another attempt at negotiation with the King of Prussia, but without success.

Dantzic capitulated, May 24th, to Marshal Lefèbvre, who was rewarded with the title of Duke of Dantzic. The surrender of this place having liberated 30,000 French troops, and

Battle of
Friedland,
1807.

¹ Montgaillard, t. vi. p. 162 sqq.

² Lefèbvre, ch. xxiii.

Napoleon having also obtained large reinforcements from other quarters, offensive operations were resumed; and in the first half of June, several actions, of more or less importance, occurred between the French and Russian armies. On the 14th was fought the battle of FRIEDLAND, a town on the Alle. Bennigsen had repulsed Lannes and Mortier, and towards midday his army was disbanding, when, in the afternoon, Napoleon in person, with his guards, and the corps of Ney and Victor, came up, and inflicted an immense loss on the unprepared Russians. The result of this battle was the occupation, by Soult, of Königsberg, the capital of Prussia, June 16th. After the battle of Friedland, Lestocq had marched out with the garrison, and joined the combined Russian and Prussian army, which crossed the Niemen at Tilsit on the night of June 18th. Napoleon entered Tilsit on the following day.

The Russians now made proposals for a suspension of arms, to which Napoleon consented, June 21st, on condition that it should be employed in negotiating a peace. The King of Prussia had thus no alternative but to submit to the conditions of the conqueror, and, on the 25th, another armistice was signed between the Prussians and French. The fortresses of Colberg, Graudenz, and Pillau, and a few in Silesia, had not yet been reduced, and it was agreed that matters should remain as they were till the peace.¹

Napoleon
and Alex-
ander at
Tilsit.

On the 25th of June took place the celebrated interview between Alexander and Napoleon, on a raft, moored in the middle of the Niemen. The reconciliation of the two Emperors is said to have been founded on mutual hatred of England.² Alexander conceived that he had some just causes of complaint against the English Government. The Whig Ministry, which held office during the struggle between France and the two Northern Powers, had refused, and in no very civil terms, Alexander's application to them, to guarantee a Russian loan of six millions sterling, or to make a diversion, by landing troops in the North of Europe, in Holland, or on the coasts of France. But, at all events, Alexander's hatred of England was not very profound or lasting; for, notwithstanding the Peace of Tilsit, and the

¹ For these armistices see Martens, t. viii. p. 633 sqq.

² Lefèbvre, ch. xxiv.

invectives which, to please Napoleon, he uttered against the English, one of his officers proceeded to London to reassure the Cabinet of St. James's, and testify his admiration.¹ The Whigs, indeed, had then gone out of office, and Canning had replaced Lord Howick (afterwards Earl Grey) in the Foreign Office.

A second interview between the two Emperors took place on the Niemen, June 26th, at which the King of Prussia was also present. Negotiations for a peace were now begun; Tilsit was declared neutral, and that obscure little town was enlivened by the presence of three Sovereigns. The Queen of Prussia had also come thither, hoping, perhaps, to mollify the victor by her beauty. But, at the same time, she forgot not her dignity, which seems to have offended the conqueror. Alexander and Napoleon lived together a fortnight in the closest intimacy, settling between them the partition of the world. The arrangements for peace, thus discussed between the principals, instead of their diplomatic agents, though these were also present, were soon brought to a termination. The PEACE OF TILSIT, between France and Russia, was concluded July 7th, and ratified on the 9th.² Napoleon accepted the mediation of Alexander for a peace with England; the Emperor of Russia recognized Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples, Louis Bonaparte as King of Holland, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the states and titles of the different Sovereigns composing it; also, the new Kingdom of Westphalia, to be erected in favour of Jérôme Bonaparte. As a war was then raging between Russia and Turkey, Alexander consented to accept the mediation of France between the two Empires, and to withdraw his troops from Moldavia and Wallachia, which they had occupied.

Peace of
Tilsit, 1807.

The treaty also regulated the affairs of Prussia (Art. 4-9). Talleyrand at first proposed that Prussia should be blotted out from the European system, and it appears to have been only at the intercession of the Russian Emperor that Frederick William III. was allowed to preserve his crown. He was, however, deprived of nearly half his Kingdom. He was compelled to renounce all his possessions between the Elbe and the Rhine; to cede the Circle of Cottbus in Lusatia to

¹ Garden, t. x. p. 214, note.

² Martens, t. viii. p. 637; see Vandal, *Alexandre Ier et Napoléon*.

the King of Saxony; and to abandon all his Polish possessions, including Dantzic, with the exception of Warmia, or Ermeland, and a part of the district of Netze. All the rest of Prussian Poland, with the title of Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was to be transferred to the King of Saxony. To connect his possessions, the King of Saxony was to have a military road through the Prussian territories; a stipulation evidently made in the interests of France. Thus a new Sovereign and a constitution, drawn up in a few hours by Talleyrand, agreeably to the interests of Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia, were all that the Poles obtained by their rebellion. The new Duchy was, however, designed as a standing menace against Russia; as a centre whence, in case of need, rebellion might be spread into the other provinces of Poland. Dantzic, with a territory of ten leagues in circumference, was to be restored to its ancient independence, under the protection of Prussia and Saxony. The province in East Prussia, called the department of Bialystok, was made over to Russia. The treaty between Prussia and France, signed July 9th,¹ was little more than a repetition and ratification of the conditions in the Russian treaty. Frederick William recognized the Kingdom of Westphalia, formed out of the provinces ceded by himself, and those of other States, as Hesse-Cassel, the Duchy of Brunswick, etc., which were in the possession of Napoleon. All the Prussian ports were to be shut against the English. No English vessel was to be admitted into them, no Prussian vessel was to sail for England.

Humilia-
tion of
Prussia.

Frederick William III., in a proclamation dated at Memel, July 24th, took a farewell of the subjects of whom he had been deprived, with the exception of the Poles who had risen against him. The sacrifices imposed upon him were severe, the humiliation deep but far from undeserved. Prussia had prepared her own ruin by the shortsighted policy which she had pursued during the last two years. Nevertheless, Napoleon's treatment of Prussia was a great political mistake. He should either by his generosity have made her a firm friend, or have deprived her of the power of ever avenging her humiliation.

The burdens imposed upon Prussia were not confined to those named in the treaty. The French generals and ad-

¹ Martens, t. viii. p. 646.

ministrators compelled Frederick William to pay 140,000,000 francs; to deliver up, by way of securing the payment, the fortresses of Glogau, Cüstrin, and Stettin, and to support in them, at his own expense, a French corps of 10,000 men. He was also obliged to undertake that, during the next ten years, he would not keep on foot more than 42,000 regular troops. To the treaties were annexed certain separate and secret articles¹ of great importance, stipulating that the Bocca di Cattaro should be transferred to the French troops; that the Ionian Isles should be possessed by Napoleon; that Alexander should recognize Joseph Bonaparte as King of the Two Sicilies—he had already recognized him as King of Naples—so soon as the Neapolitan Bourbons should be compensated with the Balearic Isles or the Island of Candia. Prussia engaged to make common cause with France, if England should not, by December 1st, 1807, consent to an honourable peace and one conformable to the true principles of maritime law.

A secret treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was also concluded between France and Russia. Those Powers agreed in all circumstances to employ their arms together. The alliance was to be particularly applicable to Great Britain and Turkey; but, first of all, Russia was to mediate with the former Power, France with the latter. If England refused Russian mediation, or if, having accepted it, she did not, by November 1st, consent to conclude a peace, recognizing the perfect independence of all flags, and restoring to France and her allies the conquests she had made since 1805, then Russia was to notify to the English Government that she would make common cause with France. If the English Cabinet did not give a satisfactory answer by December 1st, then France and Russia were to summon the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to shut their ports against the English, and declare war against them. Austria was to be urged to adopt the same resolution. If England accepted the conditions offered, then Hanover was to be restored in compensation for the French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies. In like manner, if the Porte refused to listen to French mediation, then France was to make common cause with Russia.

Secret
Articles of
Tilsit.

¹ These are not given by Martens. See Garden, t. x. p. 234 sqq.

The following arrangements were also made between Alexander and Napoleon: in case Sweden and Portugal should refuse to comply with that article of the treaty of alliance calling upon them to shut their ports against England, then Russia was to take Finland in compensation for the war she would have to wage against Sweden; whilst Napoleon would come to an understanding with Spain about Portugal, and would send a French army to Lisbon. If the two Powers should make war upon Turkey in consequence of her refusal of French mediation, then Russia was to have Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria as far as the left bank of the Maritza; but in no case would Russia be allowed to possess Constantinople. Bosnia and Servia were to be assigned to Austria; while France was to take Albania, Epirus, the Peloponnesus, Attica, and Thessaly, or the maritime provinces. An expedition against the English possessions in India was also discussed; but on this subject no decisive stipulations were made.¹

Domina-
tion of
Napoleon.

By the events just related, Napoleon appeared to have established an absolute domination over the Continent. Russia, the only Power at all capable of counterbalancing his designs, had agreed to participate in them. Prussia was reduced to the condition of a second-rate Power, and Austria had also been weakened and discouraged. The greater part of Germany was subjected to France by means of the Confederation of the Rhine and the Kingdom of Westphalia. French Princes ruled in Italy and Holland. The other Continental States were incapable of any effective resistance. England alone still proudly raised her head among the subjugated nations, holding out to them the hope of eventual deliverance, and bidding defiance to all the power of the tyrant. Whilst he was enjoying his triumphs, an order of the British Government had declared all the ports of the French Empire blockaded, from Brest to the Elbe (May 16th, 1806). It was evident that either he or England must perish. With this conviction, Napoleon resorted to what has been called the CONTINENTAL SYSTEM; which, as England was mistress of the seas, was, in fact, nothing less than a prohibition of all commerce, and a struggle with nature herself, in which he could not but eventually succumb. It was to carry

The
Continental
System.

¹ Garden, t. x. pp. 238-242.

out this system that, in spite of the protests of his Senate, and the public voice of France, which called for peace, he refused to set bounds to his conquests, and proceeded to occupy with his armies the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea.

Napoleon's first step towards the Continental System was the celebrated BERLIN DECREE, of November 21st, 1806. By this Decree the British Isles were declared in a state of blockade; all commerce and correspondence with them were forbidden; all letters addressed to Englishmen, or written in English, were to be seized; every British subject, of whatever state or condition, who should be found in countries occupied by the French troops, was to be made a prisoner of war; all merchandize coming from England, or her colonies, or belonging to an Englishman, was to be confiscated, and all trading in such merchandize was prohibited; no vessels coming directly from England, or the English colonies, or which had visited them after the publication of this Decree, were to be received in any port.¹

The Berlin
Decree,
1806.

Such were the main features of this extraordinary manifesto, which was nothing less than the proscription of England from the pale of European society, so far, at least, as the power of Napoleon should extend. It was followed up during the remainder of his reign by other decrees of a like kind. Thus a Decree, dated Warsaw, January 25th, 1807, ordered the confiscation of all English or colonial merchandise seized in the Hanse Towns. The Decree of Fontainebleau, of October 19th, 1810, carried the system to its highest pitch. It ordained that all English manufactures that should now, or in future, be found in France, in Holland, in the Grand Duchy of Berg, in the Hanse Towns, and generally, in Germany, from the Main to the Sea, in the Kingdom of Italy, in the Illyrian Provinces, in the Kingdom of Naples, in the Spanish provinces occupied by the French troops, or in any towns within their reach, should be publicly burnt.² The Princes of the Rhenish Confederation hastened, with a base subserviency, to execute this commercial *auto-da-fé*, at the expense of their own merchants; and, as Frankfurt manifested some reluctance, French troops were sent thither to carry out the will of the despot.

Further
Decrees.

¹ Garden, t. x. p. 305; see also Lumbroso, *Napoleone e l'Inghilterra, Saggio sulle origini del blocco continentale*.

² Garden, t. x. p. 315 sqq.

Milan
Decree,
1807.

France justified these measures as just reprisals against the English maritime system, and especially the paper blockade before mentioned, of May 16th, 1806. That order had been issued during the ministry of Fox, on the occasion of the occupation of Hanover by Prussia. Negotiations were then going on between England and France; the latter Power did not complain of it at the time, and, as we have seen, the blockade was partly revoked in September. Great Britain retaliated for Bonaparte's measures by an order in Council of November 11th, 1807, which declared all the ports of France, and of countries in alliance with her, as well as all ports and places in Europe whence the British flag was excluded, as well as all ports and places in colonies belonging to her enemies, to be subject to the same restrictions as if they were actually blockaded. Vessels bound for such ports were to be visited by the English cruisers at an appointed station in Great Britain, and were to be subject to a tax, to be regulated by the British Legislature. It was in consequence of this order that Napoleon published his MILAN DECREE, December 17th, 1807; by which every vessel submitting to the English regulations was declared *denationalized*, and lawful prize. All vessels, of whatsoever nation, coming from, or going to, ports in England, or the English colonies, or countries occupied by English troops, were to be liable to capture. Napoleon, however, after some vain attempts to substitute indigenous products for those of the colonies, and, at the same time, with the view of raising a revenue, somewhat modified his system. By the Decree of Trianon, August 5th, 1810, completed by that of September 12th, colonial productions, such as tea, sugar, cotton, coffee, etc., instead of being prohibited, were subjected to an *ad valorem* duty of fifty per cent. He also adopted the method of *licenses*, by which speculators were permitted to import a certain quantity of colonial goods, on condition of exporting their value in certain fixed sorts of French manufactures. These licenses he afterwards *sold*.

Such were the main features of the Continental System. The design of it, which was the ruin of England, of course totally failed. English commerce found outlets in other quarters of the globe, and also still to a considerable extent in Europe. The system was, in reality, a blockade, not of England, but of the Continental States. Russia, which had

so readily accepted the plans of Napoleon, found the value of the rouble sink rapidly from three francs to one,¹ and was one of the first nations to rise against the System.

The Peace of Tilsit was immediately followed by a rupture between England and Denmark. The Danes had hitherto succeeded in maintaining their neutrality; but now the tide of war had rolled up to their very frontiers, and it was evident that a neutral policy would not much longer be possible.² Compelled to choose between France and England, it was evident from her antecedent policy that Denmark would decide for France. Napoleon had three motives for desiring possession of Denmark: it would enable him to close her ports against the English, to attack Sweden by an invasion from Zealand, to seize the Danish fleet and employ it against England. There could not be a reasonable doubt that the policy pursued by the First Consul and the Emperor Paul I. in 1801 would be renewed—that Denmark and Sweden would be called upon to declare war against England, and to shut the Sound against her. But the Cabinet of St. James's had good grounds for something more than mere suspicion. A French bulletin, published after the battle of Friedland, had announced that the Continental blockade would very soon become effectual. When the Berlin Decree was communicated to the Danish Court, it was requested to withdraw its troops from Holstein, and to shut its ports against English and Swedish commerce. Besides these overt indications, the English Government had got possession of the Secret Treaties of Tilsit, which recorded the designs against Denmark and the Danish fleet.³ These designs they resolved to anticipate. No time was to be lost. Holstein was already

Rupture
between
England
and
Denmark.

¹ See the Report of a financier, ap. Garden, t. x. p. 321. It is a singular fact that, a few months after the Berlin Decree, an order having arrived at Hamburg for clothing for the French army which the Hanse Towns were not able to execute, Bourrienne, the French agent, was obliged to contract with English houses. Thus the French soldiers who fought the battle of Friedland were clothed in the manufactures of England!—Bourrienne's *Mémoires*, t. vii. p. 292.

² Talleyrand wrote to M. Didelot, the French minister at Copenhagen: "Le Danemarck ne pourrait rester passif et il faudra bien qu'il se décide pour ou contre l'Angleterre."—Ap. Lefèbvre, ch. xxv.

³ The English Ministry is said to have obtained these treaties by bribing Talleyrand.—Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18en Jahrhsts.* B. vii. S. 275. They themselves announced in their Declaration of December 18, 1807, in answer to that of Russia of November 7th, that they were not

menaced by the French; the winter was approaching, when any expedition to the Baltic would become impossible. Fortunately an armament was in readiness which had been prepared for the assistance of the Swedes and Prussians, and which was instantly diverted to meet the emergency. Part of it, under Lord Cathcart, had already arrived at the Isle of Rügen; and an additional force of 25 sail of the line, 9 frigates, a number of smaller vessels of war, and 377 transports, having on board 27,000 troops, was despatched to Copenhagen, July 27th. These were to be joined by the force at Rügen, when Lord Cathcart was to take the command in chief. Under him served Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Lord Wellington. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Gambier and Commodore Keats. At the same time Sir F. Jackson was despatched to Copenhagen to propose to the Danish Government that their fleet should be carried to England and kept there till the peace, when it was to be restored in the same condition in which it had been found. To the Crown Prince, who ruled during the incompetence of his father, Christian VII., were offered an alliance with Great Britain, a guarantee of all the Danish possessions, and even an augmentation of territory; in a word, the fleet, the armies, and the treasure of Great Britain were placed at his disposal to protect him against present danger and shelter him from future injury. But the Crown Prince peremptorily refused to listen to these proposals. The British troops were in consequence landed; Copenhagen was twice summoned to surrender, and General Peymann, the commandant, having refused to comply, a bombardment by sea and land was commenced, September 2nd, with such terrible effect that on the 5th the town capitulated. It was stipulated that the Danish fleet and naval stores should be surrendered; in consequence of which condition eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, with a number of sloops and gun-boats, were carried to England: also upwards of 2,000 guns and an immense quantity of naval stores, a considerable part of which is said to have belonged to the French Government.¹

This high-handed act can be justified only by necessity.

ignorant of the nature of the engagements which Russia had been forced to subscribe during the conferences at Tilsit. *Ann. Reg.*

¹ Lord Galloway's speech in Parliament, January, 1808.

Denmark
rejects
English
help.

Seizure of
the Danish
fleet, 1807.

How far
justifiable.

The violation of the independence of a peaceful nation was calculated to produce a sympathy for it; and it is not surprising that the proceeding of the English Ministry, though far outdone by many of Bonaparte's acts, should have been loudly denounced, not only on the Continent but also by many persons in England. But whoever shall calmly weigh the exigencies of the moment, the position of England in that portentous struggle, the importance of the Danish fleet, not only from its intrinsic force but also from its position at the entrance of the Baltic, the moral certainty that it would be seized and used against us, the fact that the French were already threatening the Danish frontier, the knowledge that Russia would be a voluntary, Sweden a forced enemy of England, and that the fleet of Portugal was also to be seized and employed like that of Denmark, will perhaps admit that the prompt and vigorous act of the British Government was both justified by the circumstances and of the greatest utility to the country. Of this nothing can be a stronger proof than the fury of Napoleon on learning that he had been anticipated.

The Danish Government having rejected all proposals of accommodation, England declared war against Denmark, November 4th, 1807. The capitulation of Copenhagen was, however, faithfully observed, and the English troops evacuated that city and the Island of Zealand towards the end of October. The war between Denmark and England lasted till the Peace of Kiel, January 14th, 1814. The Danes immediately lost their colonies of St. Thomas and St. Croix; nor were they able to make reprisals, though they entered into an alliance with France by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, October 31st, 1807. They published, however, some virulent edicts against England; by one of which, dated at Rendsborg, November 6th, 1807, all correspondence with that country was to be punished with death.¹ By the Treaty of Fontainebleau, 30,000 French, under Bernadotte, were to invade Sweden from Denmark.² The Peace of Tilsit had left Sweden still at war with France. Even after the overthrow of Prussia, Gustavus was still dreaming about the restoration of the Bourbons!³ Napoleon, on his side, deplored the war with Sweden. He

England
and
Denmark
at War,
1807.

¹ Garden, t. x. p. 341.

² Koch et Schöll, *Traité*s, t. ix. p. 77.

³ See his letter to the King of Prussia, June 2nd, 1807, ap. Garden, t. x. p. 269.

had offered neutrality for Swedish Pomerania, and when on its rejection Marshal Mortier occupied that province, he was instructed to do the Swedes as little harm as possible. Early in February, 1807, Mortier had laid siege to Stralsund, which was occupied by General Essen, with 15,000 Swedes. Mortier having withdrawn the greater part of his troops from before Stralsund in order to press the siege of Colberg, Essen seized the occasion to make a sortie, defeated the French and drove them beyond the Peene (April 1st); upon which Mortier returned from Colberg and defeated the Swedes at Belling. But in conformity with Napoleon's instructions to spare the Swedes, he concluded with Essen the armistice of Schlattkow, April 18th, 1807. Hostilities were not to recommence without ten day's notice on either side; and during the armistice no troops were to be landed at Stralsund, nor in the Isle of Rügen, nor at any point of Swedish Pomerania. An additional article of April 29th extended the notice to thirty days, but the King of Sweden never ratified it. Gustavus IV. was at this time negotiating with the King of Prussia respecting the means of a joint attack upon the French; and by the Convention of Bartenstein, April 20th, 1807, it was agreed that a Prussian corps should join the Swedes in Rügen, for the purpose of driving the French from Pomerania. After ratifying this Convention at Malmö, Gustavus IV. suddenly embarked and arrived at Stralsund, May 12th, with a corps of French Royalists: and Blücher, in pursuance of the Convention of Bartenstein, also entered Stralsund with a Prussian corps.

England's
policy to
Sweden.

The King of Sweden had been very dissatisfied with the conduct of England under Lord Grenville's administration. Large promises had been made, but nothing done, though the forces of the country, which might have been better employed nearer home, had been dissipated by distant and abortive expeditions to Buenos Ayres, Egypt, and other places. But towards the end of March, 1807, Lord Grenville had been succeeded as First Lord of the Treasury by the Duke of Portland, with Canning for Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh as Secretary-at-War, and Mr. Perceval as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new Ministry adopted a more vigorous line of foreign policy. The expedition to Rügen, under Lord Cathcart, was resolved on; and, after some negotiation, a Convention with Sweden to that effect was signed at London,

June 17th, by which, however, Great Britain reserved the power of employing her troops in Pomerania for other purposes. About the same time, a new treaty of subsidies was also concluded with Sweden, on condition that her army should be increased; and another with Prussia, June 27th.¹ These steps were rendered abortive by the battle of Friedland and the Peace of Tilsit. Gustavus IV., in ignorance of those events, and inspired with a blind confidence by the presence of the British and Prussian troops, denounced the Armistice of Schlattkow, July 3rd, and declaring that he had not recognized the additional article of April 29th, fixed the 13th of July for the recommencement of hostilities.

Meanwhile the French army on the coasts of the Baltic and North Sea had been reinforced and placed under the command of Marshal Brune. Among the reinforcements were 15,000 Spaniards under the command of the Marquis de la Romana, despatched by Charles IV. as a pledge of his fidelity.² Only a few days after the rupture of the armistice, Gustavus was informed by the King of Prussia of the Peace of Tilsit: Blücher and his troops were in consequence withdrawn from the Swedish army, and Lord Cathcart and his division were, as before related, transferred to Zealand. Gustavus now evacuated Stralsund, in order to spare it a bombardment; that place was entered by Brune, August 20th, and the Swedes were also compelled ultimately to abandon Rügen by a Convention of September 7th.³

Sweden
abandoned
by Prussia.

Agreeably to the Peace of Tilsit, the Emperor of Russia offered to the British Cabinet his mediation for a peace with France; which was accepted, but on condition that the Emperor should communicate the secret articles of that peace and frankly explain his views. The bombardment of Copenhagen had aggravated the resentment which Alexander felt towards England for the refusal of a loan. He declined to make the communication desired; and in a declaration of November 7th, 1807, broke off all communication with Great Britain. The English Ministry, in a counter-declaration of December 18th, intimated that they were not ignorant of the nature of the secret engagements to which Russia had been forced to subscribe at Tilsit, but had hoped that, upon con-

Rupture
between
England
and Russia.

¹ All these treaties will be found in Garden, t. x. *Notes et Documents*.

² Lefebvre, ch. xxiii. See below.

³ Martens, t. xi. p. 467.

sideration of them, the Emperor might have been induced to withdraw himself from them. They showed, indeed, their knowledge of the secret articles by reproaching the Emperor with abandoning to France the Ionian Republic, whose independence he had solemnly guaranteed. They declined to exculpate themselves respecting the Danish expedition; it was not for those who were parties to the secret arrangements of Tilsit to demand satisfaction for a measure which those arrangements had occasioned. They concluded with expressing their determination to maintain their principles of maritime law against any Confederation whatsoever; which were become of incalculable importance at an epoch when the maritime power of Great Britain was the sole existing defence against the unceasing usurpations of France.¹

England
deserted by
Austria.

Thus began the war between Great Britain and Russia, which lasted nearly five years. From the position of the two countries, it was productive of but few military events, though it occasioned great privation and distress in the Russian Empire, and was highly unpopular among its inhabitants. Austria was also drawn into the Continental System by the influence and example of the Emperor Alexander. Summoned after the Peace of Tilsit to enter into that league, she called upon Great Britain to enter into negotiations with France for a peace; and on the refusal of the English Cabinet, principally on the ground that no bases of negotiation were laid down, the Austrian Minister took his departure from London in January, 1808. The evacuation of Braunau by the French was the reward of this base subserviency. Thus England was deserted by her faithless allies; she, instead of France, became the object of a European Coalition. Her commerce was excluded from the ports of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Germany, Holland, France, Italy, and Dalmatia. In the North, Sweden alone endeavoured to preserve herself from the Continental System; but her efforts involved her in a war to which we shall presently advert. The Turks showed more good sense and more fidelity to their engagements than most of the Christian Powers. Their ports remained open to all friendly nations, and the commerce between London and Hamburg was conducted through Constantinople! Yet the Porte had only recently emerged from a war with England.

¹ See these Declarations in Garden, t. x. pp. 348-363. *Ann. Register.*

The conquest of Egypt had roused the indignation of the Turks; and Napoleon's expulsion had excited their contempt. The Porte had, indeed, concluded a peace with Bonaparte as First Consul in June, 1802; but it refused to acknowledge him as Emperor of the French and King of Italy. But the battle of Austerlitz, and the rupture between France and Russia, conveyed at once a strong idea of the military power of the French, and of the utility of their alliance to the Porte. Reciprocal embassies were sent early in 1806, and the Porte consented to give Napoleon the title of *Padisha*, or Emperor. In the summer of that year, General Sebastiani was despatched to Constantinople, with instructions to incite Sultan Selim III. against the English and Russians, and to place at his disposal all the resources of France. Sebastiani denounced the perfidy of Russia in keeping possession of the Ionian Islands; he insinuated that the French army in Dalmatia would act for or against the Turks according to circumstances; and in a note of September 16th, 1806, he called upon the Porte to close the Bosphorus against all Russian and English ships of war and transports. At his instance, the Sultan deposed the Princes Moruzzi and Ypsilanti, the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, who were attached to Russian interests, and appointed in their places Suzzo and Callimachi, the devoted partisans of France. The Porte was moved to this anti-Russian policy by some causes of complaint which she had against that nation. Questions of maritime right had arisen between the two countries; and the Porte also accused Russia of supporting an insurrection in Servia, conducted by George Petrowitsch, which had assumed a very formidable character.

France and
Turkey.

The dismissal of the Hospodars was contrary to a convention between Russia and the Porte, of September 24th, 1802, by which it had been agreed that those Princes should be appointed for seven years; and in case they should commit any offence, their conduct was to be submitted, before dismissal, to the Russian Court. The Porte was summoned to observe her stipulations with respect to Moldavia and Wallachia; to restore order in the latter province, which had been disturbed; to permit the passage of the Dardanelles by Russian ships of war, and to renew its alliance with England. But previously to the delivery of this note, and although the Hospodars had been restored, the Russian General Michelson,

Russian and
Turkish
War, 1806.

had entered Moldavia, surprised Choczin, occupied Jassy, blockaded Bender, and advanced towards the Danube. On December 23rd, 1806, a battle took place at Groda, in which the Turks were defeated, and, on the 27th, Michelson entered Bucharest in Wallachia. On the 31st, the Porte formally declared war against Russia, and, a few days after, notified to foreign Powers that the Bosphorus was closed.

War
between
England
and
Turkey,
1807.

After the Turkish declaration of war, Russia demanded the aid of England. This was an embarrassing demand. But the Whig Ministry accepted it, nay, though Turkey was an ancient ally, determined to attempt the seizure of part of her dominions. On January 25th, 1807, Sir C. Arbuthnot, the English ambassador at Constantinople, accused the Porte of partiality for France, demanded the expulsion of the French ambassador, and threatened an expedition against Constantinople. The Reis Effendi having denied these accusations, and refused the satisfaction demanded, Sir C. Arbuthnot, accompanied by all the English merchants, went on board the "Endymion" frigate, and joined the English squadron off Tenedos. Admiral Sir John Duckworth was summoned with his squadron from Cadiz; and on February 19th he forced the passage of the Dardanelles with nine ships of the line, three frigates, and several fire ships, and seized and burnt a Turkish squadron at Gallipoli. His appearance before Constantinople filled that city with consternation. He demanded the immediate dismissal of the French ambassador; the renewal of the alliance with England and Russia; free passage of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles for Russian ships of war; the surrender of the Turkish navy, to be kept in an English port till the peace. But he suffered himself to be amused with negotiations, whilst the Turks, directed by Sebastiani and other French officers, put Constantinople into so formidable a posture of defence that he found it prudent to accelerate his retreat; which was effected, not without some loss, March 3rd. After this failure, Duckworth, proceeded to Malta and embarked 5,000 troops for a *coup de main* upon Egypt; a force wholly inadequate for such a purpose. Alexandria, indeed, was taken, but two attempts on Rosetta failed. The English held Alexandria till September 22nd, when they were attacked by Mahommed Ali Pasha, and forced to capitulate.

Meanwhile a revolution had occurred at Constantinople.

Sultan Selim III., an excellent Prince, had become unpopular by introducing some reforms, and especially by attempting to substitute regular troops, after the European fashion, in place of the Janissaries. These latter, incited by the Ulemas and led by the Mufti in person, rose in insurrection, deposed Selim, May 30th, 1807, and placed upon the throne his nephew, Mustapha IV., son of the Sultan Abdul Hamed, who, at the time of his father's death, was too young to ascend the throne.

The Russians had carried on the war without much vigour. The only important action on shore was the defeat of Yussuf Pasha by General Groudowitsch, on the river Aspatschäi, June 18th. At sea, the Turkish fleet under Said Ali was completely defeated off Lemnos by the Russian admiral Siniavin, July 1st. By the Peace of Tilsit, Russia agreed to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, and an armistice was concluded at Slobosia, August 24th, 1807.¹ The English ambassador, Sir Arthur Paget, had acquainted the Porte with the secret articles of Tilsit, and the abandonment of their interests by Napoleon, who had induced them to take up arms, but whom they now beheld the intimate ally of their ancient and most dangerous enemy. These occurrences tended to reconcile the Porte with England. In spite of the hostilities which had occurred, there had been no declaration of war between the two countries, and at length a treaty was effected, January 5th, 1809.² The treaty between Charles II. and Mahomet IV. in 1675, which was very favourable to England, was taken as the basis of it. The navigation of the Black Sea, accorded to the English in 1799, was also confirmed, but no ships of war were to pass the Dardanelles. The armistice between Russia and Turkey was prolonged till 1809, when a fresh war broke out between those Powers.

Armistice of
Slobosia,
1807.

The war between Russia and Sweden was an immediate result of the Peace of Tilsit.³ The adherence of Gustavus IV. to a cause which the Emperor Alexander had repudiated produced a breach between them. Hostilities were brought on by the Emperor in a most artful manner. His long silence, his feigned irresolution, his affected scruples, the pacific and

The
Russians
attack
Sweden.

¹ Martens, t. viii. p. 689.

² Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 160.

³ For the history of Sweden, see Svederus, *Schwedens Politik und Kriege* (1808-1814).

friendly language of his ministers, were all calculated to deceive Gustavus, and lull him into a false security. After the bombardment of Copenhagen, Alexander summoned the King of Sweden, whose sister he had married, to revert, like himself, to the principles of the Armed Neutrality. Gustavus replied, November 13th, 1807, that the neutrality of the Baltic was out of the question, so long as the French had a preponderance upon its coasts, and called upon the Emperor to engage the French to withdraw their troops from those quarters. As the Emperor persisted in his demand, Gustavus applied to England for aid; and on February 8th, 1808, a treaty of subsidies was concluded at Stockholm,¹ by which the English Government agreed to pay the Swedes £100,000 sterling a month, for twelve months, to commence from the previous January; Gustavus, on his side, undertaking to keep up a respectable force, and especially at sea. The Emperor of Russia delivered a last declaration to the Court of Stockholm, February 22nd, 1808; but before any reply could be made, a Russian army, under Buxhövdén, passed the Kymené, and entered Finland. At the news of this invasion, which had not been preceded by any declaration of war, Gustavus, against the law of nations, caused M. Alopeus, the Russian Ambassador at Stockholm, to be arrested, March 3rd. When the Emperor Alexander received intelligence of this act he declared to the Foreign Ministers at his court that he should not make reprisals for this breach of international law; but he notified that henceforth he should regard Swedish Finland as annexed to his Empire. On the other hand the King of Sweden sought to compensate himself for the injury inflicted upon him by Russia by invading Norway, belonging to Denmark, and diverted for that purpose 20,000 men, who might have sufficed to hold the Russians in check. The Danes, agreeably to the treaty with France already mentioned,² had undertaken to conquer the Swedish province of Schonen. The Emperor had detached from the grand army for that purpose 14,000 Spaniards under La Romana; these were united in Funen with 15,000 Danes, the whole under the command of Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo. The Danes declared war against Sweden February 29, 1808.

¹ Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 2.

² *Supra*, p. 413.

The campaign in Norway, without any marked success on either side, turned on the whole to the advantage of the Danes; the Swedes were driven out, and the Danes in their turn invaded Sweden. In Schonen, Gustavus, instead of keeping on the defensive, meditated an expedition against Copenhagen, and he had, therefore, assembled a considerable body of troops in that Province. He was assisted by an English army of 12,000 men, under Sir John Moore, as well as an English fleet under Admiral Saumarez (May, 1808). The English Government, however, aware of the eccentric character of the King of Sweden, had placed some restrictions on the employment of these forces. The troops were principally intended for the defence of Gothenburg, and they were by no means to undertake an expedition into Zealand; but as Gustavus did not relish these restrictions, the troops were not permitted to land. Gustavus proposed to Sir John Moore, first an expedition to Russian Finland, and then to Norway, neither of which was deemed feasible by the English general; and as the disembarkation of the troops continued to be forbidden, Sir John Moore, after notice to that effect, returned to England with the fleet, July 3rd. The presence of the English, however, as well as the Swedish troops in Schonen, had compelled Bernadotte to abandon his project of an invasion, and had filled Copenhagen with the terror of another bombardment. Bernadotte's army, too, was weakened by the desertion of La Romana, who contrived to retire in August with 8,000 of his men.

Campaign
in Norway

The war in Finland produced more decisive results. The Russian general, Buxhövdén, entered Abo, the capital of the Grand-duchy, March 23rd, 1807, and burnt the fleet there. The important place of Sveaborg surrendered on the 6th, with ninety-four vessels. The Russian admiral, Bodiskov, captured Gothland and the Aland Isles. But these reverses were in part retrieved. The Swedish general, Klingspor, seconded by the patriotic devotion of the Finns, marching from Uléaborg about the middle of May with 17,000 men, drove the Russians from East Bothnia. The Swedes, assisted by the English fleet, compelled the Russians to evacuate Gothland and the Aland Isles. Admiral Saumarez defeated the Russian fleet, and kept it blockaded several months in Baltischport, till the approach of winter forced him to leave the Baltic. But these successes were not lasting. The

Armistice
of Olkioki.

Russians, under Kamenskoi, having received considerable reinforcements, again drove back the Swedes, and successively took possession of Lappfjord, Christianstadt, Wasa, and the two Carlebys. Gamla (old) Carleby was entered September 24th. The Swedes were also repulsed in some descents in South Finland. Klingspor obtained from General Buxhövdén a suspension of arms, September 29th; but the Emperor Alexander refused to recognize it, and proclaimed the union of Finland with Russia. A fresh armistice, more favourable to the Russians, was signed at Olkioki, November 19th, 1808,¹ by which the Swedes agreed to evacuate the whole province of Uléaborg, and the Russians were allowed to occupy both banks of the Kemi, at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia.

Abdication
of Gus-
tavus IV.,
1809.

Gustavus IV. concluded with Great Britain a treaty of subsidies, March 1st, 1809,² by which he was to receive £1,200,000. But this was the last political act of his life. The expensive and disastrous campaign of 1808 had excited great discontent, especially among the soldiery; and as Gustavus had increased it by attributing the recent misfortunes to his Guards, the officers of that regiment, and some generals and nobles, entered into a conspiracy to dethrone him, and marched upon Stockholm. Field-Marshal Klingspor, General Adlercreuz, and other officers, arrested Gustavus in his apartments on the night of March 12th, 1809. On the 14th Duke Charles undertook the Regency; the King was conducted to Drottingholm, and on the 29th he signed his abdication. The States thanked the Duke for undertaking the Regency, as well as the conspirators for an act which had saved the country from ruin. Gustavus was ultimately permitted to quit the Kingdom. A committee was appointed to make some alterations in the constitution; the chief feature of which was the establishment of a Council of State, consisting of nine members, responsible to the nation, who were to decide upon important matters. The executive power was left to the King. The Regent accepted the crown on these conditions, and was proclaimed as Charles XIII., June 5th.

Charles
XIII.

Hostilities had commenced in 1809 with balanced success, but negotiations were opened by the new King, and a treaty

¹ Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 15.

² *Ibid.* p. 8.

of peace was signed at Friederichshamn, September 17th.¹ Charles XIII. promised to adhere to the Continental System, but made an exception in favour of salt and colonial productions. Finland with the Aland Isles, and part of West Bothnia, were ceded to Russia. Napoleon, however, would not recognize the exceptions stipulated in the treaty, though absolutely necessary to the comfort and welfare of the Swedish people; and, in order to make peace with France, Charles was obliged to abandon them. The war declared against Napoleon by Gustavus IV., October 31st, 1805, was terminated by the Treaty of Paris, January 6th, 1810.² Napoleon restored Swedish Pomerania and the Principality of Rügen. Peace between Sweden and Denmark was signed at Jönköping, December 10th, 1809.³ The treaty contains no article of importance.

It has been seen that by the secret arrangements at Tilsit, Portugal also was to be compelled into the Continental System. Napoleon, after that peace, had returned to Paris, July 29th, 1807, and was saluted with the servile flattery of all the public bodies. The Tribunate was entirely suppressed, August 19th, and at the same time the Legislative Body was modified. Nobody under forty years of age was henceforth to be a member of that Assembly. But the Emperor's views were chiefly directed to the execution of his Continental plans. By an Imperial Decree of August 18th, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Fulda, the greater part of Hanover, and other districts were annexed to the Kingdom of Westphalia, which, till Jérôme should assume the crown, was placed under the administration of a Regency. Napoleon next turned his views towards Portugal. But, in order to reach that country, he determined to use the arm of Spain.

Napoleon
supreme.

Since the erection of the Kingdom of Etruria in 1801, in favour of the son-in-law of Charles IV., an apparent harmony had existed between that Sovereign and France. But the compulsory alliance was entirely in favour of the French. Napoleon, measuring his demands only by the contempt which he felt for Spain, treated her rather as a vassal than an ally. Thus she had been compelled to abandon her claim upon Louisiana, to pay a tribute of 72 million francs, to

Relations
between
France and
Spain.

¹ Koch et Schöll, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiv. p. 208 sq.; Martens, *ibid.* p. 19.

² Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. xii. p. 232.

³ *Ibid.* p. 223.

lend her navy for the purposes of France, to see it almost annihilated by the English at Trafalgar: all this without any prospect of advantage, but on the contrary, with the certainty of having her colonies taken from her and her commerce destroyed. The Royal family, besides these grievances common to the whole nation, had others peculiar to themselves. Charles IV. had seen his brother Ferdinand hurled from the throne of Naples, and had been compelled to recognize Joseph Bonaparte as his successor. The hostility manifested by Napoleon towards all the Bourbons,—the murder of the Duc d'Enghien,—afforded little hope that the Spanish branch of that house would escape overthrow when the occasion should present itself. It was also known to the Court of Madrid that Napoleon had contemplated bestowing portions of the Spanish territory on others. Thus, in the negotiations for a peace with England, he had offered to cede the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico. He had also proposed to give the Balearic Islands to the Neapolitan Bourbons, as an indemnity for Sicily, to be ceded to his brother Joseph, and to burden Spain with a large annuity payable to the same family.¹ These considerations awakened in the Court of Madrid a desire to throw off the French yoke; and a resolution to that effect appears to have been taken about June, 1806. Secret negotiations were opened with England and Russia, and Portugal also appears to have been in the plot. The Spanish Government promised to declare against France, as soon as she should be engaged with the Northern Powers. The Prince of the Peace, sometimes under pretence of a war with Portugal, sometimes of an attack upon Gibraltar, began to raise troops, and on the 5th October appeared a proclamation calling the whole nation to arms. Nine days later Prussia was overthrown at Jena and Auerstädt! The news of that event overwhelmed the Court of Madrid with consternation. The Prince of the Peace sought to excuse himself with the French Ambassador. The sudden suspension of the armaments was explained by various pretexts; the state of the finances, the lack of public spirit, the reluctance of the King to attack Portugal. Napoleon, for the present, dissembled his resentment. He demanded, however, a force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery to join the army of observa-

Demands of
Napoleon.

¹ See Sir A. Alison, *Hist. of Europe*, ch. lii.

tion in Hanover. He also required that a Spanish squadron of six ships of the line at Carthagena should proceed to Toulon. He sent into Spain 25,000 Prussians captured at Jena. Finally, he communicated to the Spanish Government the Berlin Decree, and desired that it should be put into immediate execution in all the ports of Spain. It was in consequence of these demands that the Spanish force under the Marquis de la Romana, already mentioned, proceeded to the north of Europe.

Napoleon had learned that he could no longer trust the Spaniards, and he secretly resolved to overthrow the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, to render that country another satellite of France. But such an enterprise was not to be lightly undertaken. An open attack might awaken the patriotism of a brave nation; and Napoleon, therefore, determined to use perfidy. He resolved, first to use Spain for the destruction of Portugal, and then to overwhelm her. A French army, intended both to conquer Portugal and to overawe Spain, had been assembled near Bayonne early in 1807. The Prince of the Peace was gained by promises, and in July the Court of Madrid was called upon to join France in summoning the Portuguese Government to shut their ports against the English. In case of refusal, France and Spain were to declare war against Portugal, and a combined French and Spanish army was to march upon Lisbon. The Regent of Portugal had married a daughter of the Spanish Sovereigns; but they had no alternative but to submit. On the 12th of August, the Spanish and French ambassadors at Lisbon jointly signified to the Regent that if by September 1st, 1807, he had not declared war against England, dismissed the English ambassador, and recalled his own from London, arrested as hostages all the English in Portugal, confiscated all property belonging to that nation, and united his squadrons with those of France and Spain, he would find himself at war with those countries. At the same time the French and Spanish forces began to move towards the frontiers of Portugal.

The Regent Don John, naturally irresolute, had recently betrayed symptoms of the same mental weakness which had so long afflicted his mother; and the Ministers had even deliberated whether they should not transfer the Regency to the hands of his wife. The first impulse of the Regent was to fly to the Brazils. He then endeavoured to appease the

Napoleon
and
Portugal.

Portugal
coerced.

French Emperor by submission. He promised to declare war against England, to shut his ports against her, to put his fleet at the disposal of France. Such concessions ought to have satisfied Napoleon, had he not had ulterior designs. But he had resolved on the ruin both of Portugal and Spain. He insisted on the fulfilment of all the proposed conditions, including the arrest of the English, and the confiscation of their properties. Upon the Regent's refusal, the French Ambassador, M. de Reyneval, demanded his passports, and Don John, by the advice of his Ministers, prepared to quit Portugal. The English established in that country had been secretly informed of the danger which menaced them, and more than three hundred families embarked, carrying with them a large proportion of the circulating medium of the country. At the same time five ships of the line and other vessels were rapidly equipped to convey the royal family to Brazil, and the aid of England was invoked in the undertaking.

Treaties for
dividing
Portugal.

The resolution was neither unnecessary nor premature. Two secret conventions between France and Spain were signed at Fontainebleau, October 27th, 1807, for the division and occupation of Portugal.¹ The kingdom was to be divided into three portions. The Province of Entre Douro and Minho, with the title of North Lusitania, was destined for the young King of Etruria, who was to cede his Italian Kingdom to France. The Algarves and the Province of Alemtejo were to be given to the Prince of the Peace, with the title of Prince of the Algarves. These two States were to be under the protectorate of the King of Spain; and if issue of their Sovereigns, both male and female, should become extinct, then the right of investiture devolved to his Catholic Majesty; but on condition that these Principalities should not be united with the crown of Spain nor with each other. The rest of Portugal, comprising the provinces of Beira, Tras-os-Montes, and Estremadura, were to be sequestered in the hands of France till the general peace; when they were to be restored to the House of Braganza, on condition that England should agree to return to the King of Spain, Gibraltar, Trinidad, and

¹ They will be found in Cantillo, *Tratados de Paz y de Comercio*, p. 710, and in Cevallos, *Exposé des moyens qui ont été mis en usage par l'Empereur Napoléon pour usurper la Couronne d'Espagne*, App. (translated by Nettement). See also Garden, t. x. p. 372 sqq.

the other Spanish possessions which she had conquered during the war. The Portuguese colonies were to be divided between France and Spain. Napoleon guaranteed Charles IV. his European possessions, and the title of "Emperor of the Two Americas," to be assumed at the general peace, or, at latest, within three years. Such were the baits with which Charles was to be lured on to his ruin.

Napoleon did not await the signature of the treaties to act against Portugal. General Junot, with the army of invasion, crossed the Bidasoa, October 18th, and advanced with rapid marches on Salamanca. At the same time three Spanish divisions were put in motion, two of which were to take possession of the Provinces assigned to the King of Etruria and the Prince of the Peace; while the third was to join the French at Alcantara, and in conjunction with them to march upon Lisbon. A second French army of 40,000 men, assembled at Bayonne, was also to enter Portugal in case the English should threaten an attack. By a treaty of October 22nd, England secretly authorized the Portuguese Regent ostensibly to separate his cause from hers, and to shut against her his ports and markets; but only on condition that France and Spain should declare themselves satisfied. The Regent accordingly declared war against England, recalled his ambassador from London, sequestered all English property still remaining in Portugal; and, in virtue of this apparent submission, demanded that the advance of the French troops should be arrested. But Napoleon, persuaded that the Regent was deceiving him, directed Junot to precipitate his march.

The French
invade
Portugal.

Don John, irresolute to the last, had vainly attempted to appease Napoleon by proposing a marriage between the Prince of Beira, his son, and the daughter of the Grand Duke of Berg, and by offering a considerable subsidy. Sir Sidney Smith, with an English fleet, arrived at the mouth of the Tagus, and declared that river blockaded, November 22nd. Sir John Moore, who was proceeding from Sicily to the Baltic with a corps of 10,000 men, destined to aid the King of Sweden, was also ordered to wait at Lisbon, and in case of need to support Sir Sidney Smith. These forces were intended to facilitate the escape of the Portuguese Royal Family, if it was really their intention to fly; or, if they were playing false, to treat Portugal as an enemy. Another reason for their appearance was the presence of the Russian Admiral,

Siniavin, who had put into the Tagus with a fleet of nine ships of the line, two frigates, and more than 6,000 troops, on his return from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. A notice from Junot that he had arrived at Abrantès, within four days' march of Lisbon, at length put an end to the irresolution of the Regent. On the same day that he received this news, Sir S. Smith forwarded to the unfortunate Prince the *Moniteur* of November 13th, in which appeared the following notice: "The Prince Regent of Portugal is deprived of his throne. The fall of the House of Braganza will be a fresh proof that the ruin of those who attach themselves to the English is inevitable."

The Royal
Family
sail from
Lisbon,
1807.

All doubt was now removed. Liberty and a throne in Brazil were preferable to a compulsory abdication, and perhaps imprisonment in France. The Royal family embarked November 27th, amid the regret and lamentations of the people. For the first time since sixteen years the afflicted Queen Maria I. quitted her palace of Mafra to abandon her native land. Most of the great families and rich merchants of the kingdom accompanied their Sovereigns in their exile, to the number, it is said, of more than 15,000 persons. The royal fleet, escorted by some English ships of the line, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, January 18th, 1808.

Junot
enters
Lisbon,
1807.

Junot entered Lisbon, November 30th, 1807, with only about 1,500 men, a great part of his army having been left far in the rear, through the difficulties of the march. The people were filled with contempt on beholding this small force, composed, for the most part, of young conscripts; and an attempt was made at insurrection, but was put down by the promptitude and decision of Junot. That general was appointed by Napoleon Governor-General of the Kingdom, which he ruled in the most tyrannical and oppressive manner. The Spanish armies invaded with equal success the provinces assigned to the King of Etruria and the Prince of the Peace, but were not suffered to retain them. Maria Louisa, Queen Dowager of Etruria, who acted as Regent for her minor son, Charles Louis, resigned the Government in December, 1807, and set off for Spain; when Tuscany was immediately occupied by the French. By the conquest of Portugal was completed the establishment of the Continental System in Southern Europe, to which Pope Pius VII. had already acceded for the States of the Church.

Pius VII. had several reasons to be dissatisfied with Napoleon's conduct. Although, contrary to the advice of many of his Cardinals, he had proceeded to Paris to crown the Emperor, he had received no benefit from that act. So far from procuring the restoration of the Legations, a plan had even been formed by some of the French Ministers, while Pius was in France, to secularize the territories which he still held in Italy, to annex them to the Italian Kingdom, and to detain him in France, where he was to exercise his papal functions. Napoleon did not indeed sanction this project, but he treated the Holy Father with marked disrespect. Although the period had been fixed for his return to Rome, he was kept some time in France. Pius, on his side, seized every occasion to display his resentment. He refused Napoleon's application to him to dissolve the marriage contracted by Jérôme Bonaparte in America with Miss Patterson, a Protestant. In the war of 1805, Pius had showed himself a decided partisan of the Coalition; had opposed Cardinal Fesch's demand that the Pontifical Government should establish a military cordon on its Neapolitan frontier to prevent the irruption of the allies; nay, had even declared that if the Russians made an attempt on Cività Vecchia he should not oppose them. After the Peace of Pressburg Napoleon gave vent to his anger. He addressed a letter to the Pope from Munich, January 7th, 1806. On February 13th, he wrote to him from Paris in still harsher terms, and instructed Cardinal Fesch to demand the immediate expulsion of all Russians, English, Swedes, and Sardinians from the Pontifical States, and the shutting of all the Papal ports against the enemies of France. Pius at first declined to comply with these demands. Sensible, however, of the danger to which he exposed himself, he privately engaged the English, Russian, and Sardinian Ministers to leave Rome. He also hinted that he should not object to see a French garrison in Cività Vecchia, and General Duhesme in consequence took military occupation of that place. But Napoleon was not to be so conciliated. His violence towards the Pontiff was redoubled. Pius gave fresh offence, when Joseph Bonaparte was made King of Naples, by reviving the Papal claim of investiture with regard to that crown, and from this time Napoleon appears to have determined upon the eventual seizure of the Pope's temporal dominions. He immediately adopted some violent measures. He pro-

Napoleon
and Pius
VII.

ceeded to fill up some Venetian bishoprics without asking the sanction of the Pope. He demanded the expulsion from Rome of certain leaders of bands who had formerly fought against France. He also seized the Principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, which, though situate in the Kingdom of Naples, belonged to the Holy See, and presented the first to Talleyrand, the second to Bernadotte.

Napoleon's
Aims.

To all these blows Pius VII. opposed the most unbending resistance. He had conceived that the persecution of the Church would infallibly reanimate the fervour of religious faith, and he gradually resigned himself to the idea of deprivation, flight, even death itself, in that holy cause. After the battle of Friedland, Alquier, the French ambassador at Rome, attempted to persuade the Pontiff to reconcile himself with Napoleon before it was too late, by recognizing the King of Naples, joining the offensive and defensive league of the Italian States, and adopting the Continental System. But Napoleon had now determined on annexing all Italy to his Empire, as he had stipulated with Alexander at Tilsit. He was willing, indeed, at first, to leave Rome and its territory to the Pope; who, however, was to be deprived of the Duchy of Urbino, the March of Ancona, and Macerata, the richest provinces of the Holy See, and the chief sources of the Papal revenue. An order for the occupation of these provinces was issued, September 29th.

The French
enter Rome,
1808.

The advance of the French troops had been already announced, when a treaty, concluded at Paris by Cardinal Bayanne, the Papal plenipotentiary, in which all Napoleon's demands had been conceded, arrived at Rome. Pius rejected it with indignation, as an attack upon the independence, dignity, and spiritual rights of the Head of the Church; and in these views he was supported by the Consistory. He wrote with his own hand to Cardinal Bayanne, to disavow all that he had done, and to cancel the powers with which he had been intrusted. Nothing could be more agreeable to Napoleon's views than this rupture of the negotiations. General Miollis being immediately instructed to occupy Rome, appeared at the head of his troops before the Porta del Popolo, on the morning of February 2nd, 1808, marched unopposed to the Castle of St. Angelo, and received on the first summons the keys of that fortress. Resistance would, indeed, have been useless. The Pope contented himself with a protest against

the entry of the French, in which he proclaimed his inability to prevent it, and exhorted his subjects to imitate his resignation. All the Italian cardinals and bishops, the Pope's chief advisers, were compelled to leave Rome, and General Miollis was directed to assume the government of the States of the Church. Pius ventured to launch against Napoleon the feeble thunders of a comminatory brief of excommunication (March 27th, 1808). The French Emperor replied by a decree of April 2nd, annexing, by virtue of his right as successor of Charlemagne, the provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino to the Kingdom of Italy.¹

¹ Garden, t. x. p. 382 sqq. ; Artaud, *Histoire du Pape Pius VII.*

CHAPTER LXV

RISINGS IN SPAIN AND AUSTRIA

State of
Spain, 1807.

AT this period all the thrones of Europe had been more or less shaken by Napoleon, except that of England, which he could not reach, and that of Spain which had purchased exemption from the common lot by a humiliating alliance. The latter also was now to feel the shock, but after a different manner. The conquests of Napoleon, whatever may be thought of their lawfulness, had hitherto, with the exception, perhaps, of Venice, at least been achieved in the open field by military skill and force of arms. He was now to show himself a no less consummate master in all the arts of intrigue.

The detested reign of Don Emanuel Godoy at length raised up against him at Madrid a party determined to rescue the Spanish nation from the disgrace of being governed by him. At the head of it were the Duke de l'Infantado, of one of the most illustrious families of Castile, and the Canon, Don Juan Escoïquiz, who had conducted the education of Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, and heir to the crown.¹

Ferdinand, who was now twenty-three years of age, had espoused, in 1803, a daughter of Queen Caroline of Naples. This Princess, whose intriguing character resembled that of her mother, soon rendered the Queen of Spain her enemy; Ferdinand naturally espoused the quarrels of his wife, and Escoïquiz, the confidant of the young Prince, became irrevocably engaged in his cause. Thus the royal family was

¹ For Spanish affairs at this period, see Escoïquiz, *Exposé des motifs qui ont engagé en 1808, S. M. C. Ferdinand VII. à se rendre à Bayonne*; Cevallos, *Exposé des moyens qui ont été employés par l'Emp. Napoléon pour usurper la couronne d'Espagne*; De Pradt, *Mém. Hist. sur la Révol. d'Espagne*; Toreno, *Hist. del Levantamiento, Guerra y Revolucion de España*; Du Casse, *Mémoires et Correspondance du Roi Joseph*; Murat, *Murat en Espagne*. Baumgarten, *Gesch. Spaniens seit 1789*.

torn by faction, which continued after the premature death of the young Princess who had occasioned it. A little knot of distinguished persons attached themselves to the heir to the crown, and the Court became divided into two parties, that of the Prince of the Asturias, and the Prince of the Peace. Godoy, having failed in an attempt to conciliate Ferdinand, and to bring about the Prince's marriage with the sister of his wife, saw no hope of safety except in Ferdinand's ruin. Queen Louisa entered warmly into his plans against her own son; and as the feeble health of Charles IV. foreboded a speedy termination of his life, she conceived the project of procuring from him a declaration that his eldest son was unfit to reign, and of thus prolonging her authority, with the title of Regent, in concert with Godoy. With this view, Ferdinand was painted in the blackest colours, was kept aloof from all affairs of state, and surrounded with spies; whilst the favourite, on the other hand, was raised to some of the highest and most important dignities of the Kingdom, honoured with the title of "Royal Highness," and all the prerogatives of the Infants of Spain.

As the situation of Ferdinand seemed to grow still more painful after the Peace of Tilsit, and the apparently intimate union which ensued between the Courts of Madrid and the Tuileries, Ferdinand was advised by his confidants to supplant Godoy in the favour of the French Emperor, and to seek his protection by offering to marry a Princess of the Imperial family. In these plans the Prince of the Asturias found a friend and guide in M. de Beauharnais, recently appointed French ambassador at Madrid. M. de Beauharnais cast his eyes upon Madlle. Tascher de la Pagerie, a niece of Josephine's, a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments, and Ferdinand privately wrote to Napoleon October 11th, 1807, imploring his protection, and soliciting the hand of a Princess of his family. The French Emperor did not commit himself by answering Ferdinand's letter; nevertheless from this period a family alliance with the Prince of the Asturias formed part of his political combinations. He did not, however, select Madlle. Tascher for that purpose. He had now begun to contemplate a divorce from Josephine, and he turned his views to the family of his brother Lucien. In an interview which he had with Lucien, towards the end of 1807, at Mantua, he offered his brother the throne of Portugal, and

Ferdinand
courts
Napoleon.

the hand of the Prince of the Asturias for his daughter Charlotte, but on condition that Lucien should divorce his wife, Madame de Jauberton. But with Lucien affection proved stronger than ambition. He refused to separate from his wife; but consented that his daughter should proceed to Paris, to await the splendid destinies that seemed in store for her.

Arrest of
Ferdinand,
1807.

Meanwhile at Madrid, Godoy having caused Ferdinand to be arrested, October 29th, on the charge of conspiracy, the young Prince was subjected to a searching examination, at the end of which he was confined to his own apartments. Papers were found in his handwriting in which the crimes of the favourite were denounced; also a copy of the letter which he had written to Napoleon, a plan for what was to be done on the death of Charles IV., and various decrees, which already bore the signature of Ferdinand VII., appointing different nobles of his party to various important posts. Aided by Godoy, the Queen extorted from the King a proclamation, in which he denounced the conspiracy of his son and his advisers. She also persuaded him to write a letter to the French Emperor, charging Ferdinand with a plot to dethrone himself and put the Queen to death, and promising that the succession to the Spanish crown should be diverted to a younger son. Ferdinand, however, totally lacked the courage necessary to a conspirator. No sooner was he arrested than he informed his mother that he had important revelations to make. Caballero, the Minister of Justice, was sent to receive his depositions, in which he gave up the names of all his advisers, without the slightest stipulation for their safety. Godoy, however, deemed it prudent to adopt the policy of clemency. The minute of the Prince's letter to Napoleon, which seemed to have been written with the knowledge of the French ambassador, was a powerful motive to this course. It was evident that the Emperor was concerned in the matter, and with him a collision was not to be lightly ventured. Godoy counselled pardon, but on condition that Ferdinand should make, in writing, an humble confession. The young Prince did not hesitate. He not only signed the required confession, but was base enough to swear eternal friendship and devotion to the Prince of the Peace. His accomplices were subjected to a trial, but acquitted by the judges, to the rage of the Queen.

While these things were going on at Madrid, the conquest of Portugal was accomplished, and the time had arrived for the division of that Kingdom, according to the Treaty of Fontainebleau. But the aspect of affairs had changed, and with them the intentions of Napoleon; or rather, the plans which he had long formed now appeared ripe for execution. To incorporate with France all the Spanish provinces between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, and to give Portugal to Spain, in the name of an indemnification, was now the object of the French Emperor.

Napoleon's
Plan.

Napoleon determined to effect his object by stratagem. Towards the end of 1807 large divisions of French troops began to enter Spain at different points, apparently in a straggling manner. The strongest fortresses in the north of Spain, Figueras, Barcelona, Pamplona, St. Sebastian, were suddenly and simultaneously occupied, by surprise or stratagem.

French
perfidy in
Spain.

The entry of the French troops into Spain, a decree of the Emperor's at Milan, December 23rd, 1807, imposing a contribution of war of a hundred million francs upon Portugal, and appointing Junot governor of that country, a demand that the execution of the Treaty of Fontainebleau should be suspended, began at length to open the eyes of Godoy. He perceived that he had been duped; that the offer of the Algarves was a snare; that he had been only a tool in the hands of the French despot. At the same time he was suspected by the Spanish people of having collusively admitted the French into the northern fortresses. Thus while the support of Napoleon was withdrawn from him, he fell still deeper into the hatred of his countrymen. The discontent and anger of the Spaniards, as well as the fears of the Court, were augmented when, early in March, 1808, another French corps of 35,000 men, entered Vittoria. The French troops in Spain, numbering 100,000 men, were now put under the command-in-chief of Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat, Grand Duke of Berg. Murat arrived at Burgos March 13th, assumed the direction of the army, and immediately marched upon Madrid.

Flight seemed to offer the only chance of safety to Godoy. He counselled the King and Queen of Spain to adopt the course of the Portuguese Sovereigns, and take refuge in their American possessions. The Queen at once consented.

Attempted
Flight of
Charles IV.

Charles IV. was more difficult to persuade; he could not believe that Napoleon intended to dethrone him. At length he yielded to the entreaties of the Queen and Godoy. It was resolved that the King should go first to Seville, from that place should demand from the French Emperor an explanation of his motives in assembling so large a force in Spain, as well as a guarantee for the security of the Royal Family and the independence of the Kingdom. If Napoleon's answer should be unsatisfactory, Charles IV. and his family were to proceed to Cadiz and embark for America, under the protection of the English fleet which was cruising before that port. Charles having announced his determination to his Council, March 15th, the disposable troops were ordered to be cantoned on the road to Andalusia to protect the journey of the Royal Family; but the preparations for departure, and especially an order for the garrison of Madrid to proceed to Aranjuez, having excited the suspicion of the people, large masses of armed men proceeded thither, March 17th, and amid shouts of *Death to Godoy*, mingled with *vivas* for the King, prepared to prevent the departure of the Sovereigns. The King, however, having again consulted his council, resolved to proceed. But Ferdinand roused public feeling against Godoy, who, with difficulty, was saved from the rage of the populace. The reign not only of the favourite but of his master also was now at an end. On the 19th of March, Charles IV. signed at Aranjuez a solemn abdication of the crown in favour of his son, the Prince of the Asturias, who assumed the title of Ferdinand VII.

Abdication
of Charles
IV., 1808.

Delivered from immediate danger, Charles and his Queen began to regret the throne, and attempted to recall the Act of Abdication. They sent a message to Murat, then some days' march from Madrid, informing him of the violence they had suffered, and conjuring him to hasten to their protection. Charles IV. also addressed a letter to Napoleon accusing his son Ferdinand of having incited the soldiery against him, and robbed him of the crown (March 21st); thus making the Emperor the arbiter of his fate. Murat arrived under the walls of Madrid, March 23rd. He was in a difficult situation. Conjecturing, however, that the Emperor would avail himself of the discord which reigned in the Spanish family to place a Prince of his own house on the throne of Spain, a hope began to rise in Murat's

breast that this Prince might be himself. The other members of the Imperial family were already provided for, except Lucien, who was in disgrace. Hence Murat began to regard Ferdinand as a sort of rival. This Prince had entered Madrid March 24th amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the people, and had signified to his parents his determination to banish them to Badajoz; but Murat, at the instance of Charles and his queen, compelled Ferdinand to abandon his design. The Grand Duke of Berg would not recognize the King's abdication, and spoke with contempt of Ferdinand's claim.

The revolution at Madrid had not entered into Napoleon's calculations. A very little reflection, however, determined him to use the occasion to execute the plans he had already formed, and place a Prince of his own dynasty on the Spanish throne. The news of the revolution at Aranjuez arrived in Paris March 26th, and on the very next day Napoleon addressed a letter to his brother Louis, King of Holland, offering to him the crown of Spain.¹ The old Sovereigns and their favourite, he reasoned, could not be restored, while Ferdinand was of a character too base to be trusted. But in his views of this question Napoleon omitted from his considerations a very important element—the Spanish people. The apathy of the Spaniards had indeed been so profound, they appeared so deeply plunged in ignorance and superstition, so entirely dominated by bigotry and prejudice, as to be incapable of forming an opinion or exercising an independent will. But among their prejudices was a devoted attachment to the reigning dynasty. In a priest-ridden country this feeling had become almost a religion. They looked upon their Sovereigns as the heirs of a divine right, and felt for the youthful Ferdinand, whose despicable qualities were not publicly known, an enthusiastic loyalty.

Napoleon's
Decision.

Napoleon had determined to carry the matter through, as he had begun it, by stratagem and fraud. He formed the plan of proceeding to Bayonne, enticing thither both the new King and the old, and extorting the resignation of both. The passions by which each was devoured were to be the means of their common ruin. The plan, however, required dexterous

The Spanish
Family en-
trapped.

¹ *Documents hist. et réflexions sur le gouvernement de la Hollande*, par Louis Bonaparte, ex-roi de Hollande, t. ii. p. 291 sqq. Thibaudeau, *Empire*, t. iii. p. 334.

handling. General Savary, afterwards Duke of Rovigo, was selected for the purpose; a devoted servant of Napoleon, equally clever and unscrupulous in laying such a plot as resolute in its execution, who had already served his master but too well in the murder of D'Enghien. Savary arrived in Madrid, April 7th, and immediately paid his respects to the abdicated King and Queen. On the following day he had an interview with Ferdinand himself, in presence of the Canon Escoïquiz, the Duke de l'Infantado, and Don Pedro Cevallos, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Savary's conduct was calculated to inspire Ferdinand with the belief that Napoleon would recognize his royal title. He succeeded in persuading the young Prince and the majority of his counsellors that he should proceed to meet the Emperor, who, it was represented, must have crossed the frontier, and would probably be found between Burgos and Vittoria.

Savary's
treachery.

Ferdinand set off with a small suite, including Escoïquiz, the Dukes de l'Infantado and San Carlos, Don Pedro Cevallos, Counts Altamira and de Labrador, and a few other grandees. Savary had also obtained permission to accompany him. The travellers arrived at Burgos, April 12th, but found no letter from Napoleon, no news of his approach. Savary then persuaded the party to proceed to Vittoria, which was full of French troops. It was now resolved that Ferdinand, instead of at once proceeding on his journey, should address a letter to Napoleon from Vittoria, announcing his arrival at that place, and expressing a wish to see the Emperor. Savary offered his services to convey this letter.

Napoleon
and Fer-
dinand at
Bayonne.

Napoleon arrived at Bayonne on the night of April 14th, and found Savary waiting for him. That general was again dispatched towards Ferdinand early in the morning of the 16th with a reply to his letter. Napoleon's letter to the Prince is a strange mixture of brutality and duplicity. He plainly told him that he had no legitimate claim to the Spanish throne; that in fact he was not the son of Charles IV. but of Godoy. Still, if the abdication of Charles was a voluntary act, he held out hopes that he would recognize Ferdinand's accession, and expressed a wish to converse with him on the subject. He continued also to talk of the marriage with one of his nieces. Yet he had already offered the throne of Spain to his brother Louis. Ferdinand hesitated to proceed on his journey, but his reluctance was again

overcome by the representations of Savary, backed by the advice of the inexperienced and simple-minded Canon Escoïquiz. The people of Vittoria, more sagacious than their rulers, endeavoured to prevent Ferdinand's departure, and cut the traces of his mules. But he rushed blindly on to his fate.

Napoleon could not suppress his astonishment on hearing that Ferdinand had actually arrived at Bayonne. He treated the royal guest at his château of Marac with great apparent distinction and cordiality. After a banquet on April 21st, he retained the Canon Escoïquiz when the other guests were departed; and had with him a celebrated conversation. Napoleon now entirely cast off the veil, told the Canon that the House of Bourbon must vacate the Spanish throne, directed him to propose to Ferdinand an abdication to be compensated by the Kingdom of Etruria and the hand of his niece, and said that he would attain his end, even if it should cost him 200,000 men. It is computed to have cost him ultimately 300,000! The Canon fought stoutly for his master, but without avail. The same Savary, who only a few days before had filled Ferdinand with the hopes of his recognition, scrupled not to inform him that the Bourbons had ceased to reign in Spain. Of all Ferdinand's counsellors, Cevallos alone had courage enough to protest with dignity and vehemence against the perfidy that had been employed. He was overheard by Napoleon, who burst into the room and loaded him with abuse. Escoïquiz pressed his Sovereign to accept the offers made to him; but Ferdinand refused to give up any of his rights. He now expressed a wish to depart, but soon discovered that he was no longer at liberty.

Meanwhile Napoleon had caused Murat to declare to the Supreme Junta, April 16th, that he recognized no other King than Charles IV., whose abdication had been extorted by force. A few days after Charles notified that he had again taken possession of the crown; and it was arranged that he and the Queen should proceed to Bayonne and settle their differences with their son under the mediation of the Emperor. To make the scene complete, the Prince of the Peace, who, at the threats of Murat, had been released from the castle of Villaviciosa, where he had been confined to await his trial, also arrived at Bayonne under an escort. Napoleon himself could not refrain from expressing his contempt at the mutual re-

Insurrection at Madrid, 1808.

criminations which ensued among this degraded family. While they were disputing one another's claims to govern, the Spanish people rose. The attitude of the Grand Duke of Berg, and especially his liberation of Godoy, had excited an indescribable indignation at Madrid and other cities, which was increased by the news of Ferdinand's arrival at Bayonne. A summons from Charles IV. for his daughter, the ex-queen of Etruria, his youngest son Don Francisco de Paula, and his brother, the Infant Don Antonio, also to repair thither added fresh materials for dissatisfaction. Charles's second son, Don Carlos, had accompanied Ferdinand. The people rose to prevent the departure of the Princes. Murat dispersed them with musket-bullets and grape-shot, May 2nd. The populace of Madrid killed all the French they could lay hands on, even the sick in the hospitals. Thus was inaugurated that deadly struggle which was to last several years.

Treaty of
Bayonne,
1808.

Napoleon made use of this insurrection to extort from the Spanish Sovereigns a renunciation of the crown. He charged Ferdinand with being the author of it; the parents of that Prince shared, or affected to share, the convictions of the Emperor. With the bitterest reproaches, Charles demanded from his son an unconditional abdication. Napoleon closed the scene by declaring that the bloodshed at Madrid had put an end to his irresolution, that he would never recognize as King of Spain a man who had ordered the massacre of his soldiers.¹ The insurrection at Madrid of May 2nd, appears to have been a spontaneous ebullition, caused by the departure of the Princes. Ferdinand had indeed given a written authority, May 5th, for a rising against the French, to two deputies of the Supreme Junta, who had contrived to make their way in disguise to Bayonne; but this of course was totally unconnected with the insurrection in question. Ferdinand, for whom there was no escape, who had lost all, even the kingdom of Etruria, delivered his written abdication, May 6th. Charles IV., without waiting for it, had concluded

¹ According to Cevallos, *Exposé, etc.* p. 52, Napoleon put an end to Ferdinand's hesitation by exclaiming, "Prince, you must choose between abdication or death." Escoïquiz adds that the same threat was made to Don Carlos and Don Antonio, through Duroc, if they would not renounce their right of succession. It cannot, therefore, be believed that Napoleon's offer to re-establish Charles IV., if ever made, was anything more than an empty compliment.

with Napoleon the evening before the famous Treaty of Bayonne. For the château of Chambord, of which he could not take possession, and a pension of seven and a half million francs, which was never paid, he exchanged the monarchy of Spain and the Indies. Charles stipulated only two conditions: that the territorial integrity of Spain should be preserved, and that the Roman Catholic religion should be the only one tolerated in the kingdom (Art. 2).¹ A few days before signing this act, Charles had appointed the Grand Duke of Berg his Lieutenant-general for the government of Spain. Ferdinand having confirmed and adhered to the cession of his father by an act signed May 10th, the Emperor made over to him the domain and palace of Navarre, and engaged to pay him and his descendants out of the French revenues an annual pension of 400,000 francs.² By a treaty with Joseph Bonaparte, these and other pensions, as well as the value of the estates granted, were, however, to be drawn from the Spanish revenues.³ The Infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos adhered to these renunciations. To render them complete on the part of the Spanish Bourbons two signatures were still wanting: that of Ferdinand IV. King of the Two Sicilies, and brother of Charles IV., and that of Don Pedro, son of Gabriel, younger brother of those two Sovereigns.⁴ But a still more solemn sanction was also wanting—that of the Spanish nation; which, thus abandoned by its Sovereigns, rose against foreign intervention. A little after the signature of the Treaty, Charles IV., his Queen, the Queen of Etruria and the Prince of the Peace, were conducted to Compiègne, which had been assigned to them for a residence; but, the climate not agreeing with the old King, he subsequently took up his abode at Marseilles. Here he was entirely neglected by the French Government, and compelled to sell his diamonds to procure the necessaries of life. Ferdinand and Don Carlos, instead of obtaining the castle of Navarre, were transferred to the château of Valençai as the place of their imprisonment.

Murat was disappointed of the Crown of Spain, on which he had fixed his hopes. It had been refused with surprise

¹ See the treaty in Garden, t. xi. p. 181 sqq.

² *Ibid.* p. 184 sqq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 192.

⁴ Don Pedro, who had married the eldest daughter of the Portuguese Regent, accompanied him to Brazil, where he died, June 4th, 1812.

Joseph
Bonaparte
King of
Spain.

and indignation by Napoleon's brother Louis. Joseph Bonaparte, however, consented to abandon his more tranquil throne of Naples for the dangers which surrounded that of Spain. Napoleon, who had nominated him to it, June 6th, was desirous of procuring at least the apparent consent of the Spanish nation. The Council of Castile, the chief political body of Spain, when informed of the Treaties of Bayonne, was at last induced to give a cold and reluctant assent to the accession of Joseph. Its example was followed by the Supreme Junta and the municipality of Madrid. There was, indeed, no alternative but war. Ferdinand displayed on the occasion his soul in its true colours. He not only wrote to Napoleon to express his satisfaction at the elevation of Joseph, he even addressed a letter of congratulation to the man who had usurped his crown. A Junta of 150 Spanish notables, which had been summoned to Bayonne, accepted a constitution proposed by Napoleon, July 7th, and a day or two after Joseph left Bayonne for Madrid. He had signed on the 5th a treaty with his brother Napoleon, by which he renounced the Crown of Naples, made, as King of Spain, a perpetual offensive alliance with France, fixed the number of troops and ships to be provided by each nation, and agreed to the establishment of a commercial system.¹ By an Act called *Constitutional Statute*, July 15th, the vacant throne of Naples was bestowed upon Joachim Murat.²

The Junta
of Seville.

Ferdinand had found means to despatch from Bayonne a proclamation addressed to the Asturians, dated May 8th, in which he called upon them to assert their independence and never to submit to the perfidious enemy who had deprived him of his rights. This letter naturally made a great impression; nor was its effect diminished by another proclamation which Ferdinand and his brothers were compelled to sign at Bordeaux, May 12th, calling upon the Spaniards not to oppose "the beneficent views" of Napoleon. At this last address, evidently extorted from a prisoner, the people everywhere flew to arms, except where prevented by the presence of the French troops. The city of Valencia renounced its obedience to the Government of Madrid, May 23rd; Seville followed its example, and on the 27th, Joseph Palafox organized at Saragossa the insurrection of Aragon. As these insurrections were accom-

¹ Garden, t. xi. p. 190 sqq.

² *Ibid.* p. 199.

panied with massacres, principally of persons who held high civil or military posts under Charles IV., the better classes, to put an end to these scenes, established central Juntas in the principal towns. That of Seville, rejecting the authority of the capital, as being in the hands of the enemy, assumed the exercise of an independent power in the name of Ferdinand VII. On the 29th of May it published a proclamation, calling on the people to defend their country, their King, their laws, and property; and on the 6th of June it declared war upon Napoleon in the name of Ferdinand VII.¹ Addresses of the same kind were published in various other places.

A popular historian has attributed the causes of the calamities which overwhelmed Spain entirely to the imbecility, the corruption, and the despotism of the Government, and the superstition and bigotry of the people, which "sapped the foundation of military and civil virtue, and prepared the way for invasion."² These can hardly be the true causes. The Lutheranism and learning of the Germans, the Calvinism and Republican principles of the Dutch and Swiss, previously two of the freest nations of Europe, did not save them from being subjugated by the invader; nay, we think it may be more correctly asserted that the adoption of the French revolutionary doctrines by great numbers in those countries was much more favourable to an invasion than the disgust with which those doctrines were rejected by the Spaniards. The true cause of the calamities which overtook Spain was the boundless ambition of Napoleon. And how can it be true that the Spaniards were destitute of all civil and military virtue? And did not the Spaniards organize a national resistance against Napoleon? The Spaniards had at least preserved a national character and a love for their country, which in many other nations had been nearly destroyed by the new French philosophy. The Spaniards, no doubt, committed many faults in the war of liberation. They were, perhaps, proud, boastful, cruel when provoked, inconstant, inamenable to discipline; but let it be remembered, to their honour, that they were the first Continental nation that rose against the tyrant, and initiated a movement by which he was at last overthrown.

Rising
of the
Spaniards.

¹ These papers will be found in Garden, t. xi. p. 205 sqq.

² Napier, *Hist. of the War in the Peninsula*, Preface.

State of the
Spanish
Forces.

Spain, when she declared war, had scarcely an army.¹ It is true that, including the provincial militias, she had on foot about 100,000 men; but of these 15,000 were in Denmark, 35,000 in Portugal, and for the most part under the command of Junot; 30,000 were absorbed by the garrisons of the fortresses of Africa, the Balearic Isles, the Canaries, and the interior. Half of the remaining 20,000 were in Galicia, and became the nucleus of the insurrectionary army of the North; the other 10,000, destined for the siege of Gibraltar, were in the camp of St. Roque, and laid the foundation of the army of Andalusia. But the indignation and enthusiasm of the Spaniards permitted them not to count the disparity of numbers. On the other hand, they were aware that it was impossible for a French army, however numerous, to occupy all the fortresses and ports of their extensive country; whose surface, too, as well as climate, present formidable difficulties to an invader. Above all, they reckoned on the method of conducting the war. They proposed not to meet the enemy in pitched battles in the open field, but to harass, wear out, and overcome him by *guerilla* warfare. The supreme Junta issued instructions for conducting this mode of warfare. Andalusia was better fitted for organizing the revolt, or rather the patriotic rising, than any other province of Spain. Its population formed one-fifth of the whole nation, it possessed the sole cannon-foundry in the Kingdom, it comprised half the disposable Spanish army, and it could receive assistance from the English both by means of Gibraltar, and of Collingwood's fleet, which was cruising on the coast.

Capitulation of
Baylen,
1808.

One of the first feats of arms of the Spaniards was to compel the surrender of five French ships of the line and a frigate, which had remained in the port of Cadiz ever since the battle of Trafalgar (June 14th). Marshal Moncey was repulsed towards the end of June in an advance upon Valencia, and compelled to retreat upon Madrid with a loss of one-third of his men. In the north-west the Spaniards were less fortunate. Cuesta, with a corps of 25,000 men, was defeated by

¹ Space will not allow us to enter into the details of the Peninsular War. We can only indicate the main results. The subject almost forms part of our own history, and most English readers are familiar with it from the writings of Napier, the *Despatches of the Duke of Wellington*, and other works.

Marshal Bessières, July 14th, at Medina del Rio Seco. The consequence of this victory was the temporary submission of Leon, Palencia, Valladolid, Zamora, and Salamanca to the French. But this misfortune was more than counterbalanced by the victory of General Castaños over the French in Andalusia a few days after. Generals Dupont and Vedel had advanced into that province as far as Cordova, but they were defeated by Castaños with the army of Andalusia at BAYLEN, July 20th. On this occasion,—the commencement of the French reverses in Spain,—18,000 French soldiers laid down their arms. Joseph Bonaparte found it prudent to leave Madrid August 1st, which he had only entered on the day of the battle, and fly to Burgos. This important victory not only inspired the Spaniards with confidence, but roused the hopes of Central Europe. On the day after the battle Castaños issued a proclamation which does him great honour. He invoked the Spaniards to show humanity towards the French prisoners of war, and threatened to shoot those who should maltreat them.¹ Such, however, was the exasperation of the people against their invaders, that numbers of the French were massacred on their route to Cadiz for embarkation, and the remainder were treated with inhumanity. These cruelties had, however, been provoked by the atrocities of the French at the capture and sack of Cordova.²

The campaign in Aragon was still more glorious for the Spaniards. Palafox, whether or not he was the poltroon described by Napier, had at all events the merit of organizing, out of almost nothing, the means by which the French were repulsed in several desperate assaults upon Saragossa, and at length compelled to retreat after a siege of some weeks (August 14th). The patriot cause was soon after strengthened by the arrival at Corunna of General La Romana, with 7,000 of his men from Denmark (September 20th). Keats, the English Admiral in the Baltic, had informed him of the rising of his countrymen, and provided him the means to transport his troops from Nyborg. The English Government, soon after the breaking out of the insurrection, proclaimed a peace with the Spanish nation (July 4th, 1808), and prepared to assist them in their heroic struggle. The example of Spain

The British
in the
Peninsula.

¹ See the Proclamation in Garden, p. 237.

² Foy, *Guerre de la Péninsule*, t. iii. p. 230 sqq.

had also encouraged the Portuguese to throw off the insufferable yoke of the French. A Junta was established at Oporto, June 6th, and an insurrection was organized in all parts of the Kingdom where the French forces were not predominant. Sir Arthur Wellesley, with about 10,000 British troops, landed at Mondego Bay, July 31st, and being joined by General Spencer from Cadiz, with 5,000 men, advanced upon Lisbon. Laborde, who attempted to oppose them at Roliça with a much smaller force but in a very strong position, was compelled to retreat after a warm action, and the march was resumed. Junot now advanced with his whole disposable force from Lisbon, about 14,000 men with 26 guns. The British were stronger by 2,000, without including the Portuguese regiments, but were far inferior in cavalry and artillery. Sir Harry Burrard, who had now arrived, took the chief command of the British, and thwarted all the plans of Sir A. Wellesley. The hostile armies met before the town of VIMEIRA, August 21st, when Junot was completely defeated, with the loss of 2,000 men, 400 prisoners, and 13 guns. But the fruits of the victory were in a great measure lost by the refusal of Sir Harry Burrard to pursue the enemy. A day or two after Sir Harry was in turn superseded by the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple from Gibraltar. It was now determined to advance against Junot, who had occupied the strong position of Torres Vedras. But the French general proposed an armistice; and by the CONVENTION OF CINTRA,¹ August 30th, he was allowed to evacuate Portugal with all his forces, which were to be transported to France by the English, and allowed to serve wherever they might be required. Before their departure, the French, from the General-in-chief down to the private, were compelled to disgorge an enormous amount of plunder which they were preparing to carry off. The Convention of Cintra was followed by the surrender of Admiral Siniavin and the Russian squadron in the Tagus to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton. The Convention of Cintra was received with such disapprobation in England that the three generals were recalled and arraigned before a court of inquiry. During their absence in England, the command of the British forces in Portugal was bestowed on Sir John Moore, who had arrived from the Baltic with his division.

Battle of
Vimeira.

Convention
of Cintra,
1808.

¹ Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. i. p. 94.

The risings in Spain and Portugal required for their suppression large reinforcements to be drawn from Napoleon's veteran troops in Germany. But as this movement might expose him to a rising of the Germans, and especially of the Austrians, he resolved to guard against that danger by drawing closer his alliance with the Emperor of Russia. Alexander accepted an invitation to meet the Emperor of the French at Erfurt, at which place the two Sovereigns arrived, September 27th. The Congress, which lasted nearly three weeks, was conducted with the greatest splendour, and at the same time with marks of the most entire friendship and confidence between the two Emperors. It was attended by the Kings of Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Westphalia, by Alexander's brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, Prince William of Prussia, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and most of the principal Sovereigns of Germany. The palaces occupied by Alexander and Napoleon were furnished in the most splendid and luxurious manner at the expense of France. Napoleon entertained every day at dinner the principal Sovereigns, and in the evening French plays were performed by the most celebrated actors of the Parisian theatres. The entertainments were diversified by a visit to Weimar, where Napoleon made the acquaintance of Wieland, Goethe, and other celebrated German authors. The political objects of the Conference were arranged by a secret convention, signed October 12th.¹ The most important articles were, that Alexander consented to Joseph Bonaparte's elevation to the throne of Spain, as well as to the changes which had been made in Italy, and promised to make common cause with France in case of a declaration of war by Austria. In return for these concessions, Napoleon engaged not to oppose the annexation of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Finland to the Russian Empire. The two Monarchs are said to have agreed to constitute themselves, at some future time, the one, Emperor of the West, the other, Emperor of the East, and that the Elbe should form the limit of their respective dominions.² The partition of Turkey was discussed, but Napoleon represented this enterprise as at present inopport-

The Congress of Erfurt, 1808.

¹ This Convention has never been authentically published, but an analysis of it will be found in Garden, t. xi. p. 286 sqq.

² Garden, t. xi. p. 281; on the authority of a statesman well acquainted with the events of that period.

tune. Alexander obtained for the King of Prussia a reduction of 20,000,000 francs from the sum payable by that Sovereign, and the evacuation by the French troops of the Prussian dominions.

Alexander and Napoleon, shortly before they quitted Erfurt, addressed a joint note to King George III., expressing a desire for peace (October 12th, 1808). This was followed up by notes from Count Roumantsov and Champagny, the Russian and French Foreign Ministers, to Canning, proposing the *uti possidetis* as a base of negotiations, and offering to confer with the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain in any Continental town. The English Government insisted that the Spanish nation, represented by its Junta, acting in the name of Ferdinand VII., should be a party to the negotiations; but Count Roumantsov rejected this admission of what he called the "Spanish insurgents," announced that his master had recognized Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain, and would not separate his interests from those of his ally, Napoleon. The French Minister also replied in an insolent note, in which he compared the admission of the Spaniards to a congress with that of the insurgent Catholics of Ireland, as if Spain had irrevocably become a subordinate part of the French Empire. A peace on the terms proposed was, of course, inadmissible. Canning, in his reply to Champagny, expressed His Majesty's firm determination not to abandon the cause of the Spanish nation, nor to acquiesce in a usurpation unparalleled in the history of the world. The English Cabinet was supported in this resolution by the hope that Austria would before long declare against Napoleon.

Meanwhile in Spain, a Supreme Central Junta, under the presidency of Count Florida Blanca, had been organized at Aranjuez, towards the end of September. It was formed of two deputies from each provincial Junta, and it was hoped that by this means the insurrection would be conducted with more concert and rigour. Unfortunately, however, it had the contrary effect. The provincial Juntas intrusted to their deputies only a very limited and subordinate authority, who were thus prevented from acting with the vigour and decision required by the conjuncture. The armed force was now divided into three corps. The first of these, called the "Army of the North," was commanded by Blake, having under his orders the Marquis de la Romana. The Junta

Canning's
reply to
Champagny.

Napoleon
in Spain.

gave out that this corps consisted of 55,000 men, when it is probable that it did not count more than 17,000 regular troops. This method of exaggeration, which was systematically adopted by the Junta, had the effect of sometimes leading their English allies into great difficulties and dangers. In like manner, the Army of the Centre under Castaños was rated at 65,000 men, and that of Aragon, under Joseph Palafox, at 20,000. The French army, reduced to about 50,000 men, had now fixed its head-quarters at Vittoria. Its right was commanded by Gouvion St. Cyr, the centre by Marshal Moncey, the left by Marshals Ney, Bessières, and Lefèbvre. The French, however, were rapidly reinforced by the troops withdrawn from Prussia, and by auxiliary corps forwarded by King Jérôme and other dependent German Sovereigns; so that before the end of the year they numbered 180,000 men. Napoleon placed himself at the head of his armies early in November. A succession of victories, achieved by his generals under his direction, opened to him the road to the Spanish capital. On the 7th of November, Lefèbvre defeated Blake and La Romana at Guenez. On the 10th, Soult gained a victory over the Comte de Belvedere and a division of the army of Blake at Gamonal, while on the same and following day, Blake and La Romana were defeated by Victor at Espinosa. On the 15th, Napoleon's head-quarters were at Burgos. On the 23rd, Lannes and Victor defeated Castaños at Tudela, and on the 30th, Napoleon in person overthrew the reserve of the Spaniards, under Count San Juan, in the defiles of the Somo-Sierra. On the 2nd of December, the fourth anniversary of his coronation, the French Emperor appeared under the walls of Madrid, and took up his abode at Chamartin, belonging to the Duke de l'Infantado. The inhabitants of the capital seemed at first disposed to resist, but thought better of it, and Madrid was entered by the French troops on the morning of December 4th.

On the same day that he took possession of the Spanish capital Napoleon issued decrees abolishing the Inquisition, reducing by two-thirds the number of convents in Spain, enabling monks to become secular ecclesiastics, suppressing all feudal rights and personal service, abolishing the existing provincial barriers, and transferring all custom-houses to the frontiers of the kingdom.

Meanwhile the English were marching into the heart of

Retreat of
Sir John
Moore.

Spain. Sir David Baird having arrived at Corunna, October 13th, with 15,000 men, Sir John Moore, at the head of the English troops in Portugal, advanced by Salamanca to form a junction with him, which was effected at Mayorga, December 20th. The total number of the British in the Peninsula was now 35,000; but some regiments had been left behind, others detached, and, deducting the sick, the total of effective men under Sir John Moore was only between 23,000 and 24,000, with 60 guns. Moore had been lured to advance by false accounts of the position of things, of the resources and enthusiasm of the Spaniards. It was still more calculated to deceive him that most of the accounts of this nature came from Mr. Frere, the British Minister at Madrid. Moore was advancing with his small army to certain destruction against Napoleon with eight times his force. At the news of his advance, the French Emperor left Madrid, and marched against him at the head of his choicest troops. Moore had now no alternative but to commence his famous retreat. The manœuvres of Soult had cut him off from the road to Portugal, and the march was, therefore, directed into Galicia. Napoleon, having learnt on the road to Astorga of the events that were preparing in Germany, and also of a conspiracy in Paris, immediately set off for France, leaving the command of the pursuing army to Soult. That commander pressed upon and harassed the British; but he ventured not to accept the battle which Moore offered him at Lugo. The British, after suffering great hardships, arrived at Corunna, January 14th, 1809. Here they were detained two or three days by the want of vessels, and meanwhile Soult came up. An action was fought before that town, January 16th, in which the French were entirely defeated; but this victory was dearly purchased with the life of the gallant Sir John Moore, who was mortally wounded with a cannon-ball. Sir David Baird had also been disabled. The transports had now arrived from Vigo, and the British army was safely embarked. Corunna, which was defended a few days by the Spaniards, surrendered January 19th. Soult then applied himself to the reduction of Galicia.

Battle of
Corunna,
1809.

Moore's expedition was undertaken, without proper information, by order of the English Ministry; but so far as the general himself was concerned, it was conducted with the greatest skill and bravery. Nor, though it failed, was it

altogether useless. The march of the French into the south of Spain was arrested, and their army was fatigued to such an extent that for several months they were unable to undertake anything of importance. In the very midst of this misfortune, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and the Supreme Junta, January 14th, 1809, by which the former Power engaged to assist the Spanish nation with all its forces, and to recognize no other King of Spain than Ferdinand VII.¹

Napoleon's departure from the Peninsula had been caused mainly by the military preparations of Austria. The Peace of Pressburg had been so humiliating to that Power as to render it certain that she would seize the first favourable opportunity to appeal again to arms. For this appeal she had long been silently preparing. She had endeavoured, under the administration of Count Stadion, to place her finances on a better footing, and she had succeeded in re-organizing a formidable military force. The latter task had been intrusted to the Archduke Charles, who in the summer of 1808, succeeded in establishing the *Landwehr*, or militia, in the Austrian Dominions. The German provinces alone furnished 300,000 men to the *Landwehr*, besides a reserve of 60,000. At the same time the troops of the line were carried to 400,000 men, divided into nine corps, each under its general-in-chief. The Hungarians, animated by a friendly spirit, had voted in 1808 an increase of 80,000 troops, and offered besides, in case of need, a permanent insurrection of 80,000 more, of which 30,000 were to be cavalry. In case of reverses, Komorn in Hungary was selected as a *place d'armes*.

Austria
prepares
for War.

As nothing could be more adverse to Napoleon's Spanish projects than a war with Austria, he attempted to avert it by proposing a triple agreement between France, Russia and Austria, which should give to Austria the guarantee of Russia against the enterprises of France, and that of France against the attempts of Russia. But this proposition was not accepted. At Valladolid, on his way from Madrid, Napoleon wrote to the Sovereigns of the Rhenish League to complete and mobilize their contingents. Towards the end of February, 1809, the French troops were in motion. Austria at the same time was pressing on her armaments. On the 27th

Austrian
Manifesto,
1809.

¹ Martens, *Nouv. Rec. t. i. p. 163.*

of March the Austrian Minister delivered to the French Government a declaration, in which were enumerated all the insults and injuries Austria had suffered at the hands of France since the Peace of Pressburg. This was followed soon after by a formal manifesto, and by an admirable order of the day addressed to the army by the Archduke Charles, the Generalissimo (April 6th). Addresses were also published by the Emperor and the Archduke to the Austrians, and to the German nation in general, which were answered by counter-proclamations from the Kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg and Saxony, and other Sovereigns of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The Campaign of
1809.

Six of the nine divisions of the Austrian army, comprising upwards of 200,000 men, had been assembled in Bohemia under the Archduke Charles, with the intention of attacking the French in Germany, and driving them over the Rhine before they could receive assistance from France. But, with the usual Austrian slowness, the opportunity was lost. Two divisions only, under Bellegarde and Kolowrat, entered the Upper Palatinate and marched upon Ratisbon. The main force proceeded into Austria in order to enter Bavaria by the accustomed route along the Danube. The seventh Austrian division of 36,000 men, under the Archduke Ferdinand d'Este, was to enter Poland. The eighth and ninth, commanded in chief by the Archduke John, were destined for the invasion of Italy. The French had in Germany Davoust's corps at Ratisbon, that of Masséna at Ulm, that of Oudinot at Augsburg, three Bavarian divisions at Munich, Landshut and Straubing, under Marshal Lefèvre, the Würtemberg division at Heidenheim commanded by Vandamme, and the Grand Army, whose headquarters were at Strassburg: the whole comprising 212,000 men, exclusive of the Saxons under Bernadotte, and 12,000 Poles under Prince Poniatowski. The French army in Italy consisted of Macdonald's, Grenier's, and Baraguay d'Hilliers' divisions, 70,000 men, under the command-in-chief of the Viceroy Eugène.

Rising
of the
Tyrolese.

It was hoped that when hostilities commenced, the Germans would rise against their French oppressors; but this expectation was realized only in the Tyrol. Some Tyrolese went secretly to Vienna, to pledge themselves to that effect; and no sooner had the war begun, April 10th, than the insurrection broke out. Beacons were lighted on the moun-

tain tops; meal, blood, or saw-dust cast upon the streams, carried into every valley the signal for arming. On the road between Brixen and Innsbruck the French columns were surprised; more than 8,000 of their men were either killed or made prisoners. A fight took place in Innsbruck; the Bavarians who garrisoned it were driven out, their commander killed. At Wiltau, an entire French brigade was compelled to surrender. All this was the work of four days. The leaders of the Tyrolese were Andrew Hofer, an innkeeper in the Passeyerthal, Spechbacher, Haspinger, a Capuchin monk, Eisenstecken, and Ennemoser. When the Marquis von Chasteler entered the Tyrol with a small Austrian corps, the country was already liberated; Kufstein alone remained in possession of the Bavarians.¹ The insurrection also spread to the Vorarlberg.

The main body of the Austrian army crossed the Inn and invaded Bavaria, April 10th, 1809. On the 16th they forced the passage of the Isar and entered Munich. The King of Bavaria fled at their approach. Napoleon, on the other hand, by April 18th, had carried his headquarters to Ingolstadt. On the following day a fierce but indecisive combat took place at Tann; the French, however, succeeded in forming a junction with the Bavarians. On the 20th, Napoleon defeated the Archduke Louis at Abensberg, and separated him from the army of the Generalissimo. But on the same day the Archduke Charles took Ratisbon, which made him master of the Danube, and put him in communication with the corps of Bellegarde, advancing from Bohemia. The Archduke then marched down the right bank of the river, and took up a position at Eckmühl. Napoleon, who had pursued the Archduke Louis, and again defeated him at Landshut, now turned against the Generalissimo and defeated him in a decisive battle at Eckmühl, April 22nd. The Austrians having retreated into Ratisbon, which was entered by the French the following day, a battle ensued, during which a great part of the town was burnt. The Archduke Charles now retreated through the Upper Palatinate, while Napoleon, instead of pursuing him, directed his forces against Vienna. General Hiller with an Austrian corps was attacked and defeated at Ebelsberg near Linz, May 3rd, by the divisions of Bessières

Napoleon in
Vienna.

¹ Hozmayn, *Geschichte Andreas Hofer*.

and Oudinot. During the battle the town took fire, and many of the combatants perished in the flames. On May 10th, Marshal Lannes appeared before Vienna. The Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Empress, after a vain attempt to defend it, passed the Danube with 4,000 men on the night of the 11th, and next day Vienna capitulated. Napoleon now for the second time took up his residence at Schönbrunn. Hence he issued an order dissolving the Landwehr, and granting a pardon to all who should return to their homes within a fortnight. He also published a proclamation addressed to the Hungarians, May 15th, in which he called upon them to renounce their allegiance to the House of Austria, promised them freedom and independence, and exhorted them to choose a king of their own. But the Hungarians were at that time well affected towards the Imperial family, and this proclamation had no effect.

War in the
Tyrol and
in Poland.

In the Tyrol and Poland subsidiary operations were carried on. The sudden success of the Tyrolese was but of short duration. Marshal Lefèbvre compelled them to relinquish the siege of Kufstein, defeated the Austrians at Mörgel, May 13th, took Schwaz by assault, 15th, and on the 19th occupied Innsbruck. The Tyrolese, yielding to superior force, feigned submission, and sent deputies to Munich to solicit a pardon. But no sooner had the French and Austrians withdrawn, leaving behind only Deroy's division, than the Tyrolese again flew to arms, attacked Deroy, and compelled him to retreat to Kufstein. Chasteler also again entered Tyrol to reinforce an Austrian corps which had intrenched itself on the Brenner. But these successes were again interrupted by the armistice of Znaym, July 11th. On the side of Poland, the Archduke Ferdinand, marching from Galicia, occupied Warsaw, April 22nd, and penetrated as far as Thorn. The Austrians had brought 100 guns, in the hope of inducing the King of Prussia to join them; but without effect. Prince Schwarzenberg had been sent on a special mission to St. Petersburg to conciliate the Emperor, who, it was hoped, even if he did not actually assist them, would at all events remain neutral. But Alexander adhered, though somewhat lukewarmly, to his French alliance, and placed a division at Napoleon's disposal, which, with some Polish troops, were directed upon Galicia. The Russo-Polish army drove the Austrians from Leopold and Sandomierz, and took possession of Galicia, where the French

eagles were planted by Prince Poniatowski. Ferdinand retired into Hungary, and at length the armistice of July 11th, between the main armies, put an end also to the war in this quarter. In Franconia, the efforts of the Austrians to excite a rising of the population proved only partially successful; and they were compelled to evacuate that district on the approach of Junot's division.

In Italy, hostilities had begun at the same time as in Germany. The Archduke John defeated the Viceroy Eugène at Sacile, April 16th, who then retired to Caldiero on the Adige. But the arrival of a French division from Tuscany, and the news received from Germany, decided the Archduke to commence his retreat by the end of April. It was hastened by a decisive battle on the Piave, May 8th, in which the Austrians were defeated by Eugène. The latter general passed the Isonzo, May 14th, and seized Görtz and Laybach. Here he was joined by Marmont, the commander of the French in Dalmatia; who, leaving only between 4,000 and 5,000 men behind, forced with the remainder the passage of the Fiume, and effected a junction with the army of Italy. The Archduke John retired into Hungary, where he joined the Archduke Palatine, commanding the Hungarian troops, June 13th. But Eugène, profiting by the discordant views of those commanders, gained a signal victory over them near Raab, June 14th. Raab capitulated on the 22nd, and Davoust bombarded Pressburg on the 26th. The Archduke Charles had retired to Komorn, and Eugène proceeded to form a junction with the army of Napoleon. We now return to the operations of the main armies.

The Archduke Charles after his defeat at Eckmühl had pursued his march down the left bank of the Danube towards Vienna, and had taken up a position to the north of that capital on the plain called the Marchfeld; a spot rendered famous in ancient times by the defeat and death of Ottocar, King of Bohemia (August, 1278), and the triumph of Rudolph of Habsburg, the founder of the House of Austria. On this plain the fate of Austria was again to be decided. The Archduke had been joined by Hiller with his corps, who had contrived to pass the Danube at Krems. The Austrian army after this junction numbered about 75,000 men. At the Marchfeld the Danube separates into three branches, of which the two northernmost form the large and well wooded

Campaign
in Italy.

Battles of
Aspern and
Essling,
1809.

island of Lobau. Of this isle the French had taken possession, in order to throw a bridge over the river between the villages of Aspern and Essling. This operation, which was not interrupted by the Austrians, was completed on the night of May 20th, and on the 21st and 22nd Napoleon engaged the Austrians. These battles, which are called the battles of ASPERN and ESSLING, or when spoken of jointly the battle of the MARCHFELD, were fought with great obstinacy and fury, but without any very decided advantage on either side. On the whole, however, the Austrians were superior; as Napoleon was compelled to abandon the field, and withdraw his troops into the isle of Lobau. It was the first repulse which he had experienced in Germany. The loss on both sides was enormous. The Austrians acknowledge to have had 24,000 men killed and wounded.¹ The loss of the French was no doubt a great deal more; yet Napoleon stated it at only 1,100 killed and 3,000 wounded! Among the killed were Marshal Lannes, and three general officers. Napoleon crossed over to the right bank of the Danube, leaving Masséna to secure the retreat. The Austrians, aided by a rising of the river, succeeded in destroying the two bridges which connected the isle of Lobau with the right bank and Vienna, and the French were thus left more than two days without provisions. But on the 25th they re-established the bridges, and on the following day Eugène, with the army of Italy, passed over the Semmering, and formed a junction with them.

The Battle
of Wagram.

The Archduke Charles continued to maintain a position on the left bank of the Danube extending from Krems to Pressburg. The two armies lay for some weeks inactive. Besides Macdonald, with part of the army of Italy, Napoleon had also been joined by Bernadotte with the Saxons, and by Marmont's corps; which raised his forces to an equality with those of the Archduke. On July 1st he established his headquarters in the isle of Lobau, which had been strongly fortified. On the 4th he battered down the village of Enzersdorf, and established a bridge over the Danube at that point. On the 5th and 6th was fought the battle of WAGRAM.²

¹ The Archduke Charles's report of these battles, from the Austrian Archives, will be found in Mailath, *Gesch. des Ostr. Kaiserstaats*, B. v. S. 295-310.

² For the Campaign of Wagram, see Pelet, *Mémoires sur la Guerre de 1809*.

Never in any battle upon land had so formidable an artillery been employed. The Austrians had 500 guns, many of large calibre. The French were inferior in this arm, having only about 400. The first day was indecisive; on the second the Austrians were defeated. The Archduke Charles, mistaking the French plans, had too much weakened his centre; and his left wing was deprived of the support which he had expected from the Archduke John, who did not come up from Hungary till two hours after the battle. On both these points the Austrians were turned, but they commenced an orderly retreat by way of Guntersdorf towards Bohemia. The defeat of their left wing had cut them off from Hungary. Their rear guard was defeated at Hollabrunn by Masséna, July 10th. On the following day Napoleon in person appeared before Znaym, where the Archduke Charles had established his headquarters. A severe action ensued, in the course of which Prince Liechtenstein obtained from Napoleon an armistice. In the battles between the 5th and 11th, both armies had suffered terribly. The Austrians had lost 23,000 men killed and 7,000 prisoners; the loss of the French was probably about the same.¹

By the armistice of Znaym,² more than a third part of the Austrian dominions remained in the occupation of the French, with a population of about eight and a half million souls. On these was levied a contribution of more than 196,000,000 francs; and as the Poles of Galicia, comprising a population of about four millions were exempted, this enormous sum was exacted from about four and a half million persons!³

The conferences for a peace lasted three months. The Austrian Government purposely interposed delays, wishing to await the result of an English expedition against the coasts of Holland. Napoleon, on the other hand, alarmed at the state of the Peninsula, as anxiously pressed their termination, and threatened, if the negotiations remained without effect, to adopt the most rigorous measures against the House of Austria, and especially to separate the three crowns. The TREATY OF VIENNA was at length signed, October 14th, 1809.⁴ By this treaty the Emperor Francis engaged to make

The Treaty
of Vienna,
1809.

¹ Mailath, B. v. S. 311.

² Martens, *N. R. t. i.* p. 309.

³ Garden, t. xii. p. 91 sq.

⁴ Martens, *ibid.* p. 217.

various cessions to the Confederation of the Rhine, to Napoleon, to the King of Saxony, to the same Sovereign as Duke of Warsaw, and to the Emperor of Russia. The districts ceded to the Rhenish Confederation comprised Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, and part of Upper Austria, viz., the quarter of the Inn and half of the Hausrück.

The cessions made directly to Napoleon were the county of Görtz, or Goricia, and that of Montefalcone, forming the Austrian Friuli; the town and Government of Trieste, Carniola, the Circle of Villach in Carinthia, part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and the lordships of Rhäzüns in the Grison territory. All these provinces, with the exception of Rhäzüns, were incorporated by a decree of Napoleon, with Dalmatia and its islands, into a single State with the name of the *Illyrian Provinces*. They were never united with France, but always governed by Napoleon as an independent State. A few districts before possessed by Napoleon were also incorporated with them; as Venetian Istria and Dalmatia with the Bocca di Cattaro, Ragusa, and part of the Tyrol.

The cessions made to the King of Saxony, as such, consisted of only a few Bohemian villages; but, as Duke of Warsaw, there were transferred to him all Western or New Galicia, with the Circle of Zamosc in Eastern Galicia, including the town of Cracow.

The cessions in favour of Russia comprised a district of Eastern or Old Galicia, but exclusive of the town of Brody, the only place which gave it any importance.

The only other articles of the treaty of much importance are the recognition by Austria of any changes made, or to be made, in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; the adherence of the Emperor to the Continental System adopted by France and Russia, and his engaging to cease all correspondence and relationship with Great Britain. By a Decree made at Ratisbon, April 24th, 1809, Napoleon had suppressed the Teutonic Order in all the States belonging to the Rhenish Confederation, reannexed its possessions to the domains of the Prince in which they were situated, and incorporated Mergentheim, with the rights, domains, and revenues attached to the Grand Mastership of the Order, with the Kingdom of Würtemberg. These dispositions were confirmed by the Treaty of Vienna.

The effect aimed at by the Treaty of Vienna was to surround Austria with powerful States, and thus to paralyze all

her military efforts. On the south, by the cession in Carinthia, she lost the defiles which communicate with Italy and Tyrol, and the means of defence afforded by a natural frontier. On the west, by the loss of Salzburg and part of Austria, she was deprived of an excellent line of operation formed by the Inn in combination with the mountains of Bohemia, behind which she could manœuvre in perfect safety. It was only on the north and the east, in which quarters she was not so much exposed to attack, that she preserved her natural boundaries. These cessions involved a loss of three and a half million subjects. The Emperor of Russia, on the other hand, was very ill satisfied with the small portion of the spoils assigned to him, and the augmentation awarded to the Duchy of Warsaw. Hence the first occasion of coldness between him and Napoleon, whom he suspected of a design to re-establish the Kingdom of Poland.

After the armistice of Znaym, Tyrol and the Vorarlberg were evacuated by the Austrian troops; but the Tyrolese, led by Hofer, still continued the struggle. The Bavarians marched against them; forced the important position of Scharnitz, October 25th, and on the 13th of November effected their junction with Eugène Beauharnais, who had entered Tyrol by Villach. Hofer now announced his submission, and directed the Tyrolese to separate. But the Bavarian General d'Erlm having proclaimed that every Tyrolese found with arms in his hand should be shot, and that every village where soldiers had been maltreated should be burnt, Hofer declared that he had been deceived, and again called his countrymen to arms. But resistance now proved useless. The executions ordered by the French generals spread terror among the Tyrolese, and King Maximilian Joseph having offered a pardon, they a second time submitted. Hofer now concealed himself in a log hut in the mountains; but being either betrayed or discovered,¹ was carried to Mantua, tried before a court-martial, and shot (February 20th, 1810).

Hofer
executed.

¹ The story commonly runs that he was betrayed for the sake of a reward of 300 ducats offered for his apprehension. The account, however, appears to rest on anything but a certain foundation. See Mailath, B. v. S. 314 Ann. The King of Bavaria solicited for Hofer's life, but Napoleon was inexorable.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE PENINSULA WAR AND THE MOSCOW EXPEDITION

The Tugendbund.

WE have alluded to a diversion which the Austrians expected in North Germany, as well as from an English expedition to the Scheldt. In both these quarters something was done, but not of a nature to be of any service to the Austrian cause.

A feeling of degradation, a desire to revenge their wrongs upon their French oppressors, had sprung up in Prussia and Northern Germany. In Prussia it was encouraged by the Baron von Stein, whom the King had placed at the head of the administration in 1807. Stein, however, was not the founder of the society called the *Tugendbund* or League of Virtue. On the contrary, he disapproved of it, considering it unpractical.¹ The League in question was founded by one Badebeben in 1808, and consisted originally of a society of some literary and scientific men, under the name of a Moral and Scientific Union, and ostensibly without any political object; but it soon became a rallying point for Prussian patriots. The society, however, hardly fulfilled the intentions of its founders. It occupied itself with pedantic objects of reform, and by adopting an inquisitorial system of *espionnage* towards those whom it chose to consider as unpatriotic, became more intolerable than the old Prussian *régime*.²

At the same time William, Duke of Brunswick-Oels, third son of Duke Ferdinand, but, his elder brothers having renounced their rights, his destined successor, had conceived the project of bringing together a number of bold spirits who should undertake to re-establish him, as well as the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, in their dominions, to overthrow the Con-

¹ See Pertz, *Leben Steins*, B. ii. S. 193 sqq.

² Menzel, Kap. xlv.

federation of the Rhine, and expel the French from Germany. This society, formed by the Duke at Oels, his residence in Silesia, was joined by many Prussian officers, several of whom also belonged to the *Tugendbund*. When the Cabinet of Vienna was preparing for war it concluded a convention with Duke William, who engaged to raise at his own expense a corps of 2,000 horse. Such was the origin of the famous *Black Brunswickers* or *Death's-head Corps*, so called from their black uniform and the silver image of a skull worn in the cap of the troopers.

Before the Duke took the field, several attempts had been made by German partisans, some even before the Austrian war broke out, against the King of Westphalia. The most remarkable of these was the expedition of Major Schill. Leaving Berlin with his regiment, Schill entered Halle, Halberstadt, and Dömitz, carrying off the military chests belonging to King Jérôme. Being pursued by a Dutch and Danish corps, as well as by the King of Westphalia's troops, Schill threw himself into Stralsund, and was mortally wounded in a battle in that town, May 31st, 1809. Napoleon caused many of Schill's officers captured at Stralsund to be shot; the private soldiers were sent to the galleys at Toulon and Brest. The Duke of Brunswick took the field with his Black Brunswickers about the middle of May. He entered Dresden June 11th, where he was soon after joined by 10,000 Austrians commanded by General Am Ende. The Duke penetrated to Leipsic, but was unable to maintain himself against the superior forces of King Jérôme. After the armistice of Znaym he cut his way through to the coast, and embarked with his legion of 1800 men on vessels furnished by an English squadron at Cuxhaven. The British Parliament assigned him a pension of £7,000.

Schill's
Venture.

Austria and the German patriots reckoned on a formidable expedition that was preparing in England, which, had it been despatched to the Elbe or Weser, would no doubt have produced an electrical effect in Germany. But the views of the English Ministry were directed towards Antwerp and Flushing, which Napoleon was endeavouring to convert into great naval depôts. A fleet under Sir Richard Strachan, consisting of thirty-nine ships of the line, twenty-two frigates, a number of smaller vessels, and about two hundred transports, conveying an army of near 40,000 men, commanded by the Earl

Expedition
to Wal-
cheren.

of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, sailed from Portsmouth towards the end of July. Instead of striking the first blow at Antwerp, then comparatively disarmed, Earl Chatham spent a fortnight in besieging Flushing. This part of the enterprise succeeded. Flushing capitulated August 15th, and the Isles of Walcheren, South Beveland, and Schouwen were occupied. But meanwhile, a large French army, under Bernadotte, had entered Antwerp, and the town was made so strong as to render any enterprise against it impracticable. The occupation of Walcheren, the only place retained, was deemed of no use after the Treaty of Vienna (1809), and as the English army suffered terribly from the fevers and ague which prevail in that island, it was re-embarked early in December. The partial destruction of the fortifications, arsenal, and magazines of Flushing was the only result of an expedition said to have cost twenty millions.

Napoleon
excom-
municated.

The epoch of the Austrian war and humiliation of the Emperor was also marked by the deposition of the Pope. We have already described how Pius VII., early in 1808, was made a prisoner in his own capital, and deprived of his provinces of Urbino, Ancona, and Macerata. Negotiations were then entered into for his abdication, in return for which he was offered a considerable pension, and a residence at Avignon. To these offers Pius refused to listen, and on May 17th, 1809, appeared an Imperial Decree from the camp at Vienna, uniting the Roman States to the French Empire, and declaring Rome a free and Imperial city. In justification of this violence, Napoleon claimed the right, as the successor of Charles the Great, to recall the donation of that Emperor to the Holy See.¹ The change of government was announced to the Roman citizens on June 10th, when the Papal flag was struck on the Castle of St. Angelo, and the French colours hoisted in its place, amidst a salute from the guns of the fortress. The new Government, or *Consulta*, issued a proclamation, promising that Rome should remain the seat of the visible head of the Church, that the Vatican, richly endowed, and elevated above all worldly interests, should present to the universe the spectacle of a purer and more splendid religion. But Pius VII. was by no means tempted with this prospect of his altered position. After having in vain pro-

¹ Garden, t. xii. p. 160.

tested against the sacrilege committed on his rights, he published, on June 11th, 1809, the Bull *Quum Memoranda*, excommunicating Napoleon and all his coadjutors engaged in the violences committed at Rome and in the States of the Church, since February 2nd, 1808. After this misplaced act of vigour, Pius shut himself up in the Quirinal, surrounded by his Swiss guards. On the night of July 4th the walls of his palace were escaladed by the *gendarmérie*, his apartments broken open, he himself seized, and conducted first to Grenoble, then to Savona. As he remained intractable, and as it was feared that he might be carried off by the English cruisers from Savona, he was brought, in the month of June, 1812, to Fontainebleau, and retained there in captivity. Napoleon's decree from Vienna was confirmed by a *Senatus-consulte* of February 17th, 1810, providing for the government of the States of the Church. Rome was declared the second city of the Empire; it was to give the title of King to the Prince Imperial, and the future Emperors of the French, after their coronation in Nôtre Dame, were also to be crowned in St. Peter's at Rome, before the tenth year of their reign.

The Pope
in captivity.

By a decree of March 3rd, 1809, Napoleon bestowed the Grand Duchy of Tuscany on his sister, Eliza Bacciocchi, already the Sovereign of Lucca and Piombino. The mild and beneficent government of this Princess, and her patronage of art and literature, made her beloved by her subjects. In southern Italy, King Joachim of Naples (Murat), soon after his accession, succeeded in driving Sir Hudson Lowe and the English from the Isle of Capri, which they had occupied (October, 1808). In 1809 Sir John Stuart got possession of Ischia and Procida, and an English squadron appeared before Naples; but the citizens, mindful of what they had suffered in 1799, rallied round King Joachim, and rendered the success of a descent too hopeless to be attempted. In the same year, Murat made great preparations for the conquest of Sicily, and assembled a large force in the neighbourhood of Reggio. General Cavaignac's division actually landed between Messina and La Scaletta; but not being supported by the rest of the army, was exterminated (September 18th). In 1811 a revolution was effected in Sicily by Lord William Bentinck. Queen Caroline opposed the British influence in this island; and after the death of Acton, who had pursued a policy of conciliation, the Queen became more violent. The

Affairs in
Naples and
Sicily.

Sicilian barons having declared for the English, four of them were arrested by order of King Ferdinand; and the Court required that the British troops should evacuate the island. But Lord Bentinck's vigorous acts disabled the Court party. Ferdinand resigned the Government in favour of his son; Lord Bentinck was proclaimed Generalissimo of the Sicilian troops, a Parliament which assembled in July, 1812, decreed a constitution modelled on that of Great Britain, and Queen Caroline was compelled to fly the island.

Napoleon
marries
Maria
Louisa,
1810.

After the Peace of Vienna, which seemed to have consolidated his power, Napoleon resolved to strengthen and perpetuate his dynasty by a marriage with the daughter of some Royal house. He no longer entertained the hope of having any issue by Josephine, and on this ground he ordained the dissolution of his marriage with her. His proposals for the hand of a Russian Grand Duchess were coldly received; and his choice then wavered between a daughter of the King of Saxony and an Austrian Archduchess. He at length decided for the latter, and his overtures being accepted by the Emperor Francis, Napoleon was affianced to his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, February 7, 1810. The marriage was celebrated at Vienna March 9th, by procuration, on which occasion the Archduke Charles, the uncle of the bride, represented the French Emperor. Maria Louisa arrived at Compiègne on the 28th. The nuptials, though brilliant, yet somewhat sad, were celebrated at St. Cloud, April 1st. Not a single member of the Austrian family had accompanied Maria Louisa to Paris!

At this period the affairs of Spain and Holland became the chief objects of Napoleon's attention.

Oppression
of Holland.

Holland, like Spain, groaned under the weight of the French alliance. She had been obliged to support a numerous French army, to provide a large fleet for the service of France. and to enter into a war with England by which she had gradually lost all her colonies and all her trade. Since the entry of the French into Holland in 1795, the public debt, already large, had been increased by nearly half. Agriculture, commerce, manufactures, were almost destroyed, and universal distress prevailed. After thus ruining Holland, Napoleon imposed upon it a King, hoping to find in his brother Louis an instrument that would blindly execute all his orders. But in this he was deceived. Compelled to wear a crown

which he had not sought, Louis identified his interests with those of the nation which he was called to govern. To put an end to this state of things, Napoleon, after the peace of Vienna, compelled Louis to sign a treaty, or rather capitulation, at Paris, March 16th, 1810, by the sixth article of which, that "according to the constitutional principle in France, the valley of the Rhine is the limit of the French Empire," the King of Holland ceded to the Emperor of the French Dutch Brabant, all Zealand, with the Isle of Schouwen, and the part of Gelderland on the left bank of the Waal.¹

King Louis returned into Holland at the beginning of April; but it was evident that he could no longer preserve even the shadow of independence. The English expedition to Zealand, and the so-called treaty of March 16th, served as pretences for introducing a large body of French troops into the Kingdom. On the 20th of May, 1810, Napoleon addressed from Ostend a threatening letter to his brother, in which he harshly explained to him the situation which he occupied.

It was evident after this letter that all hope of conciliation was at an end. The Dutch laws, the national uniform, cockade, and flag were set at nought and insulted by the French military authorities; and towards the end of June the French insisted on occupying Amsterdam, though a solemn assurance to the contrary had been given only a little before. Louis at first thought of defending his capital, but as he was not supported in this project by the chief civil and military authorities, there was no alternative but to resign his crown. On the 1st of July, 1810, he signed at Haarlem his Act of abdication, in favour of his eldest son Napoleon Louis, and in his default, of his second son Charles Louis Napoleon.² Holland was annexed to France by a decree of July 10th. Amsterdam was declared the third city of the Empire. All naval and military officers were retained in their posts. Colonial merchandise actually in Holland might be retained by the proprietors on paying an *ad valorem* duty of fifty per cent. The Duke of Piacenza, as Napoleon's lieutenant-general, was to assume at Amsterdam the administration of affairs till January 1st, 1811, when a French Government was to be formed.

Abdication
of Louis
Bonaparte,
1810.

¹ Garden, t. xii. p. 246.

² Afterwards Emperor of the French, then two years of age.

Holland,
Oldenburg,
etc., incor-
porated
1810.

It was not till December 10th, 1810, that Holland was united to France by a formal *Senatus-consulte*. By the first article of the same law, the Hanse Towns, the Duchy of Lauenburg, and the countries situated between the North Sea and a line drawn from the confluence of the Lippe with the Rhine to Haltern, from Haltern to the Ems above Telgte, from the Ems to the confluence of the Werra with the Weser, and from Stolzenau, on that river, to the Elbe, above the confluence of the Stecknitz, were at the same time incorporated with the French Empire.¹ The Duke of Oldenburg having appealed to the Emperor of Russia, the head of his house, against this spoliation, Napoleon offered to compensate him with the town and territory of Erfurt and the Lordship of Blankenheim, which had remained under French administration since the Peace of Tilsit. But this offer was at once rejected, and Alexander reserved, by a formal protest, the rights of his kinsman. This annexation was only the complement of other incorporations with the French Empire during the year 1810. Early in that year, the Electorate of Hanover had been annexed to the Kingdom of Westphalia. On February 16th Napoleon had erected a Grand Duchy of Frankfurt, and presented it to the Prince Primate of the Confederation of the Rhine, with reversion in favour of Eugène Beauharnais. On November 12th the Valais in Switzerland was also annexed to France, with the view of securing the road over the Simplon. Of all these annexations, that of the Hanse Towns and the districts on the North Sea was the most important, and one of the principal causes of the war that ensued between France and Russia. By means of a canal from Lübeck to Hamburg, thence to the Weser, and from the Weser to the Ems, Napoleon proposed ultimately to connect the Baltic with the Seine.

Siege of
Saragossa
1809.

The Peace of Vienna enabled Napoleon to devote all his efforts to the subjugation of Spain. The French were then in the following positions: Gouvion St. Cyr was established in Catalonia; Lannes had been engaged, since the end of December, in the second siege of Saragossa, and was afterwards to reduce Aragon; Marshal Bessières occupied Old Castile, securing the communications with France;

¹ Garden, t. xiii. p. 159 sq. The line described would include the northern part of Westphalia and Hanover, and the duchy of Oldenburg.

Marshal Lefèbvre was to operate in La Mancha; Marshal Victor, after manœuvring on the frontiers of Estremadura, with the view of supporting Marshal Soult in the reduction of Portugal, was to march upon Andalusia, while Marshal Ney was to undertake the conquest of Galicia. Each Marshal acted independently, obeying only the commands of Napoleon, who was afraid to trust any of his lieutenants with the supreme direction of affairs, and deemed his brother Joseph not competent to that office. Joseph had, however, returned to Madrid, January 22nd, 1809. Saragossa surrendered February 20th, after an heroic defence, which might recall the sieges of Numantia or Saguntum. Every street, almost every house, had been warmly contested; the monks, and even the women, had taken a conspicuous share in the defence; more than 40,000 bodies of each sex and every age testified the obstinate courage of the besieged.

Soult, after the battle of Corunna, had entered Portugal, towards the end of March, and was preparing to march upon Lisbon. Victor had defeated the Spanish general Cuesta at Medellin, March 28th. In spite of this defeat, however, Cuesta again raised his army, by reinforcements, to near 40,000 men, and proceeded to form a junction with the English and Portuguese under Sir Arthur Wellesley. That commander landed at Oporto, April 22nd, with considerable reinforcements, which, with the Portuguese under Lord Beresford, brought up the army to more than 25,000 men. A decree of the Prince Regent, December 11th, 1808, had ordered all the men of Portugal, from the age of fifteen to sixty, to take arms, on pain of being shot. Twenty-four Portuguese regiments were taken into English pay, and Lord Beresford was appointed by the Regent field-marshal of all the Portuguese troops. In 1809 Portugal obtained from England a subsidy of £600,000.

Sir Arthur Wellesley immediately advanced against Soult, whom he speedily compelled to evacuate Portugal, and to seek repose under the walls of Lugo. Wellesley then entered Spain, and formed a junction with Cuesta at Oropesa. The British general's army now numbered about 60,000 men, and it was determined to march upon Madrid. King Joseph advanced to meet him, accompanied by Marshals Victor and Jourdan, who in reality commanded the French army. The hostile forces met at Talavera de la Reyna, seventy or eighty

Battle of
Talavera,
1809.

miles south-west of Madrid, July 27th. Here an obstinate battle took place on that and the following day, in which the French were defeated and compelled to retreat over the Alberche with the loss of 10,000 men and twenty guns. Jourdan, indeed, claimed the victory in his official despatch, which, however, was dated from Toledo, showing a retrograde march of sixty miles! For this victory Sir Arthur was rewarded with the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera. But he was not in a condition to pursue his success. Provisions began to fail; Soult, Ney, and Mortier were advancing from the north; he did not repose much confidence in his Spanish allies; and he therefore deemed it prudent to fall back upon Badajoz.

Spanish
defeats.

During this period the Spanish general, Blake, who commanded the armies of Aragon and Valencia, made an attempt to recover Saragossa. But he was completely defeated by Suchet at Belchite, June 18th, and compelled to evacuate Aragon. During Wellington's advance upon Madrid, the army of La Mancha, under Venegas, was also marching upon that capital, which it had reached within a few miles. But the retrograde movement of the British compelled Venegas also to retreat. He was overtaken and defeated by Sebastiani at Almonacid, August 11th, and driven in disorder into the defiles of the Sierra Morena. The news of the armistice of Znaym induced Wellington to cast his eyes on the celebrated position of Torres Vedras, near Lisbon. As he neither approved the plans of the Central Junta, nor received from it the aid which he required, he determined henceforth to undertake no enterprise in conjunction with the Spanish armies. The Spaniards, not discouraged by this determination, continued their operations. The Duke del Parque obtained possession of Salamanca, October 25th. The Junta had succeeded in assembling in La Mancha an army of more than 50,000 men, with 55 guns, which was directed on the capital by way of Toledo. But its commander, Areizaga, who had neither talents nor experience, was completely beaten by Soult at Ocaña, November 19th, with a loss of 5,000 men, and compelled to abandon all his artillery, colours, baggage, and 30,000 prisoners. This was the last pitched battle fought by the Spaniards. The year was concluded by the capture of Gerona by the French, December 10th. The defence of this place, the rampart of Catalonia, by Alvarez, may be paralleled

with that of Saragossa by Palafox. After enduring a siege of half a year, and repulsing numerous assaults, it yielded at length only to famine, after a vain attempt to relieve it by Blake.

In 1810, Napoleon, released from every other continental war, employed all his efforts for the reduction of Spain. All the nations subjected to his influence were obliged to furnish contingents for this purpose; and besides the flower of the French troops, many Swiss, Italian, Neapolitan, Polish, and German regiments contributed to enrich with their blood the soil of the Peninsula. The number of troops thus united amounted to near 370,000 men, of which about 280,000 were able to take the field. An expedition into Portugal was to form the main object of the campaign. But before this could be prepared, King Joseph resolved to attempt the conquest of the southern provinces of Spain. Here lay the chief power of the Spanish insurrection. From Andalusia were drawn the principal resources for the war; the central Junta sat at Seville, and the Cortes had been convoked in that city early in March. Joseph started on this expedition, with 50,000 men; Mortier, Victor, Dessoles, and Sebastian served as his lieutenants. To oppose this force, the Spaniards had only 25,000 men under Areizaga, and 12,000 under the Duke of Albuquerque. The army of Areizaga was soon dispersed. Joseph entered Cordova, January 27th, 1810; Seville, February 1st. Sebastiani occupied Granada, January 29th; early in February he had penetrated to Malaga. Soult also crossed the Sierra Morena, and laid siege to Cadiz, which town was defended by a garrison of 22,000 English, Spanish, and Portuguese, under the command of General Graham. Albuquerque had thrown himself into it with his little army, and after the capture of Seville, Cadiz became the seat of the Spanish Government. Soult ultimately relinquished the conduct of the siege to Victor. The French lines extended from Rota to Chiclana, thus including the two bays of Cadiz, the Isle of Leon, and an adjacent isle on which the city stands.

Campaign
in Andalusia,
1810.

Wellington having prepared the lines of Torres Vedras, obtained the consent of the English Government to defend them to the last; but at the same time he made arrangements with Admiral Berkeley for evacuating the Peninsula in case of need. The outermost of these celebrated lines, which were three in number, ran from the sea by Torres Vedras to

Lines of
Torres
Vedras.

Alhandra on the Tagus, where the river is no longer fordable. Thus the peninsula on which Lisbon stands was completely inclosed, while to the north the whole country was laid waste as far as the river Mondego; the roads, bridges, mills, crops were destroyed, so as to deprive an invading army of the means of subsistence. Each of the three lines was protected by numerous forts and redouts, and they bristled altogether with near 400 pieces of artillery. Wellington's retreat to these lines from a position which he had taken up on the Coa, in the province of Beira, had been secured by fortifying all the positions both on the road along the Tagus by Abrantes, and that on the sea-coast by Coimbra; both of which unite at the defile of Santarem.

Masséna
takes
Ciudad
Rodrigo,
1810.

Masséna took the command of the French army at Salamanca, towards the end of May, to make a third attempt at the conquest of Portugal. His army consisted of 70,000 veteran troops, and a reserve of about 18,000 at Valladolid under Drouet. Wellington had about 24,000 British troops and 50,000 Portuguese, but part of this force had been detached beyond the Tagus to observe Soult. Masséna began the campaign by the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, June 25th, which capitulated July 12th. It formed part of Wellington's plans not to quit his position in order to relieve this city. Almeida was next attacked, when the explosion of the principal powder-magazine, August 27th, having destroyed great part of the city and ramparts, and many of the garrison, compelled the commandant to surrender. Wellington now retreated by the valley of the Mondego, defending one position after another, and destroying at each attack a great many of the French. In October Wellington entered the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras. After seeking in vain for a vulnerable point, Masséna took up a position between Santarem and Alcanede towards the middle of November. Here he remained with little alteration several months, till at last the absolute want of provisions compelled him to retreat, March 1st, 1811. He was pursued by Wellington, who, on the 7th of April, invested Almeida. To relieve this place, Masséna delivered two battles at Fuentes d'Onoro, May 3rd and 5th, in which he was defeated. The French then evacuated Almeida.

General Graham having made an attempt to raise the blockade of Cadiz, Soult quitted Estremadura to march to

Victor's assistance. But Beresford and Castaños having taken advantage of this movement to cross the Guadiana, invest Badajos, and march upon Seville, Soult retraced his steps, and gave them battle at Albuera, May 16th. Victory remained with Beresford and Soult abandoned the field of battle, and retreated southwards. Wellington, leaving Sir B. Spencer and Crawford to watch the French army under Marmont, by whom Masséna had been superseded, came to superintend in person the siege of Badajos. But Soult, with reinforcements, having again advanced from the Sierra Morena and formed a junction with Marmont at Merida, Wellington raised the siege, and retired to Portalegre in the Alenteijo. Hence he subsequently crossed the Tagus, and during the remainder of the year remained on the defensive. Suchet, commander of the French division on the Ebro, made several important conquests in the course of 1811. Tortosa surrendered to him January 2nd, Tarragona on the 28th of June, after a seven weeks' siege, which, for the obstinacy of the defence, might almost vie with those of Saragossa and Gerona. This victory procured for Suchet the *bâton* of marshal. Suchet, after taking Montserrat by assault, July 25th, applied himself to the reduction of the province of Valencia. The central Junta, now sitting at Cadiz, intrusted the defence of this province to General Blake. Suchet entered Valencia in the middle of September, and laid siege to Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum. Blake, who made an attempt to relieve the place, was defeated by Suchet, October 25th, and compelled to retire into the town of Valencia. Murviedro surrendered two days after. Suchet then besieged Blake in Valencia, who was reduced to capitulate, January 9th, 1812.¹

The Battle
of Albuera,
May 16th,
1810.

The Cam-
paign of
1811.

Wellington began the campaign of 1812 by suddenly passing the Agueda, surprising in the night of January 9th some of the outworks of Ciudad Rodrigo, and taking that town on the 19th. Then, after leaving a Spanish garrison in the town, he retreated into Portugal. In March, he resumed the offensive; Badajos was taken by assault, after a siege of three weeks, April 6th. Wellington then advanced to the Tormes.

Battle of
Salamanca,
1812.

¹ Suchet, who, in reward for his victories, was created Duke of Albuera, has written an account of the French campaigns in Spain: *Mém. du Maréchal Suchet sur les Campagnes en Espagne depuis 1808 jusqu'en 1814.*

He appeared before Salamanca on the 16th of June, which place surrendered on the 28th. The French now retired awhile behind the Douro, but recrossed that river about the middle of July, and gave Wellington battle in the environs of SALAMANCA on the 22nd. In this engagement, Marmont was wounded and completely defeated. The consequences of Wellington's victory were highly important. The French were compelled to evacuate New Castile and Andalusia, thus raising the lengthened blockade of Cadiz, and leaving behind them their artillery. Soult, with the army of Andalusia, was ordered to form a junction with King Joseph, who was preparing to retire to Valencia. The absurd and obstinate pride of the General Ballasteros, who refused to co-operate with the British, is said to have prevented Wellington from intercepting Soult's northward march. After its defeat at Salamanca, Marmont's army, now commanded by Clauset, fled precipitately to Valladolid. Wellington now marched upon Madrid, which he entered, August 12th. The French garrison in the Retiro surrendered on the 14th, when 180 guns and a large quantity of arms and ammunition were captured; Wellington was named by the Cortes Generalissimo of all the Spanish armies, September 25th. But as it was impossible to hold a large and open town like Madrid, in face of the French armies, which surrounded it on all sides, Wellington retired to Salamanca, and thence took up his winter quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo. The French re-entered Madrid in November.

Thus, on the whole, the "Spanish ulcer" was fast eating into Napoleon's power. And now was to be added to it a war with Russia, which gave an impulse to his downfall. At this period of the fullest development of his Empire, the countries over which he ruled, either immediately or by his Viceroys and tributary Princes, were France with the annexations of Holland, the Hanse Towns, the Duchy of Oldenburg, the Valais, etc., containing a population computed at 42,000,000 souls; Italy, including Naples, etc., 10,600,000; the Illyrian Provinces, 1,000,000; the Confederation of the Rhine, 11,000,000; the Kingdom of Westphalia, 2,100,000; the Duchy of Warsaw, 3,600,000; Switzerland, 1,600,000; forming a total of nearly 72,000,000 souls.

But these successes, so far from satisfying, had only whetted Napoleon's ambition. He aspired to be the master of the world. On his return from Holland in 1810, he had been

Napoleon
at the
height of
his power.

Napoleon's
aims.

heard to exclaim that in five years he should attain that object. Russia was the only obstacle, but Russia should be crushed. Paris should extend to St. Cloud. He would build fifteen ships every year, but launch none till he had 150. Then he should be master of the sea as well as the land. Russia, the only Power which could impede these projects, became by that circumstance alone his principal enemy; while the refusal of the hand of the Grand Duchess Anne piqued his pride, and stimulated to revenge. His marriage with Maria Louisa entitled him to reckon on Austria, and from that event must be dated his schemes against Russia.

It did not long escape the penetration of the Emperor Alexander, that Napoleon had begun to regard the arrangement made at Erfurt as a dead letter. The Tsar had several well-grounded causes of complaint. The establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw, especially after its aggrandizement by the Treaty of Schönbrunn, was a standing menace. The deprivation of English commerce had inflicted a severe blow upon the prosperity of Russia. The annexation of Oldenburg to the French Empire was felt by Alexander as an insult and injury to his family. But all these minor grievances sunk into insignificance in comparison with the great question whether Napoleon was to be the absolute Dictator of Europe. Napoleon, on his side, complained that the Emperor of Russia, contrary to the faith of treaties, had been of no service to him whatever in his war with Austria; that, instead of marching 150,000 men, as it was in his power, to second the French army, he had only sent 15,000, and even these so late that the war had been decided before they crossed the frontier.¹

Causes of
the break
between
Napoleon
and Alex-
ander.

Alarmed at the additions made to the Duchy of Warsaw by the Treaty of Vienna, Alexander had procured, January 5th, 1810, the signature of the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg to a Convention, stipulating that the Kingdom of Poland should never be re-established, that the names of Poland and the Poles should be used in no public act, and that no part of the ancient Kingdom of Poland should be annexed to the Duchy of Warsaw.² This act Napoleon refused to ratify on the pretext that it was incompatible with his dignity; though

Quarrel of
Napoleon
and Alex-
ander.

¹ *Report of the Duke of Bassano to the French Emperor June 20th, 1812, ap. Garden, t. xiii. p. 242. See also Vandal, Napoléon et Alexandre III.*

² *Ibid.* p. 176.

he offered to sign a different and much less explicit engagement. Alexander considered this refusal as the first positive indication of Napoleon's altered views. Before the end of the year (December 31st, 1810) appeared a ukase for a new tariff of customs, by which French goods were either prohibited or charged with higher duties, while colonial merchandise was permitted to enter under a neutral flag.¹ In other words, Russia modified the Continental System, and consequently the intimate alliance with Napoleon of which it was the pledge. The ukase was also made a political measure by organizing, for the enforcement of these measures, an army of 90,000 men, under the name of *frontier guards*, commanded by officers of the regular army. Napoleon complained bitterly of this proceeding, and made it the pretext for a new conscription. Besides this measure, the arming of the Poles of the Duchy of Warsaw, and the gradual reinforcement of the French army in Germany, whose headquarters were transferred from Ratisbon to Hamburg, gave unequivocal proof of the French Emperor's hostile disposition. Alexander, to obviate the consequences, directed the greater part of his military force towards the western frontier of his Empire. Napoleon, however, embarrassed by the affairs of Spain, was not yet prepared to strike the meditated blow. He found it prudent to dissemble for the present, and the year 1811 was spent in negotiations.

Russo-
Turkish
War,
1809-1812.

In connection with a war between France and Russia, the disposition of Turkey and Sweden was of the highest importance. Russia was at this time engaged in a war with the Porte. It will be recollected that in the conferences at Erfurt in the autumn of 1808, Napoleon had conceded to Alexander the annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia. Immediately on his return to St. Petersburg, the Tsar directed that the Porte should be informed of this arrangement, and a congress was assembled at Jassy to carry it into execution. But when the Russian plenipotentiaries required, as preliminary bases, the cession of the two provinces and the expulsion of the English Ambassador from Constantinople, the Porte at once broke off the conferences, and hostilities immediately ensued. The chief operation of the campaign of 1809 was the capture of Ismail by the Russians, September 26th, who were at first

¹ Garden, t. xiii. p. 178 sqq.

commanded by Posorovski and then by Prince Bagration. A battle at Tartaritzza, November 3rd, remained undecided. In 1810, Kamenskoï II., who had succeeded Bagration, captured Silistria, June 23rd. He then assaulted the intrenched camp of the Vizier, Yusuf Pasha, on the heights of Shumla, July 5th and 6th, without success. The Russians were also repulsed with great loss in an attack upon Rustchuk, defended by Ali Pasha and Boznak Aga, August 16th. But on September 19th, the Turks under Achmet Pasha were signally defeated at Batyne; a victory which put the Russians in possession of Sistova and the Turkish flotilla at that place. Gladova, Rustchuk, Ghiurgevo, Widdin, Nikopolis, Turna, now surrendered in quick succession. At the end of the year the Russians found themselves masters of the right bank of the Danube; but the Grand Vizier still held out in his formidable camp at Shumla. A great many places in Servia were also wrested from the Turks by the insurgents of that province, assisted by a Russian force. The Turks were discouraged; a Congress assembled at Bucharest, and everything seemed to promise a speedy peace, when, by a sudden revolution, Yusuf Pasha was superseded, and the command given to Achmet Aga, an active and enterprising general. Under his auspices the Turkish cause revived. At this time the Russian army, apparently in the confident anticipation of a peace with the Porte through the mediation of England, had been weakened by the removal of five divisions to the frontiers of the Duchy of Warsaw in anticipation of the French war; from the same cause the Turkish artillery was now directed by French officers, and did formidable execution. Kutusov, who had succeeded Kamenskoï in command of the Russians, was compelled to abandon all his posts on the left bank of the Danube, and Achmet Aga crossed that river and carried the war into Wallachia. But this advance proved his destruction. General Markov, crossing the Danube above Rutschuk, surprised the Turkish reserve before that place and compelled it to enter the town. The army of Achmet was thus cut off, and, as a Russian flotilla had gained the command of the river, it was compelled to capitulate to Kutusov December 20th. The Porte now sued for peace; a Congress was opened at Bucharest, and a treaty was signed at that place, May 28th, 1812, in spite of all Napoleon's attempt to dissuade the Sultan from entering into it. The Pruth was

Treaty of
Bucharest,
1812.

now to form the boundary between the two empires; an arrangement by which the Porte abandoned all Bessarabia with Ismail and Kilia, the fortresses of Chotzin and Bender, and about a third part of Moldavia.¹ But the impending hostilities between France and Russia had probably saved Turkey from dismemberment, or, at all events, from the loss of all Moldavia and Wallachia. An armistice was granted to the Servians.

Sweden.

Both Emperors had courted the aid of Sweden in the approaching struggle; Napoleon by compulsion and threats, Alexander by representations and promises. A sort of revolution had taken place in that country. Charles XIII. having no issue, nor hopes of any, the Swedes had, in August, 1809, elected as their Crown Prince Christian Augustus of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg, the nearest kinsman of the King of Denmark. The choice was popular with the greater part of the nation. Christian Augustus was received with enthusiasm on his arrival in Sweden in January, 1810, except by the higher aristocracy, and especially the families of Piper and Fersen. But he enjoyed his new dignity only a few months. At a review held in Schonen, May 23rd, he fell from his horse and suddenly expired. Popular suspicion was directed against Count Fersen and his sister the Countess Piper, of having poisoned him, and on the funeral day of the Crown Prince the Count was maltreated and murdered by the mob, the Palace of his sister stormed and sacked. Frederick VI., King of Denmark, who had succeeded to that throne on the death of Christian VII. in March, 1808, became a candidate for that of Sweden. But the Swedes had turned their views on Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, who had acquired the esteem of the Swedes during his administration of Hanover and the Hanse Towns, as well as the affection of Count Mörner and other Swedish officers, by his conduct after capturing them at Travemünde in 1806. Mörner, who had great influence among the elective nobility, took up the cause of Bernadotte, whose name had been already mentioned at the time of the first vacancy. Bernadotte had also acquired other partizans among the Swedish nobles at the time when he commanded in North Germany and Jutland. Mörner sent his nephew to Paris, with an offer to Bernadotte to support his

Bernadotte
Crown
Prince of
Sweden.

¹ Koch et Schöll, *Traité*s, t. xiv. p. 539 sqq.

election, on condition that he should abandon his French citizenship and openly adopt the Lutheran Confession. The offer was accepted, subject to the approbation of Napoleon, which was accorded; and on the 25th of August, 1810, Charles John Bernadotte was unanimously elected Crown Prince of Sweden by the four orders of the States assembled at Orebro. Napoleon absolved Bernadotte from his allegiance, presented him with 2,000,000 francs, appointed a splendid suite to accompany him into Sweden, defrayed the expenses of his inauguration, and allowed him to retain the possessions which he had purchased in France. The new Crown Prince arrived in Sweden in October, 1810. He was immediately adopted by Charles XIII. as his son, appointed Generalissimo of the forces, and initiated in all the affairs of State, in which he henceforth took a leading part.¹

We have already related that Sweden, as the price of peace with France had been compelled to accede to the Continental System by the Treaty of Paris, January 6th, 1810. But this engagement was eluded by an active contraband trade, which was extremely facilitated by the conformation of the Swedish coasts. Hence violent remonstrances on the part of Napoleon, who accused the Swedish Government of conniving at this evasion of the treaty, and becoming a useful ally of England. In November, 1810, the French Minister at Stockholm demanded that Sweden should declare war against England, should cause all English vessels in her ports to be seized, all English and colonial goods to be confiscated, under whatever flag imported. If these demands were not accorded in five days, the French Ambassador was immediately to take his departure. Charles XIII. had no alternative, and declared war against Great Britain November 17th, 1810; a step, however, which that country seemed to ignore. Napoleon, having thus, as he imagined, compromised Sweden, began to develop his further plans. Though he had implicated that country in a maritime war with the English, he demanded 6,000 Swedish sailors to complete the crews of his fleet at Brest; a requisition which Charles XIII. refused by pleading

Sweden and
the Con-
tinental
System.

¹ Respecting Bernadotte as Crown Prince and King of Sweden, see Mörner, *Wahl des Prinzen von Ponte Corvo*; Meredith, *Memorials of Charles John, King of Sweden and Norway*; Coupé de St. Donat et B. de Roquefort, *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de Charles XIV. Jean, Roi de Suède et de Norvège*.

the constitutional laws of his kingdom. The French Government then required the adoption of the tariff of Trianon in Sweden, and the establishment at Gothenburg of a French custom-house staff. Presently Napoleon began to develop his project against Russia by demanding the formation of a Northern Confederation, on the plan of that of the Rhine, to be composed of Denmark, Sweden, and the Duchy of Warsaw, under himself as Protector. As this proposal was not accepted, it was altered for an intimate alliance with France. But Napoleon, perceiving that he could not rely on the friendship of a Power which he had placed in a position contrary to its interests, began to change his tone and conduct. French privateers were allowed to capture Swedish vessels, on pretence that they were not provided with licences. Presently they began to attack Swedish coasters in the Sound, laden with the produce or manufactures of Sweden, on the allegation that their cargoes were destined for Great Britain. Napoleon also caused all Swedish ships in German harbours to be seized, treated their crews as prisoners of war, placed them in irons, and despatched them to serve in the French fleets at Antwerp and Toulon.

Pomerania
seized, 1812.

These hostile measures were rendered still more insupportable by the overbearing tone adopted by M. Alquier, the French Ambassador. At length the seal was put to them by the seizure of Pomerania. Marshal Davoust, Prince d'Eckmühl, who ruled in North Germany with a rod of iron, and whose zeal, perhaps, was further stimulated by the personal enmity which he felt for Bernadotte, despatched, in January, 1812, General Friant, with 15,000 or 20,000 men, into Pomerania. The General, who was accompanied by a whole legion of custom-house officers, announced himself as a friend, and the Swedish Governor of the Province, who had only a few thousand men at his disposal, could make no resistance. No sooner had the French troops entered, than all the Swedish officers employed in the public service were carried off and imprisoned at Hamburg, and their posts filled up with Frenchmen. Enormous contributions were imposed upon the inhabitants, all Swedish vessels were seized and armed as privateers. At the beginning of March, the Swedish troops, which till then had acted with the French, were disarmed, and sent into France as prisoners of war.

Bernadotte, as Crown Prince, had sincerely embraced the

Russia and
Sweden.

interests of his adoptive country. There is reason to believe that before the end of 1810, and consequently only a few months after his arrival in Sweden, he had come to an understanding with the Russian Emperor with regard to an alliance against France. At that period Alexander had virtually annulled the Treaty of Tilsit, by rejecting the Continental System. At the beginning of 1811, Russia and England were already preparing the events of the following year;¹ and Alexander reckoned so securely on Sweden that he could venture to withdraw a great part of his troops from Finland, in order to send them to Poland. The Crown Prince had the sole conduct of Swedish affairs during the greater part of the year 1811, Charles XIII. having withdrawn from business on account of ill-health. The acquisition of Norway formed at this time a main object of Swedish policy. As France was in strict alliance with Denmark, it could hardly be expected that she would assist Sweden in wresting Norway from the Danes; while such a service might be anticipated from Russia and England, the enemies of Denmark. Here, then, was another motive with the Crown Prince, besides the insults and oppressions of Napoleon, for preferring the alliance with Russia. The French invasion of Pomerania drove the Swedes completely into the arms of Russia. In March, 1812, Napoleon, who had now matured his projects against Russia, made an attempt to conciliate Sweden by offering to restore Pomerania, on condition that she should make a fresh declaration of war against England, should fire on all English vessels passing the Sound, and should put on foot an army of 30,000 or 40,000 men to attack Russia when Napoleon should commence hostilities with that Power; in return for which services Napoleon also engaged to procure for Sweden the restitution of Finland.² The Crown Prince, who was, in fact, now negotiating a treaty with Russia, replied in general terms, attributing the alienation of the Swedes to the conduct of the French Government, and especially of their Ambassador, M. Alquier; he invoked, in the name of humanity, and of Napoleon's own glory, that an end should be put to a slaughter that had desolated the earth during twenty years, and offered

¹ Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrhunderts*, B. ii. S. 747. For the negotiations of this period, see also Bignon, *Hist. de France sous Napoléon, depuis la paix de Tilsit*, t. x. ch. viii.

² Garden, t. xiii. p. 20 sq.

the services of Sweden for a reconciliation between Napoleon and Alexander. But of this communication no notice appears to have been taken.

Treaty
between
Russia and
Sweden,
1812.

On April 5th, 1812, a secret treaty was concluded at St. Petersburg between Russia and Sweden, which is important as having founded the existing system of the north of Europe. Alexander engaged to unite Norway with Sweden, either by means of negotiations with Denmark, or by furnishing an army of 35,000 men. After the annexation of Norway, Sweden was to assist Russia in her war with France by throwing some 30,000 men on any point of the German coast that might be selected. On July 18th, when hostilities had already broken out between France and Russia, a treaty of peace between Great Britain and Sweden was signed at Orebro;¹ which was immediately followed by an ordinance of Charles XIII., opening the Swedish ports to vessels of all nations. On the same day a treaty was also signed at the same place between Great Britain and Russia; and by an Imperial *ukase* of August 16th, the ports of the Russian Empire were opened to British commerce before the treaty had been ratified. Such was the need which the Russians felt for peace.² No hostilities, however, actually ensued between France and Sweden till the beginning of 1813.

Position of
Austria and
Prussia.

Both Turkey and Sweden might be valuable auxiliaries either to France or Russia in the grand "world's debate" which was about to open; yet there was nothing in their geographical position to prevent them from remaining neutral. Such was not the case with Austria and Prussia. These Powers were too near the scene of action to remain mere passive spectators of it; a remark, however, which applies with more force to Prussia than to Austria. The Prussian territories could hardly fail to become the actual field of battle; large bodies of French troops were already cantoned in Prussia, and occupied some of her principal fortresses. Both Austria and Prussia adopted the policy of an alliance with France. The Cabinet of Vienna excused this step on the ground that Napoleon would recognize no other neutrality than a complete disarming, which would have reduced Austria to a political nullity. The Emperor Francis, therefore, resolved to take part in the war, but only with a portion of his troops;

Austrian
Treaty with
France,
1812.

¹ Martens, *N. R.* t. i. p. 431.

² Garden, t. xiii. p. 408.

an arrangement which would permit him to strike a decisive blow when the proper moment should arrive. In pursuance of this policy, a treaty was concluded between the Emperors Francis and Napoleon at Paris, March 14th, 1812;¹ in a separate article of which it was expressly stipulated that Austria should assist France in her war with Russia.

At this period Hardenberg was again at the head of the Prussian Government, having accepted, in June, 1810, the office of State-Chancellor. Under the appearance of inclining to France, Hardenberg concealed his prosecution of German interests. Neutrality and an alliance with Russia being equally out of the question, a treaty with Napoleon remained the only alternative. Already in the spring of 1811, at the first indications of a war, Frederick William III. made overtures to Napoleon for an alliance in a tone which showed Prussia no longer one of the great European Powers, but almost as much a satellite of France as the Confederates of the Rhine.² The proposal was rejected by Napoleon on the ground of its being premature; but on February 24th, 1812, an alliance, offensive and defensive, was contracted between France and Prussia, which by a secret article was expressly directed against Russia. Frederick William III., in the event of a war between that country and France, agreed to furnish 20,000 men, with sixty guns, for active service, with the necessary baggage trains, besides large garrisons to be placed in different towns of the kingdom. He also engaged to make no levy of troops, nor any military movement, except in concert with France and for the benefit of the alliance, so long as the French army should be on Prussian territory, or on that of the enemy. In case of a prosperous termination of the war, Prussia was to be indemnified for her expenses by an addition of territory. But in spite of this alliance, Prussia was treated by the French like the country of an enemy. Up to September, 1812, 77,920 horses and 13,349 carriages were taken by force from the province of Prussia, and from the eight circles alone of Eastern Prussia 22,722 oxen.³

Prussian
Treaty with
France,
1812.

Before embarking in the Russian war, Napoleon made, or

¹ Martens, *N. R.* t. i. p. 427.

² See his letter to General Krusemarek, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, May 14th, 1811, ap. Garden, t. xiii. p. 221 sqq.

³ Garden, t. xiii. p. 239 note.

Napoleon's
proposals to
England.

pretended to make, some conciliatory overtures to England. On April 17th, 1812, the Duke of Bassano, the French Foreign Minister, addressed a communication to Lord Castlereagh, in which he proposed the following bases of negotiation: The guarantee of the integrity of Spain; the renunciation by France of all extension of territory on the side of the Pyrenees; the declaration of the independence of the *actual dynasty*, and the government of Spain by the national constitution of the Cortes. Also, the guarantee of the independence and integrity of Portugal, where the House of Braganza was to reign; the Kingdom of Naples to remain in possession of the present King of Naples; the Kingdom of Sicily to be guaranteed to the actual House of Sicily; Spain, Portugal, and Sicily to be evacuated both by the French and English forces.¹

The whole tenour of the French communication evidently shows that Napoleon's intention only was to attempt to set himself right with European opinion; for he could not have seriously thought that England would consent to evacuate the Peninsula and Sicily, leaving his brother and his brother-in-law masters of Spain and Naples, and himself in possession of Holland and the coasts of Northern Germany. Lord Castlereagh, in reply, observed that if by the *actual dynasty* of Spain was meant the brother of the head of the French Government, and not the legitimate Sovereign Ferdinand VII. and his heirs, the Prince Regent had directed him frankly to declare that no proposition founded on such a base could be accepted. He was also instructed not to enter into recriminations on the other subjects of the French Minister's letter. The correspondence which had taken place at the previous epochs alluded to, and the judgment which the world had long since pronounced upon it, sufficed for the justification of Great Britain. Thus the peace of Europe, it has been remarked, remained compromised because Napoleon was resolved to maintain his brother on the Spanish throne.

Breach
between
Russia and
France.

Some threatening correspondence had taken place between the Courts of the Tuileries and St. Petersburg in the course of 1811, and, on August 15th, one of those violent scenes had taken place between Napoleon and Prince Kurakin, the Russian ambassador, before the whole diplomatic circle at the Tuileries, which the French Emperor was accustomed to get

¹ Garden, t. xiii. pp. 254-257.

up when he contemplated a war, and which served as a manifesto to the different European Courts. Napoleon terminated it by demanding that Russia should withdraw the troops which she had placed on the frontiers of Poland, and should disavow her protest against the incorporation of Oldenburg; though he had acknowledged in the course of the conversation that he had been ignorant of the nature of the relations between that Duchy and Russia, and that, had he been acquainted with them, he should not have annexed it. Alexander refused to give up Oldenburg; but he offered to place his forces on the footing of peace, if Napoleon would do the same. He had no intention, however, to make the affair of Oldenburg a cause of war;¹ and all the military preparations which he had made were purely defensive. Prince Kurakin delivered to the French Government, April 30th, 1812, a note which may be regarded as the Russian ultimatum. It demanded the conservation of Prussia, and its independence of any political alliance directed against Russia, a formal engagement for the entire evacuation of the Prussian States and fortresses, a diminution of the garrison of Dantzic, the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania, and an arrangement with the King of Sweden. Alexander, on his side, promised to make no change in the prohibitive measures he had adopted against direct commerce with England, and to come to an understanding with France about a system of licenses. He also engaged to negotiate with France a commercial treaty, and to persuade the Duke of Oldenburg to accept a suitable equivalent for his Duchy.² This note remained unanswered, and after a little mere formal correspondence the rupture was complete.

The marriage of Napoleon with an Austrian Princess, the apparent consolidation of his dynasty the following year by the birth of a son (March 20th, 1811), who received the title of King of Rome, had lulled the French nation with false hopes of peace; nor was it till the last moment that they were undeceived. The real object of the Emperor's vast preparations was disguised under the most various and sometimes the most absurd pretences. Napoleon himself seems to have entertained till the very last a hope that Alexander would not

¹ See Knesebeck's Report to the King of Prussia, from St. Petersburg, March 23rd, 1812, Garden, t. xiii. p. 302.

² Garden, t. xiii. p. 314.

suffer matters to come to extremities, but that, dismayed by the mighty force arrayed against him, he would yield to the demands of France. Napoleon had made all his arrangements by the end of February, 1812. Germany bore the appearance of a vast camp. The official state of Napoleon's army gave a total of 678,080 men, of whom considerably more than half were French. The remainder was composed of Germans, Austrians, Poles, Italians, and other foreigners. Making the usual deductions, the effective force may be estimated at considerably more than half a million men; having with them 1,372 guns, and followed by more than 20,000 waggons and other carriages.

Napoleon
at Dresden.

On the 9th of May, after providing for the conduct of affairs during his absence, Napoleon, accompanied by the Empress, left St. Cloud for Dresden. The principal Sovereigns of Germany had been invited to meet him in that city; a Congress designed, not merely for the gratification of Napoleon's pride, but to draw more closely his alliance with its members, as well as to dazzle the eyes of Russia, and to inspire it, perhaps, even at the eleventh hour, with a desire for peace. He arrived in Dresden, May 16th, and took up his residence in the royal palace. On the following day appeared the Emperor and Empress of Austria, with the Archdukes, the Queen of Westphalia, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and, successively, most of the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, with their principal Ministers. The King of Prussia arrived a few days later, having, according to a previous arrangement, at first expected to receive Napoleon in Berlin.¹

In the midst of all the fêtes and splendour of his residence at Dresden, Napoleon employed himself in making the last arrangements for the campaign. The arrival of Count de Narbonne at Dresden, May 28th, who had been despatched to St. Petersburg to make a last attempt to conciliate the Emperor of Russia, put an end to all hopes of that description. Alexander was inflexible. His last words to the French ambassador were, that Napoleon might cross the Niemen, but that he would never sign a peace dictated on Russian territory. The very next day Napoleon left Dresden to join his army. After arranging at Thorn the affairs of the Duchy of

¹ See for these affairs De Pradt, *Hist. de l'Ambassade de Varsovie*.

Warsaw, he appeared at Dantzic, June 6th, and declared that town united to the French Empire. Thence he arrived at the headquarters at Königsberg, June 12th. At Gumbinnen, the frontier town of East Prussia, the rupture was finally declared, June 21st. The declaration of war of the Emperor of Russia was published, July 6th, at Vilna, where he had fixed his headquarters; since the French operations having for their bases the fortresses of the Lower Vistula and the Pregel, the attack would necessarily be made in this quarter.¹

The Russian line of defence was formed by three armies. The first of these, occupying the Niemen, and consisting of 140,000 men under Barclay de Tolly, was supported by Riga and Düna burg, and a vast intrenched camp at Drissa. The advanced guard occupied Kovno; the centre, under the Grand Duke Constantine, was posted at Vilna and the environs; the right wing, commanded by Wittgenstein, secured, at Rossieny and Keydany, the roads to St. Petersburg; the left, under Doctorov, was stationed between Grodno and Lida, covering the by-roads towards Moscow. The second army of about 50,000 men, under Prince Bagration, was concentrated more to the south, between Bialystok and Wolkowisk, threatening the flank of the invaders. The third army, still further south, was assembled at Lutzk, on the road between Vienna and Kief; it consisted of about 45,000 men, under Tormassov, and was destined, like the army of Bagration, to act on the offensive. The Russians had besides about 40,000 men in different garrisons; to which must be added the army of Moldavia of 60,000 men, ultimately released by the Peace of Bucharest, as well as some regiments withdrawn from Finland, and the militia and volunteers of Moscow and St. Petersburg, 120,000 men.

Such was the line of defence, against which Napoleon divided his army into five columns of attack. Macdonald, with the extreme left, was to advance from Tilsit, and hold

Opening of
hostilities,
1812.

¹ The principal works on the Russian campaign are Chambray, *Hist. de l'Expéd. de Russie*; Labeaume, *Relation de la Campagne de Russie*; Ségur, *Hist. de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée pendant l'Année 1812*; Boutourlin (adjutant to the Emperor Alexander), *Hist. Milit. de la Campagne de Russie*; Ducasse, *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de la Campagne de 1812 en Russie, suivis des Lettres de Napoléon au Roi de Westphalie pendant la Campagne de 1813* (Paris, 1852). This last work throws new light on different points from authentic documents.

Wittgenstein in check. The Emperor himself, with Davoust, Oudinot, Ney, Murat, and the Imperial Guard, marched to attack the Russian advanced guard and centre at Kovno and Vilna. Prince Eugène, with the third column, was to throw himself between Barclay de Tolly and Doctorov. The King of Westphalia, with the fourth, was to debouch by Grodno, and advance upon Bagration. Finally, Prince Schwarzenberg, with the fifth column, on the extreme right, was directed to hold Tormassov in check and to cover the Duchy of Warsaw.

Advance of
Napoleon.

Napoleon, with 250,000 men, crossed the Niemen on the night of June 23rd. His object was to gain the elevated plateau forming the watershed which separates the sources of the Dwina and the Dnieper; the first of which, running northwards, falls into the Baltic, while the other, taking a southerly course, discharges itself into the Black Sea. On the northern side of this plateau, on the banks of the Dwina, stands the town of Vitebsk; on the southern, upon the Dnieper, Smolensk; thus forming a position which, by a decisive battle, would open to Napoleon the road either to St. Petersburg or to Moscow. At his approach the Russians abandoned Kovno and Vilna, which latter place he entered, June 28th. Eugène and Jérôme had delayed their advance not to alarm Bagration prematurely. It was not till the 30th that they passed the Niemen; Eugène at Pily, Jérôme at Grodno. The evening before, a terrible storm had burst over Lithuania, succeeded by a hurricane, inundations, and excessive cold. In that and the two following days, 10,000 horses are said to have perished; the roads having become impracticable, the march of the troops was suspended, 100 guns were abandoned, and an immense quantity of provisions and ammunition was sacrificed for want of transport. Jérôme was detained at Grodno till July 4th, and Napoleon also was compelled to suspend his operations.

The Bishop of Mechlin (De Pradt), who had been sent as ambassador to Warsaw, convoked in that city an extraordinary Diet, which having assembled, June 26th, immediately constituted itself a General Confederation for Poland, and declared the re-establishment of the Polish Kingdom and nation. The King of Saxony signed his adherence to the Confederation, July 12th. But Napoleon, though such a re-establishment entered ultimately into his

views, hesitated at present to alienate his Austrian and Prussian allies by sanctioning such a step, and gave only an evasive answer to the deputation which had been despatched to solicit his consent. Napoleon established at Vilna a section of the Imperial Cabinet, with the Duke of Bassano at the head; so that foreign envoys, who at present followed his movements, might transact their business there with his Foreign Minister. He also instituted a provincial government of Lithuania, and caused proclamations to be published, exhorting the inhabitants to throw off the Russian yoke. But these appeals met with little or no response. The Lithuanians, assimilated to the Russians by a common language and religion, had experienced at the hands of the Imperial Government a far more considerate treatment than Prussia had adopted towards her Polish subjects.

Barclay de Tolly had retired to the intrenched camp at Drissa, on the Dwina, whither he was followed by Ney and Oudinot. On their approach, the Russian General retreated upon Vitebsk and Smolensk, and at the latter place he formed a junction with Bagration. That General had also retreated before Davoust, who had now superseded the King of Westphalia in the command of the French right wing. Davoust had endeavoured to intercept Bagration's march, but, by a battle which the Russians offered him at Mohilev, July 23rd, was frustrated in that design. On July 25th, and two following days, Murat and Eugène fought some battles at Ostrowno with the rear-guard of Barclay de Tolly's army, in which they lost a great many men. At the approach of the French, Vitebsk was burnt and abandoned by the Russians, who concentrated their forces at Smolensk. During these events, Tormassov, with the Russian left, had succeeded in holding in check the extreme right of the French, composed of Austrians and Saxons under Prince Schwarzenberg.

The extreme heat of the weather and the privations endured by the French army—for the Russians as they retreated had destroyed their magazines at Vilna and other places—induced Napoleon to rest his men for the space of a fortnight at Vitebsk (July 28th—August 10th). Napoleon had previously lost seventeen days at Vilna: a delay considered by military critics as the greatest error he ever committed. On August 10th, the French army began to move upon Smolensk. On the 14th, a serious engagement took place at Krasnoï, in

Retreat
of the
Russians.

Capture of
Smolensk.

which Murat and Ney were victorious. On the 16th the French army appeared before Smolensk. This place was regarded as the key of Moscow, and Napoleon resolved to take it by assault. The attack lasted the whole of the 17th, and in the evening he was master of the town. But the victory had cost him 12,000 men, and he found only a heap of smoking ruins. The Russians, as usual, had fired the town before abandoning it. Ney crossed the Dnieper in pursuit of the Russians, who had taken up a strong position at Valutina, from which they were only dislodged after destroying 6,000 or 7,000 of their assailants (August 19th). Gouvion St. Cyr, who had succeeded Oudinot, disabled by a wound, gained a decisive victory over Wittgenstein at Polotsk, August 18th, which procured for him the bâton of Marshal.

Many of Napoleon's generals were of opinion that the campaign should now be terminated, that winter quarters should be established on the Dnieper, and operations resumed on the return of spring. But on the 24th, the order was given to march on Moscow. The Russians made a stand at Dorogobush, but abandoned it as soon as they had set fire to the town and the magazines. Viazma and Gjatsk shared the same fate. A constant rain, a desolate country, and sometimes an entire want of water, added to the embarrassment and distress of the French. The loss both of men and horses was enormous; nevertheless, Napoleon was determined to proceed. Gjatsk was left September 4th, and Mojaïsk was now the only town before arriving at Moscow. At this time the command-in-chief of the Russian armies was transferred from Barclay de Tolly to Count Kutusov; for though the military talents of the former general were undisputed, Alexander, in appointing Kutusov, complied with the general wish of the nation that the forces should be commanded by a Russian.

Battle of
Borodino.

Between Gjatsk and Mojaïsk, the main road is crossed by the little river Kologa, which at a short distance falls into the Moskva. On the further side of the stream, encircling the village of BORODINO, rises an amphitheatre of well-wooded hills, cleft by ravines, forming an admirable defensive position. In this place, strong by nature, and rendered still stronger by forts and redans, Kutusov had intrenched his army. Napoleon recognized at a glance the strength of the

position, but at the same time discovered a weak point, and resolved on the attack. The assault began on the morning of September 7th, and lasted all day. The Russians were ultimately driven from their position, but the morning of the 8th discovered at what expense. The field of battle was strewn with 80,000 killed or wounded men, considerably more than half of whom were Russians. Among the wounded was Prince Bagration, who died a few days after. The French loss amounted to 28,000 men, including 12 general officers killed and 39 wounded.

Although the French had gained no very decisive victory, Kutusov, in consideration of his terrible loss, resolved to retire upon Moscow, and he took up a position in front of that city. But as his army consisted of only 90,000 men, of whom a great part were new levies and badly armed, there was no chance of successfully opposing Napoleon. On the approach of the French, the Russians defiling through Moscow, soon vanished in the vast plains to the east, and on the 18th of September, Murat and Eugène presented themselves at the gates of the ancient capital of the Tsars. At the sight of its towers, its palaces, and gilded domes, the French soldiery were filled with hope and joy, imagining that they had at length reached the term of all their labours and privations. But these anticipations were soon dissipated. On entering the city, it was discovered that all that remained of its vast population were some 12,000 or 15,000 persons, either foreigners or the dregs of the people. The rest of the inhabitants had taken flight; the houses were all shut up, and silence reigned in the deserted streets. Napoleon entered the city on the 15th, and took up his residence in the Kremlin. Never before had he fought with a people who thus defended themselves. All around was desolation, and famine stared him in the face.

A new horror suddenly presented itself. The night was well advanced, when from the windows of the Kremlin the whole horizon seemed to glow with innumerable fires. Some had been observed the day before, which had been attributed to accident; but now there could be no doubt that the destruction of Moscow had been systematically organized. It had, indeed, been planned and executed by Count Rostoptchin, the governor of the city. Combustible materials had been placed in many houses, which were fired by a troop

The French
enter
Moscow.

Moscow
burnt, 1812.

of paid incendiaries, under the directions of the police. The flames baffled all the exertions of the French to extinguish them. On the third day a strong north-west wind spread the fire over the whole city. During five days nothing was to be seen but an ocean of flame, which at length began to encompass the Kremlin, and compelled Napoleon to fly to the château of Petrofskoïe, about three miles from the town. But in a few days he returned to the Kremlin. That palace, the churches, and about a tenth part of the houses, had escaped destruction. All Napoleon's plans, however, were completely overthrown. In occupying Moscow, he had fancied that he should conquer the Russian Empire; but he found to his dismay that the Russians regarded that capital only as a heap of stones.

Napoleon
decides to
retire.

Many plans of operation were now suggested by Napoleon's generals. He himself had from the first decided for a retreat, but this could not be effected all at once. He had to collect provisions and ammunition, to take care of the sick and wounded, to provide and organize the means of transport. He employed this interval in attempting to open negotiations with the Russian Emperor; but without effect. Alexander had resolved not to treat while a Frenchman remained in his dominions; and all Napoleon's overtures were left unanswered. The defeat of Murat, October 18th, hastened Napoleon's departure. The Russians had assaulted the cantonments of the King of Naples, and captured 2,000 men and 12 guns. Moscow would not much longer be safe, and the order of departure was given for the following day.

The retreat
of the
French.

Before leaving, Napoleon directed the Kremlin to be blown up—an act of barbarous malice which might have disgraced a Genseric. Fortunately, the explosion caused only partial damage. Napoleon's plan of retreat does not show his usual decision. Kutusov had got into his front, intercepting the road to Smolensk. Napoleon had first determined to march on Kaluga, form a junction with Murat, and take a more southern route than that by which he had advanced, through the valley of the Ugra, which had not been exhausted of provisions. But at Malo-Jaroslavetz the Russians fought an obstinate battle, October 24th; and though the French remained victorious, Napoleon decided on regaining the former road, by Gjatsk and Viazma. Thus, after ten days' march, the army found itself again only thirty or forty miles from

Moscow. The temperature, moreover, began to fall, the Cossacks to appear. Kutusov hovered round the French, but avoided an engagement, unwilling to risk his men in securing a prey which he knew must fall by cold, hunger, and fatigue. The French, however, arrived in tolerable safety at Dorogobush, November 5th; but after this point all the horrors of the retreat began. On the night of November 6th the temperature suddenly fell to that of the most rigorous winter. In that dreadful night thousands of men perished, and nearly all the horses, which compelled the abandonment of the greater part of the convoys. All was now confusion and disorder; discipline was no longer observed except by the Guard, in the centre of which proceeded the carriage containing the Emperor and the King of Naples. The French van entered Smolensk November 9th. Kutusov had fallen upon Baraguay d'Hilliers at Liakhovo, and destroyed the whole brigade of Augereau. Eugène, who had struck to the right to reach Vitebsk, hearing that that place was occupied by Wittgenstein, had been forced to retrace his steps towards Smolensk, crossing the Vop on the ice, penetrating through almost impracticable marshes, and exposed at the same time to the attacks of the Cossacks. He at length rejoined the main army, but with the loss of all his artillery, convoys, wounded, and stragglers.

At Smolensk there were still 40,000 men under arms, but ill provided with ammunition and provisions. Here Napoleon divided his army into four corps. He himself with the Imperial Guard left Smolensk November 14th, directing Eugène to follow him in a few hours. Davoust was to march on the 15th, while Ney, who commanded the rear-guard, was not to leave the town till the 17th, after blowing up the walls. In this order they were to march upon Krasnoï, the defile at which place presents a sort of natural ambuscade. These arrangements have been censured by military critics. The Russians, who were marching parallel to, and at a short distance from, the French, arrived at Krasnoï before them, and had thus the opportunity to attack each division separately. Napoleon, it is said, should have advanced with all his columns abreast by the roads which run parallel with the high road—a disposition by which they would not only have arrived simultaneously at Krasnoï, but which would also have better enabled them to find subsistence. The Russians suffered

Napoleon to pass; but Eugène with the second column was attacked, and in order to reach Krasnoï was compelled to make a long *détour* in the night. Davoust was also attacked, but was released from his dangerous situation by a diversion caused by Napoleon attacking the Russian corps nearest Krasnoï. Ney, with the rear-guard of 6,000 men, suffered most severely. Napoleon could not wait for him without delivering a general engagement, and he had therefore to cut his way through the Russian army. This he effected with consummate gallantry, and reached the general quarters of Orsha; but with only 800 or 900 men!¹

Passage
of the
Beresina.

The arrival at Orsha on the Dnieper terminates the first act of this drama. Napoleon had left Moscow with upwards of 100,000 combatants and more than 550 guns. He had now about 30,000 men and 25 pieces of artillery; his cavalry was almost annihilated. The remainder of the march seemed to promise fewer hardships and dangers. The Russians had been outmarched; a new park of artillery had been obtained, and it was hoped that the army would soon be strengthened by a junction with the divisions of Dombrowski and Oudinot. But on the other hand, Wittgenstein, advancing from the north, had defeated St. Cyr, October 18th and 20th, at Polotsk, occupied Vitebsk, November 7th, and was marching to join Tchitchagov, who, with the Russian troops from Moldavia, had seized Borissov, November 21st, destroyed the bridge, and thus intercepted the passage of the Beresina. The Emperor arrived at Borissov on the 25th, and finding the bridge destroyed, resolved to cross at Studianka, twelve miles higher up the stream, where Oudinot was directed to construct bridges. Here the Emperor and a considerable part of the army effected their passage, November 27th. But in the night the most frightful disorder ensued. Both ends of the bridge had become choked with carriages in inextricable confusion, when Wittgenstein, coming up early in the morning, directed a terrible cannonade upon the bridge. Many endeavoured to save themselves by fording or swimming the river, but for the most part perished in the attempt. Among the victims were many women and children who had accompanied the army. An obstinate battle was also delivered here between Victor

¹ De Fezenac, *Journal de la Campagne de Russie en 1812*. The author, who commanded a regiment of 3,000 men in Ney's division, brought back 200 to the Vistula! Ap. Garden, xiii. 463.

and Wittgenstein. At length, on the 29th, Victor, by order of Napoleon, after burning all the carriages which encumbered the bridges and their avenues, and finally the bridges themselves, hastened to join the main army, which had preceded him, still leaving on the left bank a small rear-guard and upwards of 12,000 non-combatants.

The march was now pursued towards Vilna, the frosts of each night carrying off numerous victims. At Smorgoni, Napoleon, appointing the King of Naples to the command-in-chief, took leave of his principal officers, and set off in all haste for Paris (December 5th).¹ His departure has perhaps been too severely censured. He could no longer be of much service to the army, while his presence in Paris was absolutely necessary. An event which had occurred in Paris showed how precarious was his hold of power, and that while he was dreaming of conquering the world, even the sceptre of France might be wrested from his grasp. On October 23rd, General Malet, a man of republican principles, and a few coadjutors, by spreading a report of Napoleon's death, and forging some pretended orders, obtained the command of a considerable military force, and remained for a few hours master of Paris. The imposture was, however, soon discovered, and was expiated not only by the death of Malet and his confederates, but also of the military officers whom he had deceived.

Napoleon
returns to
Paris, 1812.

Napoleon, travelling rapidly by way of Vilna, Warsaw, and Dresden, arrived unexpectedly in Paris on the night of December 18th. His departure caused great dissatisfaction among the troops, and increased their disorganization. Curses rose on all sides against the betrayer, who, as in Egypt, had first sacrificed his men, and then abandoned them. The march was resumed under the most gloomy auspices, the cold increasing in intensity. General Gratien, with a corps of 12,000 men, principally Germans, had left Vilna to meet the retreating army, and formed a junction with them at Ochmiana; but only half Gratien's men had survived the march; the rest perished in the night of December 6th! Vilna was reached on the 8th, but the French could make no stay there—the Russians were at their heels. On leaving the town they had to surmount a hill, the road over which had become a sheet of ice, rendering it entirely impracticable for horses. All the

The rear-
guard.

¹ Chateaubriand, ap. Garden, t. xiv. p. 20, note.

carriages and waggons were left at the bottom, and it became necessary to burn them, to prevent them becoming the prey of Platov and his Cossacks. Among them was the military chest, which was abandoned to pillage. At length the small remains of that brilliant army, which six months before had entered Kovno, regained that town, and crossed the Niemen.¹ At Gumbinnen, a man in a brown great coat, with a long beard, inflamed eyes, and a face all scorched and blackened, presented himself before General Dumas. "Here I am at last," he exclaimed. "What! don't you know me, Dumas?" "No; who are you?" "I am Marshal Ney, the rear-guard of the grand army. I fired the last shot on the bridge of Kovno, I threw the last of our arms into the Niemen, and found my way hither through the woods!"

Ney, "the bravest of the brave," is the hero of the retreat from Moscow.

¹ Official account, ap. Garden, t. xiii. p. 484. The fourth *corps d'armée* of 48,000 men, to which Capt. Labeaume belonged, at last took up its quarters in one room! See his *Relation Circonstanciée*.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE WAR OF LIBERATION AND THE FALL OF NAPOLEON

NAPOLEON'S twenty-ninth bulletin from Molodetschno, which arrived in Paris only two days before himself, had at length communicated the real state of the grand army, and filled the Parisians with consternation. He was welcomed by the Legislative Body with its usual servile adulation; and in a few days the misfortunes of the Russian campaign seemed to be forgotten. Napoleon immediately began to prepare for the great struggle which awaited him. The conspiracy of Malet had shown that his dynasty depended only on his own life. To obviate this danger, he determined on the establishment of a Regency. A law was passed for that purpose, and the Emperor, by letters patent of March 30th, appointed the Empress Maria Louisa Regent. The Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès was named First Counsellor of the Regency, the Duke of Cadore (Champagny) Secretary. In order to strengthen his Government by conciliating the clergy, who, since his misfortunes, had displayed strong symptoms of opposition, Napoleon reconciled himself with Pope Pius VII. who was still residing at Fontainebleau, and concluded with him a new Concordat. But his principal cares were directed to the raising of an army. As the conscription of 1812 was far from sufficing for that purpose, a Decree was issued requiring 100,000 men from the National Guard, another 100,000 from the conscriptions of the last four years, and the same number from the conscription of 1814. The latter was raised to 150,000, and thus the army was reinforced by a total of 350,000 men. But this was not all. Appeals were made to the patriotism and to the fears of the nation. The cry of 1793 against the Coalition was again raised, the country was proclaimed to be in danger, and under the influ-

Napoleon's
military
prepara-
tions.

ence of the excitement thus produced, the Senate voted, April 3rd—Prussia having then declared herself—another 18,000 men. Among these was to be a guard of honour of 10,000 young men selected from the foremost families of France. Thus the French army was again put upon a most formidable footing; but it was very deficient in cavalry, especially light horse—a circumstance which deprived Napoleon's victories in 1813 of all adequate results.

Prussia
deserts
Napoleon.

One of the first consequences of the Russian campaign was the abandonment of Napoleon by his German allies, for which the Prussian general Yorck had given the signal. Instead of joining Marshal Macdonald, the commander of his division, at Tilsit, Yorck had concluded with the Russian General Diebitsch a capitulation at Tauroggen, December 20th, 1812, by which the Prussian corps was to separate itself from the French army and remain neutral. Yorck, in concluding this convention, believed himself to be acting in conformity with the secret wishes of Frederick William III., and though that Sovereign and his Minister Hardenberg deemed it proper, or politic, to censure the act, and even to supersede Yorck by General Kleist, yet his act ultimately obtained a formal approval (March 11th). The general feeling of the Prussians, and especially of some of their leading men, inclined for an alliance with Russia. Many distinguished Prussians had actually entered Alexander's service. The Baron von Stein had been in constant attendance upon him since May, 1812; while Clausewitz and several other Prussian staff-officers had taken service in the Russian army. When, by the progress of the Russian arms, Stein was enabled to visit Königsberg, he assembled the States of Prussia, and with the help of Dohna and Clausewitz organized a militia of 30,000 men.¹

Hardenberg, however, at first deemed it prudent to deceive Napoleon by renewed professions of friendship. In order to obviate the impression which Yorck's defection was likely to produce in France, Prince Hatzfeldt was despatched to Paris in January, 1813, with assurances of steadfast alliance on the part of Prussia. Yet, at the same time, Frederick William was negotiating with Russia, and, for the purpose of better concealment, at Stockholm. Soon after, General Krusemark was sent ambassador to Paris, to prepare matters gradually

¹ Seeley, *Life of Stein*.

for a rupture. He was instructed to demand 93,000,000 francs as an excess of supplies furnished to the French armies under the Convention of February, 1812. Towards the end of January the King of Prussia suddenly left Potsdam, where he was in danger of a *coup de main* on the part of the French, and proceeded to Breslau; taking with him, however, the French ambassador. But after this step his intentions could not much longer be concealed, especially as he now began to be surrounded by such men as Blücher, Gneisenau, and Scharnhorst. On February 3rd he issued a proclamation calling to arms all Prussians from the age of seventeen to forty-four, and he soon after authorized the formation of volunteer corps. By engagements with France, the regular army, as we have seen, could not be carried beyond 42,000 men; but so large a portion of the Prussian youth had been quietly exercised in the use of arms, that the King could at any time dispose of 150,000 men. A treaty of alliance with Russia was signed by Hardenberg at Breslau, February 27th, and on the following day by Kutusov at Kalisch.¹ By this treaty Russia engaged to provide 150,000 men for the ensuing war, and Prussia at least 80,000, exclusive of garrisons. By a separate and secret article, the Emperor of Russia undertook that Frederick William should be reinstated in all the dominions which he had possessed before the war of 1806, with the exception of the Electorate of Hanover. Alexander himself arrived at Breslau March 15th, and on the following day the Russian alliance was notified to the French ambassador, who immediately took his departure. On March 27th Krusemark delivered to the French Foreign Minister the Prussian declaration of war.

Prussia
allies her-
self with
Russia at
Kalisch.

As a complement to the alliance of February 27th, an agreement was concluded between Russia and Prussia, March 19th, as to the method of conducting the war. All German Princes who did not aid in the war of liberation were to be declared deposed from their thrones. The dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine had been proclaimed by Field-Marshal Kutusov at Kalisch, March 25th. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin had renounced it before the appearance of this proclamation (March 14th), and the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz followed soon after (March 30th).

¹ The text of the treaty is in Garden, t. xiv. p. 167 sqq.

Tergiversa-
tion of
Austria.

Austria, like Prussia, was preparing to throw off the French alliance covertly and by degrees, although it seems certain that the Cabinet of Vienna had already determined, in the middle of December, on joining Russia.¹ Prince Schwarzenberg had conducted the war on the part of Austria without any vigour. At the invitation of Alexander, he had concluded at Warsaw an armistice with the Russians, December 21st, and towards the end of January, 1813, he retired towards Cracow and the frontiers of Galicia, taking with him Poniatowski and the Polish army, and abandoning Warsaw to the Russians by capitulation. Austria assumed for the present the attitude of an armed neutrality, and offered her mediation; in which policy she was joined by Saxony. The allies had hoped to draw the King of Saxony to their cause, and that his example would decide the other Confederates of the Rhine. But Frederick Augustus III. turned a deaf ear to their overtures; retired to Plauen, then to Ratisbon, in the dominions of his brother-in-law, King Maximilian Joseph; and finally, towards the end of April, at the invitation of the Emperor Francis, to Prague; whither he was accompanied by his family and troops. By the Convention of Vienna, he agreed to cede the Duchy of Warsaw, if that point should be made an indispensable condition of peace; Austria undertaking that he should receive a suitable indemnification so far as circumstances should permit.²

Policy of
Great
Britain.

Great Britain, besides the part she was taking in the Peninsular war, was also engaged at this time in a war with the United States of North America, arising out of maritime questions connected with the Continental System. This war, however, which lasted from June, 1812, to the Peace of Ghent, December 24th, 1814, had little or no effect on the general affairs of Europe. But, although the two wars alluded to were enough to occupy the attention, and employ the resources, of Great Britain, she, nevertheless, took an active part in the affairs of the Continent.

Sweden
joins the
Coalition.

We have seen that, by the treaty between Sweden and Russia, of April 5th, 1812, the former Power had engaged to take part in the war against Napoleon, *after* she should have been put in possession of Norway. The English Government,

¹ See a conversation of Metternich, quoted by Garden, t. xiv. p. 160.

² Garden, t. xiv. p. 292 sqq.

when their accession to this Convention was requested, appeared disposed to support it with subsidies; but, probably from a suspicion that Bernadotte was the secret friend of Napoleon, they required that Sweden should first take an active part in the war, by sending an army into Germany. So long as Prussia remained the ally of France, this step was impracticable; but, after the catastrophe of the French army, the objection vanished. In the spring of 1813, negotiations were renewed with Sweden, and on the 3rd of March, a treaty was concluded at Stockholm, between that Power and Great Britain. The English Government was desirous that Denmark should be made a party to the arrangements, which included the cession of Norway to Sweden, and negotiations were opened, through Russia, with the Danish Government. Sweden declared that she should be content with the Norwegian Duchy of Drontheim, as the possession of that province would release her armies from the danger of being turned by the Danes, and she offered in exchange her possessions in Pomerania. These proposals were, however, rejected, and Sweden then reverted to her demand of all Norway. By the treaty mentioned, Great Britain agreed to co-operate in that purpose. Sweden engaged to employ on the Continent an army of at least 30,000 men, under the command of the Crown Prince, and Great Britain undertook to furnish a million sterling for their equipment and maintenance. She also ceded to Sweden the French island of Guadaloupe, which she had conquered. Prussia also concluded a treaty with Sweden, April 22nd, 1813, by which she engaged to add a corps of 27,000 men to the army commanded by the Crown Prince, and Charles XIII. also entered into an alliance with the provisional Spanish Government, March 19th. But, in spite of these treaties, it was not till the following August that Sweden declared war against France.

Napoleon no sooner ascertained the intention of Charles XIII. to enter the Coalition, than he threatened to send 40,000 men to the aid of Denmark. The Crown Prince answered this threat by his celebrated letter of March 23rd, 1813, in the composition of which Madame de Staël is supposed to have been concerned. Bernadotte formed a counter-scheme to overthrow Napoleon, by means of the French themselves, by recalling from banishment General Moreau, who was then residing at Morrisville, in New Jersey. It was

thought that many of the French would join the hero of Hohenlinden, including the prisoners set at liberty by Russia and England. Moreau was sent for, and arrived at Helsingborg, August 6th, but, unfortunately, only to meet his death shortly after.

Poland.

The Emperor of Russia had also succeeded in conciliating the Poles to his cause, chiefly by means of his friend and confidant, the Polish Prince, George Adam Czartorynski. A Russian party had been organized by Czartorynski in Warsaw, which looked forward to the re-erection of the Kingdom of Poland, not by means of Napoleon, but through the powerful and beneficent Emperor of Russia. Alexander appears not to have given any direct sanction to this scheme; but he assured the Poles of his friendship, and promised that his troops should treat them as friends and brothers.

Murat
absconds.

Napoleon started from St. Cloud, to take the command of his armies in Germany, April 15th, 1813. Meanwhile, Murat had conducted the retreat of the French from Russia by Königsberg and Dantzic as far as Posen, when he told his officers that it was no longer possible to serve a madman; that there was not a Sovereign in Europe who any longer trusted Napoleon's word or his treaties; that for his own part he could have made peace with England; that he was as much the King of Naples as Francis was Emperor of Austria. It was in vain that Davoust, the Prince of Neufchâtel and the Viceroy Eugène remonstrated; Murat set off by post, January 16th, for his Neapolitan dominions in the disguise of a German traveller, thus abandoning the trust which Napoleon had confided to him. After his departure, Eugène had the courage to place himself at the head of the remnant of the grand army, about 12,000 men. The retreat from Posen to Leipsic reflects on Eugène the greatest honour. He arrived at Leipsic, by way of Berlin and Wittenberg, March 9th, and having been joined on his march by many scattered bands, he then counted 50,000 men under his standards. Thus when all seemed lost he was mainly instrumental in restoring the balance of fortune, and gained time for Napoleon to reappear upon the scene. Besides the force under Eugène, there were also upwards of 60,000 French distributed in Prussian and Polish fortresses.

Meanwhile the Russians had entered Prussia, and were everywhere received by the inhabitants as deliverers. Some

of their light troops having pushed on as far as Hamburg, the inhabitants rose against the French garrison, which had been much reduced by the departure of General Lauriston, and constrained General Carra St. Cyr to cross the Elbe; when the Russian troops were admitted into the town, March 18th, and the port was thrown open to the English. Wittgenstein, leaving Berlin with the Russian van, March 29th, met and defeated Eugène at Möckern, April 5th, who thereupon retreated to Magdeburg, and ultimately took up a position on the Saale, while Wittgenstein fixed his quarters at Dessau. The main body of the Russians, under Alexander in person and Kutusov, was at this time at Kalisch. The Prussian army had also been placed under the command-in-chief of Kutusov. The allied army began to move, April 7th. Winzingerode and Blücher traversing Lusatia, arrived before Dresden, when Davoust retired with his forces, after blowing up a great part of the bridge. The allies entered the old town of Dresden, April 26th. Kutusov having died on the 28th, the command-in-chief was conferred on Wittgenstein.

The
Russians in
Prussia.

Napoleon arrived at Erfurt, April 25th, and assumed the command of his forces.¹ A campaign was now to open on a scale never before seen in Europe. The line of operations embraced the whole Continent, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, besides the incidental war in the Spanish Peninsula. The French left rested on Lübeck and Hamburg; their right on Verona and Venice. This line may be divided into three portions: the first being comprised between Hamburg and the Erz-gebirge, at the southern extremity of Saxony; the second between the Erz-gebirge and Tyrol, and the third between Tyrol and the Adriatic. The first, or northernmost of these divisions, was to be the main scene of action, and was occupied by the grand French army, estimated at 250,000 men. A Bavarian corps on the Inn, and the French reserves at Würzburg, held the second portion of the line; making a total force in Germany of about 350,000 men. In Italy, an army of 40,000 men was posted on the Tagliamento. Napoleon formed a junction with the army of Eugène on the 29th, between Naumburg and Merseburg on the Saale. Some

Battle of
Lützen or
Gross
Görschen,
1813.

¹ For the campaign of 1813, see Clausewitz, B. vii.; K. von Plötho, *Der Krieg in Deutschland und Frankreich in den Jahren 1813 und 1814*; Odeleben, *Napoleons Feldzug in Sachsen im Jahre, 1813*; Norvins, *Portefeuille de 1813*; Fain, MS. de MDCCCXIII.

Prussian corps were driven back at Weissenfels, and the French army took the road to Dresden. In order to intercept this march, the Russians and Prussians, under the Emperor Alexander and King Frederick William III. in person, had concentrated themselves at Leipsic, whence they marched out to meet the French on the plains of Lützen, famous for the last battle and death of Gustavus Adolphus. Napoleon was ignorant of their position, and came upon them almost by surprise. His forces were far superior in number, consisting of 115,000 men, while those of the allies were under 70,000. The allies were defeated after an obstinate battle at Lützen or GROSS GÖRSCHEN, May 2nd, which, however, was anything but decisive; in fact, both sides claimed the victory. The allies retreated, as they asserted, only on account of their numerical inferiority; they lost no guns nor prisoners, and retired in good order, unpursued by the enemy. This result was chiefly owing to Napoleon's deficiency in cavalry, while the allies were very strong in that arm. In this battle, General Scharnhorst was mortally wounded.

Battle of
Bautzen,
1813.

The allies retreating in two columns, crossed the Elbe, May 7th, the Russians at Dresden, the Prussians at Meissen, and again formed a junction at Bautzen. Here they took up a strong position, and having received large reinforcements, determined to await another battle. The French entered Dresden, May 8th, where Napoleon halted awhile to refresh his army, and to conduct some negotiations with Saxony and Russia.

The allies had profited by Napoleon's delay of ten days at Dresden to strengthen their position at BAUTZEN with field-works. Their left, under Wittgenstein, rested on the mountains of Bohemia; their right, commanded by Blücher, was covered by the Spree and the little town of Bautzen. Their whole army, which Alexander commanded in person, numbered 96,000 men, of which 68,000 were Russians. The French army consisted of about 148,000 men. Napoleon attacked the allies, May 20th and 21st. On the first day the French carried the town of Bautzen; on the next day Napoleon broke the allied centre, and compelled them to retreat. A movement of Ney's contributed much to the victory. He had been detached with a strong corps, apparently against Berlin, but suddenly retraced his steps, and fell upon the

right of the allies. Covered by their numerous cavalry, the allies retired in good order towards Lauban and Görlitz, leaving to Napoleon the field of battle, strewn with 50,000 bodies. The French attacked the Russian rear-guard at Reichenbach, May 22nd, but were terribly maltreated and lost several guns. A few days after, Wittgenstein was superseded in the chief command by Barclay de Tolly. The allies, instead of proceeding to Breslau, struck to the right towards Schweidnitz, and formed an intrenched camp at Pulzen, May 29th. Napoleon, on the other hand, pushed on to Breslau, which he entered June 1st; an advance which somewhat endangered his base of operations. In the north of Germany, the French and Danes under Davoust recovered Hamburg, May 30th, and took a terrible vengeance for their expulsion, by driving out 48,000 of the inhabitants, and razing 8,000 houses. In conformity with the orders of Napoleon, a regular reign of terror was now inaugurated, combined with systematic pillage, including that of the bank. Lübeck, which was entered by the French June 3rd, was treated in the same manner.

After the battle of Bautzen, Napoleon renewed the attempt at negotiation, and an armistice was concluded at the village of POISCHWITZ or Pleistwitz, near Jauer, June 4th. The armistice was to last till July 20th, with six days' notice of its termination. Napoleon now returned to Dresden and employed the interval in preparing the plan of the ensuing campaign, which was calculated on the no longer doubtful accession of Austria to the allies. England took an active part in organizing the *Fifth Coalition*. Lord Cathcart, the English Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg, and Sir Charles Stuart, brother of Lord Castlereagh, accredited to the Court of Berlin, both which Ministers followed the movements of the allied armies, concluded treaties with Russia and Prussia at Reichenbach. By that with Prussia, signed June 14th, Great Britain agreed to pay a subsidy of £666,666 sterling for the maintenance of 80,000 men during the remaining six months of the year. If the allied arms should prove successful, the King of Prussia was to be reinstated in the dominions which he had possessed before the war of 1806. Frederick William III. on his side engaged to cede the bishopric of Hildesheim and some other territories to Hanover. By the Treaty with Russia, June 15th, the

Armistice of
Poischwitz
or Pleist-
witz, 1813.

Emperor Alexander agreed to keep in the field an army of 160,000 men, for which he was to receive from the British Government the sum of £1,333,334 to January 1st, 1814. It was also agreed to issue five millions sterling in notes, called *federate money*, guaranteed by Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, of which Russia was to dispose of two-thirds, and Prussia of the remainder.¹ At this time, while Austria was offering her mediation for the restoration of a continental peace, she was negotiating with the allies; and the Austrian plenipotentiaries were consulted about the plan of the future campaign.

Austria
joins
Russia and
Prussia.

These negotiations were to be kept secret; but Napoleon learned them all, and in a violent scene with Count Metternich, whom the Cabinet of Vienna had sent to Dresden to propose a peace Congress, he accused that Minister of receiving bribes from England. It was, however, agreed that a Congress should assemble at Prague, July 5th, under Austrian mediation, and the armistice was prolonged to August 10th. None of the parties, however, were in earnest in this matter; they were only seeking to gain time. The Congress did not assemble till July 26th, when only a fortnight remained unexpired of the term agreed upon for the armistice. Meanwhile Russia, Austria, and Prussia had concluded an eventual treaty of alliance at Trachenberg, afterwards converted into a definitive one by the Treaty of Töplitz, September 9th,² had arranged a plan of campaign, and appointed Prince Schwarzenberg commander-in-chief. During this period Napoleon, on his side, concluded a treaty of alliance with Denmark, July 10th.³

Many symptoms seemed to betoken Napoleon's approaching fall. Discontent prevailed in France, where the Legitimists were again active; Jourdan had been completely defeated by Wellington at Vittoria; the King of Naples was treacherously negotiating with Austria and England. Nevertheless, though Napoleon was aware of Murat's conduct, he was again summoned to take the command of the French cavalry. That force had now been increased to 40,000 men, and Napoleon relied only on Murat for the command of large bodies of horse. The allied armies, since the junction of

¹ Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 254, sq. ² Martens, *N. Rec.* pp. 596, 600.

³ Garden, t. xiv. p. 412, and Seeley, *Life of Stein*.

Austria, were much superior in number to the French. The main body, under Prince Schwarzenberg, stationed on the Eger in Bohemia, and composed of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, comprised about 237,000 men, with 698 guns. The army in the March of Brandenburg, composed of Swedes, Russians, and Prussians, and commanded by Bernadotte, numbered upwards of 150,000 men with 387 guns. Blücher's army in Silesia consisted of about 95,000 Prussians and Russians, with 356 guns. It must be remembered, however, that a considerable part of these forces was engaged in blockades and sieges. The Austrians had besides upwards of 24,000 men, and 42 guns on the frontiers of Bavaria; 50,000 men and 120 guns in Italy; and a reserve of about 50,000 men between Vienna and Pressburg. The Russian army of reserve in Poland numbered more than 57,000 men. The estimates of Napoleon's armies vary, but there can be no doubt that they were considerably inferior in number to those of the allies. He himself, however, had been reckoned as equivalent to 100,000 men.

Napoleon opened the campaign by despatching Oudinot with 80,000 men against Bernadotte in Brandenburg. On August 23rd, Oudinot, who had been rather too slow in his movements, engaged Bülow's Prussian corps at GROSS BEEREN; when, towards the end of the action, the Swedes came up, and the French were entirely defeated with the loss of 26 guns, 1,500 prisoners, and a great deal of baggage. Napoleon himself marched against Blücher in Silesia, imagining that he could dispose of that General before attacking the main body of the allies. As the French had violated the armistice by levying contributions in neutral districts, Blücher had also advanced before the term agreed upon had expired, had occupied Breslau August 14th, and driven the French over the Bober. According to a preconceived plan, Blücher retreated on the approach of Napoleon with his guards; and as the main body of the allies had begun to debouch from Bohemia into Saxony by the left bank of the Elbe, Napoleon was compelled to hasten back to the defence of Dresden. No sooner was he gone than Blücher attacked the French under Macdonald on the KATZBACH, August 26th, and gained a decisive victory, capturing 18,000 prisoners, 103 guns, 2 eagles, and a great quantity of baggage wagons.

Battles of
Gross
Beeren and
Katzbach.

The advance of the allied army upon Dresden is said to

Battle of
Dresden,
1813.

have been counselled by Moreau, who had arrived at the headquarters at Prague, August 16th. The van of the allies arrived before that city on the 25th. Had an assault been immediately delivered it might probably have succeeded, as Napoleon was still absent with his best troops. But it was deemed advisable to wait till more troops had come up, and meanwhile Napoleon re-entered Dresden on the morning of the 26th, having, it is said, marched more than eighty miles in three days. The attack of the allies was repulsed, and next day they were defeated with great loss, including 18,000 prisoners. In this battle Moreau was killed by a cannon-ball, on the heights, about two miles from the town. Murat and Vandamme followed the allies in their retreat to Bohemia, which was effected in good order, being covered by the Russian General Ostermann. Vandamme, relying on being supported by Napoleon, prolonged his pursuit too far. Ostermann, who had been reinforced by an Austrian corps, defeated him at Kulm, August 30th, when, instead of the expected aid, he found a Prussian corps in his rear. At Nollendorf, his division, which consisted of about 30,000 men, was entirely surrounded and routed, and two thirds of it either killed or captured. Among the prisoners was Vandamme himself.

Bavaria
joins the
Coalition.

In the north, Ney, who had assumed the command of Oudinot's division, began from Wittemberg a march upon Berlin, September 5th, but was defeated at Dennewitz the following day by Bernadotte. The French lost on the 6th and 7th 15,000 men killed, wounded, and captured, 80 guns, and 400 baggage waggons. In spite of these reverses Napoleon continued to maintain his position at Dresden till October, making occasional attacks in the direction either of Bohemia or Silesia. But his situation began to be highly critical. At Töplitz (September 9th) Austria and Prussia had arranged for the future of Germany, and Maximilian I. of Bavaria joined the allies October 1st, by the Treaty of Reid.¹ By this treaty he agreed to give up Tyrol; but he was to be indemnified at the future pacification for what cessions he might be called upon to make and his sovereignty was assured to him. He was to keep 36,000 men in the field. The Bavarian general Wrede, reinforced with an Austrian corps of 20,000

¹ Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 294 sqq.

men, now marched towards the Rhine. In the north, the allies had got into Napoleon's rear. Tschernitschew, Tettenborn, Platov and other generals made incursions as far as Cassel and Bremen, fell upon isolated French corps, and compelled the King of Westphalia to fly to Wetzlar. Towards the end of September, the three main armies of the allies began to concentrate themselves towards Leipsic, and it became necessary for Napoleon to evacuate Dresden.

On the 15th of October Napoleon had assembled the greater part of his army at Leipsic, fixing his headquarters at Reudnitz, a mile or two from the city. He had now determined to risk all on a grand battle. His army consisted of about 170,000 men; that of the allies, upwards of 300,000 strong, formed a sort of half-circle round him. From these enormous masses, the Germans have called the battle of LEIPSIC the *Völkerschlacht*, or battle of the nations. The Emperors Alexander and Francis, and the King of Prussia, were present with their armies; of which Prince Schwartzenberg had the command in chief. Two or three distinct battles which took place October 16th, formed a prelude to the grand battle of the 18th. The French had, on the whole, the superiority in these affairs; but Blücher inflicted a severe defeat at Möckern on the corps of Marmont and Dombrowsky. On the evening of the 16th Napoleon despatched General Meerfeld to the Emperor of Austria, with proposals for a truce and separate negotiations, which however were not accepted. On the 17th both sides rested on their arms, but the combat was renewed on the following day. At an early period of the action Napoleon was deserted by the Saxon troops, as well as by those of Würtemberg. Nevertheless, the French succeeded in maintaining themselves throughout the whole of the 18th against far superior numbers; but their losses had been so great that they were compelled to commence a retreat in the night. Napoleon, after giving the necessary commands for that purpose, set off for Erfurt. The confusion of the retreat was augmented by the carelessness of Berthier, who had neglected to throw bridges over the little river Elster. Of the two which existed one broke down; and the whole army had, consequently, but a single route. On the morning of the 19th, Macdonald, Regnier, Poniatowski, and Lauriston kept the enemy at bay till the greater part of the French army had passed the bridge, when the French themselves destroyed it,

Battle of
Leipsic,
1813.

thus sacrificing a few corps still left behind. Of these troops many perished in endeavouring to cross the Elster; MacDonald swam that river, Poniatowski was drowned in the attempt, Regnier and Lauriston were taken prisoners. The allies also suffered severely. They lost upwards of 45,000 men killed or wounded, including twenty-one general officers. The French loss is not accurately known; but 23,000 sick and wounded were found in the town of Leipsic alone; 15,000 were taken prisoners, 300 guns and 900 baggage waggons were captured. When the allies entered Leipsic the King of Saxony, who was in that town, expressed a wish to join them; but he was sent a prisoner to Berlin.

Battle of
Hanau.

The French army was saved from total destruction through Napoleon having taken the precaution to send forward Bertrand to occupy Weissenfels. It still counted 100,000 men, but in a state of disorganization. Napoleon remained two days at Erfurt, endeavouring in vain to rally his troops. The retreat was then resumed towards the Rhine, almost as disastrously as the retreat from Moscow, with the exception of the frost. Wrede, unmindful of the well-known maxim, attempted, with inferior forces, to arrest the French at Hanau, but was defeated with great loss, October 30th and 31st. The French reached and crossed the Rhine without further molestation. Schwarzenberg wished to pursue them over that river; but the allied Sovereigns adopted a policy of moderation. By their celebrated Declaration of Frankfurt,¹ December 1st, they announced their wish to see France great, powerful, and happy, because she was one of the corner stones of the European system; and they expressed their willingness that she should enjoy an extent of territory unknown under her kings. Proposals for a peace had been previously made to Napoleon through St. Aignan, who had been captured at Gotha, on the basis of the independence of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Holland: on the other hand, France was to retain possession of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. Napoleon had at first given an evasive answer to these proposals; and when at last, on the 2nd of December, by the advice of Coulaingcourt (Duke of Vicenza), who had superseded Maret (Duke of Bassano), as Minister for Foreign Affairs, he announced his acceptance of them, and agreed to the opening of

Declaration
of Frank-
furt, 1813.

¹ In Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 370 sqq.

a Congress at Mannheim, the Allies had already adopted the resolution of prosecuting the war.

More than 100,000 French troops still remained in the fortresses of Germany and Poland. All these gradually surrendered, but mostly after a vigorous resistance. Gouvion St. Cyr, whom Napoleon left in Dresden with 35,000 men, capitulated November 11th, on condition of a free and unmolested retreat. The Allied Sovereigns, however, refused to ratify the capitulation, on the ground that the besieging general was not authorized to make it, and St. Cyr was allowed the option either to surrender as prisoner of war, or to return to Dresden and attempt the defence of that city. The latter alternative being impossible, St. Cyr was obliged to surrender. Stettin, Dantzic, Zamosc, Modlin, and Torgau surrendered before the end of the year. Some places held out till the spring of the following year, especially the citadels of Erfurt and Würzburg; whilst Davoust maintained himself in Hamburg till after the Peace of Paris (May 30th).

The fall of Napoleon's empire in Germany was the immediate consequence of his defeat. Holland, with the exception of a few places, was occupied by the divisions of Bülow and Winzingerode, assisted by English troops who had landed on the coast. The Dutch were anxious to throw off the yoke of their oppressors; the cry of *Orange-boven* (up with Orange) was everywhere raised, and on December 1st the son of the former Stadholder was proclaimed *Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands*, with the title of William I.¹ Towards the end of October, Jérôme Bonaparte abandoned his kingdom of Westphalia, and in November the Elector of Hesse returned to his capital. Hanover, Oldenburg, and Brunswick were occupied by their respective Sovereigns before the end of 1813. The Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, with the exception of the captive King of Saxony, and one or two minor princes, deserted Napoleon, and entered into treaties with the Allies. The Danes, having been driven out of Holstein by Bernadotte, concluded an armistice December 18th, and, finally, the PEACE OF KIEL,² January 14th, 1814, by which Frederick VI. ceded Norway to Sweden; reserving, however, Greenland, the Faroë Isles, and Iceland, which were

Peace of
Kiel, 1814.

¹ Schöll, *Recueil de Pièces officielles*, t. iv. p. 272.

² Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 666.

regarded as dependencies of Norway. Norway, which was anciently governed by its own kings, had remained united with Denmark ever since the death of Olaf V. in 1387. Charles XIII., on his side, ceded to Denmark Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rügen. This treaty founded the present system of the North. Sweden withdrew entirely from her connection with Germany, and became a purely Scandinavian Power. The Norwegians, who detested the Swedes, made an attempt to assert their independence under the conduct of Prince Christian Frederick, cousin-german and heir of Frederick VI. of Denmark. Christian Frederick was proclaimed King of Norway; but the movement was opposed by Great Britain and the Allied Powers, from considerations of policy rather than justice; and the Norwegians found themselves compelled to decree the union of Norway and Sweden in a *Storting*, or Diet, assembled at Christiana, November 4th, 1814.¹ Frederick VI. also signed a peace with Great Britain at Kiel, January 14, 1814.² All the Danish colonies, except Heligoland, which had been taken by the English, were restored. As by the treaty with Sweden, Denmark had consented to enter into the Coalition against Napoleon, Great Britain by this treaty agreed to pay a subsidy of £33,000 per month for a body of 10,000 troops which she was to furnish. Frederick VI. subsequently concluded a peace with Russia and Prussia.

French
reverses in
Italy.

In Italy the war had also proved unfavourable to the French. Prince Eugène Beauharnais had returned into Italy in August, 1813, when some battles occurred in the Illyrian provinces between him and the Austrian general Hiller. Eugène was driven back over the Isonzo to the Adige; the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces were recovered by the Austrians; and as, by the defection of Bavaria from Napoleon, Tyrol was opened to the Austrian troops, Eugène was finally compelled to retire behind the Mincio. After the battle of Leipsic, the Allies entered into negotiations both with Eugène and the King of Naples. Murat, deeming Napoleon irretrievably ruined, had finally separated from his brother-in-law at Erfurt, October 24th, and returned to Naples. The Allies held out to him the prospect of extend-

¹ Martens, *Nouv. Rec.* t. ii. p. 65. Also, *Act of the Diet of Norway and Sweden*, Aug. 6th, 1815, *ibid.* p. 608.

² Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 678.

ing his dominions to the Po, while Eugène was promised the Crown of Lombardy. The Viceroy, however, remained faithful to his stepfather, perhaps from mistrust that the Austrians would perform their promises, or the Italians endure his rule. Murat, on the other hand, swallowed the bait, and concluded a treaty with Austria, January 11th, 1814,¹ by which he agreed to take part in the war against Napoleon. He also entered into a treaty with England, or rather with Lord Bentinck, who ruled absolutely in Sicily, but who had no powers to conclude this negotiation. Murat had proceeded to take possession of Rome and Florence, under pretence that he was still the ally of France; and it was not until February 15th, 1814, that he formally declared war against Napoleon.

In order to complete the picture of Napoleon's situation at the commencement of 1814, we must bring up to that date the affairs of the Spanish Peninsula. After his disastrous retreat from Moscow, Napoleon found himself compelled to withdraw some of his best troops from Spain; Marshal Soult was also recalled, and his place supplied by Jourdan. Wellington had employed himself in his winter-quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo, in putting his forces on a good footing, and preparing for a grand campaign. In the spring of 1813 he counted under his standards 80,000 men, more than half of whom were English. In May he assumed the offensive by marching on Salamanca, when the French retired on VITTORIA. The decisive victory gained by Lord Wellington over Jourdan in the neighbourhood of that city, June 21st, may be said to have decided the fate of the Peninsula. As the direct road to France was held by the Spaniards, the routed army was compelled to retreat on Pamplona. Joseph Bonaparte, who was present at the battle, saved himself with difficulty, and retired into France, abandoning all further hope of the Spanish crown. In the imperials of his carriages which were captured, were found some of the finest pictures taken from the royal palaces of Spain. The failure of an expedition to Catalonia under the command of Sir John Murray, undertaken with the view of diverting Marshal Suchet from joining the French Army of the centre, prevented Wellington from deriving all the benefit which he

Wellington
enters
France.

¹ Martens, *N. Rec.*, t. i. p. 678.

might have expected from his victory. Before he could enter France it was necessary to reduce the important places of Pamplona and St. Sebastian. The former was blockaded by General Hill, the latter by General Graham, after the failure of an assault, July 26th, which cost 2,000 men. Towards the end of July, Soult, who had entered Spain with a reinforcement of 20,000 men, and superseded Jourdan in the command of the French army, was compelled, after some bloody engagements, to re-enter France before the end of August. St. Sebastian surrendered September 9th, Pamplona, October 29th. The left wing of Wellington's army crossed the Bidasoa on the 7th. Soult had taken up a strong position on the Nivelle, which was attacked by Wellington, November 7th; on the 10th, St. Jean de Luz, the key of the position, was taken by storm, and Soult compelled to retire behind the Nive and the Adour. From this position, also, the French were driven after several days of hard fighting (December 8th-13th), and Soult then established a fortified camp at Bayonne. This town was invested by the Anglo-Portuguese army, and for some time hostilities seemed suspended. Thus, while the enemy threatened the Northern frontier of France, the South was actually invaded, and the despot, who a year or two before seemed to behold all Europe at his feet, began to tremble for his own dominions.

Ferdinand
VII. re-
stored.

Napoleon perceived soon after his return to Paris that it would be impossible for him to hold Spain, and after a fruitless attempt to embroil Spain and England, he informed the Spanish Princes that they could return to their country without any conditions whatever. Ferdinand VII. arrived at Madrid before the end of March, 1814. Pope Pius VII. had also been dismissed from his captivity, January 23rd, and, on the 10th of March following, the States of the Church were restored.

Napoleon's
prepara-
tions.

The Emperor of the French had employed himself after his return to Paris in organizing the means of resistance. By an Imperial Decree of November 11th, he augmented several of the taxes in open violation of the fundamental laws of the Constitution. A *Senatus-consulte* of the 15th placed at his disposal 300,000 conscripts of 1803 and following years to 1814 inclusive. Of these, half were to be immediately called into activity, while the remainder were to form an army of reserve.

An Extraordinary Diet, assembled at Zürich, had proclaimed the neutrality of Switzerland, November 18th, 1813; a cordon of troops was ordered to the frontiers, and deputies were sent both to the Allied Sovereigns and to Napoleon to engage them to respect Swiss neutrality. The French Emperor readily consented, and ordered his troops to evacuate Switzerland. But the Allies resolved not to recognize a neutrality which would essentially interfere with their operations, and which would be respected by Napoleon only so long as it suited his convenience. The grand army of Bohemia under Prince Schwarzenberg was directed to penetrate through Switzerland into Alsace and Franche-Comté, and to march upon Paris, having first secured the important position of Langres. Another portion of it was to occupy the roads from Italy. The army of Silesia under Blücher was to pass the Rhine, above and below Mainz, and also to direct its march upon the capital, masking the fortresses on the road. Part of the army of the North under the Prince Royal of Sweden (Bernadotte) was also to act on the offensive in France; but a large part of it was employed to occupy Holland and Belgium. The Swedish army and the Duke of Brunswick's corps did not arrive in France till after the fall of Paris. Schwarzenberg established his headquarters at Langres, January 18th, where the three allied Monarchs arrived a few days later. The army of Silesia having, after some fighting, crossed the Rhine and Saar, advanced by the 25th of January to Metz and Nancy, and was in communication with the grand army of Prince Schwarzenberg. Napoleon, who was assembling his forces at Châlons-sur-Marne, seems not to have expected that the Allies would so speedily pass the Rhine. He left Paris to join his army, January 25th, 1814, after appointing his brother Joseph to the command of the National Guard.

The Allies
enter
France.

The campaign which Napoleon now entered on is reckoned one of the ablest he ever conducted. He manœuvred with wonderful skill between Schwarzenberg and Blücher, arresting first the one then the other. But the transient successes which he achieved were perhaps of more detriment than service to him, as they hindered him from entering sincerely into the negotiations which had been opened at Châtillon, February 5th, for a peace on the basis proposed at Frankfurt. To this Congress Great Britain had sent Lords Castlereagh,

Treaty of
Chaumont,
1814.

Cathcart, and Aberdeen. As the Allies had not yet determined on the restoration of the Bourbons, they consented to treat with Napoleon as the Sovereign of France, but of France reduced within her natural limits, and no longer menacing the peace and independence of the rest of Europe. It soon, however, became apparent that Napoleon's good faith could not be relied on. His demands always rose with his success; and at last, on the 15th of March, his Minister Coulaingcourt handed in such an extravagant counter-project as determined the allies to break up the conference. He demanded the kingdom of Italy, including Venice, for Eugène Beauharnais and his successors; Nimeguen and the line of the Waal for a French frontier, thus including North Brabant and the Scheldt; also the left bank of the Rhine, and establishments for his brothers Joseph and Jérôme, and his nephew Louis, who were to renounce the thrones of Spain and Westphalia, and the Grand Duchy of Berg. While the Allies were treating with Napoleon, they had drawn closer their bond of union by the Treaty of Chaumont, concluded March 1st, 1814.¹ Each of the Allies engaged to keep 150,000 men constantly in the field; and Great Britain engaged, moreover, to furnish a subsidy of five millions sterling for the service of the current year, to be divided equally among the other three Powers. The alliance was to last for twenty years.

Battle of La
Rothière,
1814.

Napoleon attacked Blücher in his position at Brienne January 29th, but was totally defeated February 1st. This engagement is sometimes also called the battle of La Rothière. It was now resolved that the two armies of the allies should advance separately on Paris; that of Blücher along the Marne, that of Schwarzenberg along the Seine. But Napoleon, again turning upon Blücher, inflicted on him several defeats at Champaubert, Montmiral, Eloges, etc. (Feb. 10th—14th), and compelled him to fall back in order to join the advancing army of the North under Bülow. Napoleon then marched against the army of Schwarzenberg, which had advanced to Fontainebleau, and which he defeated at Monttereau, February 18th. Schwarzenberg then retreated to Troyes and Bar-sur-Aube. The fate of Europe seemed again to hang on a mere thread; the Austrians even made pro-

Battles of
Monttereau
and Laon,
1814.

¹ Martens, *N. Rec. t. i. p. 683.*

posals for an armistice, which, however, had no result. Blücher having been joined by the Army of the North, advanced and defeated Napoleon in an obstinate battle at Laon, which lasted March 9th and 10th. In consequence of this victory, the two allied armies again advanced. Napoleon, leaving Marmont and Mortier to observe Blücher, marched with about 40,000 men against the grand army, which he attacked at Arcis-sur-Aube, March 20th, 21st. His failure proved decisive to his fortunes. He shortly after formed the resolution of marching on St. Dizier, in the rear of the Allies, threatening the line of communication of the grand army, collecting the garrisons, making a levy *en masse* in Alsace and Lorraine, and saving Paris by carrying the war into Germany. The Allies, having discovered his plan from an intercepted letter, determined not to follow him, but to advance on Paris by forced marches; at the same time despatching Winzingerode with 8,000 men after Napoleon, to induce him to believe that he was followed by the whole army. Blücher now formed a junction with Schwarzenberg, after defeating Marmont and Mortier at La Fère Champenoise, March 25th. On the 29th the Allies had reached Clichy and Villepinte; while Marmont and Mortier had retired on Paris after their defeat, and occupied the heights of Montmartre and Belleville. The Regent, Maria Louisa and her son, the King of Rome, now left Paris for Blois, agreeably to the directions of Napoleon two months before; while Joseph Bonaparte called out the National Guard, and prepared to defend the capital. On the 30th an obstinate conflict took place on the heights of Montmartre, Belleville, and Romainville, which was terminated by Marmont proposing an armistice; not, however, before Montmartre had been carried by Blücher. On the following day, March 31st, at two o'clock in the morning was signed the CAPITULATION OF PARIS. Marmont and Mortier, with their troops, were to leave the city; the arsenals, magazines, etc., were to be left in the state in which they were; the National Guard was to be retained or dismissed, according to the decision of the Allies, to whose magnanimity Paris was recommended.¹

The decisive
battle of
Arcis-sur-
Aube, 1814.

The Capitulation of
Paris.

At eleven o'clock the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia entered Paris at the head of 36,000 men, amidst the

The Allied
Sovereigns
at Paris.

¹ Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 693.

acclamations of the people. Many cries arose for the Bourbons, and the proscribed white cockade was everywhere displayed. In the afternoon a proclamation was published, signed by the Emperor Alexander, in which the Allied Sovereigns announced that they would no longer treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, or any of his family; that they would respect the integrity of France as it had existed under its ancient Kings; that they would recognize and guarantee any constitution that the French nation might establish; and, consequently, they invited the Senate to appoint a Provisional Government to prepare such a constitution, and to conduct the administration. On the following day, April 1st, the Senate, which during ten years had worshipped Napoleon as their idol, pronounced his deposition and that of his family. But it went no further. The Council General of the Department of the Seine took the initiative in proclaiming the restoration of the Bourbons in the person of Louis XVIII.

Abdication
of Napo-
leon.

Meanwhile, Napoleon, who, imagining himself pursued by the allied army, had retired as far as Doulevant in the Haute Marne, returned suddenly upon St. Dizier, and defeated Winzingerode's advanced guard. On the following day, the 27th, he invested Vitry. Here he learned the march of the Allies on Paris, and was taken by surprise. Instead of advancing on the capital, he retired through St. Dizier and Vassy, and again reached Doulevant March 28th, where he had been five days before. On the 29th of March Napoleon was informed that Lyons had surrendered to the Allies, who had penetrated through Switzerland. He now advanced upon Troyes; whence, in contradiction to his former orders, he sent directions that Paris should be defended to the last extremity. He then proceeded by way of Sens to Fontainebleau, and endeavoured to open negotiations with Prince Schwarzenberg, by whom they were rejected. He had still a considerable army at Fontainebleau; but on the 4th of April he was deserted by Marmont and his corps, who submitted to the authority of the Provisional Government. It was not, however, till the 10th of April that Napoleon signed an unconditional resignation of the Crowns of France and Italy, both for himself and his heirs, after the Emperor Alexander and the French Provisional Government had assured to him a pension of 2,000,000 francs and an asylum in the Isle of Elba; of which he was to have the sovereignty, and to retain

the title of Emperor. A formal Convention to this effect was signed April 11th.¹

Further resistance would indeed have been insane. Not only were Paris and the northern and eastern provinces of France in possession of the Allies, but Wellington also was advancing in the south, and was everywhere received by the people as a deliverer. Wellington during the winter season had remained inactive before Bayonne till the middle of February, when he resumed the offensive, and after a few days' fighting drove the French from their position at that place. Soult retired to Orthez, where he was defeated, February 27th. Bayonne, St. Jean Pied de Port, Navarreins, were successively invested by the English. Soult, retreating by way of Tarbes, had concentrated his army at Toulouse. An English division, under Beresford, advanced to the Garonne, and entered Bordeaux March 12th, accompanied by the Duke d'Angoulême, nephew of Louis XVI., who had joined the English army some weeks before. Bordeaux now declared for the Bourbons and proclaimed Louis XVIII., although the Congress at Châtillon was still treating with Napoleon as Sovereign of France. Soult was attacked at Toulouse by Wellington, April 10th, and after an obstinate defence, which caused the assailants great loss, was compelled on the 12th to abandon his position. Neither the French nor the English general appears to have been aware that Napoleon had abdicated. After the defeat of Soult, the inhabitants of Toulouse immediately hoisted the Bourbon colours. So late as the night of April 14th, the garrison of Bayonne made a sortie which cost many lives on both sides; and it was not till the 18th that an armistice was signed between Wellington and Soult.

Defeat of
Soult, 1814.

Napoleon lingered more than a week at Fontainebleau, as if loth to quit the scene of his former glory.² At last, on the 20th of April, after taking an affecting, though somewhat theatrical, leave of his Guard, so long the companions of his varying fortunes, he set off for Fréjus, and embarking on board a British frigate, landed at Porto Ferrajo, in Elba, May 4th. At his own request, a commissary of each of the five great Powers accompanied him on his journey. The populations of

Napoleon
proceeds to
Elba.

¹ Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 696.

² He is said to have taken a dose of poison, which, however, failed of its intended effect.

the French towns through which he passed displayed the greatest hatred towards him, and even threatened his life; whilst he, on his part, showed the most abject fear, sometimes bursting into tears, and, to conceal himself, frequently changing his garments for those of his conductors.¹ His brother Joseph had fled into Switzerland. His Empress, Maria Louisa, after a short stay at Rambouillet, proceeded to Vienna, and again became an Austrian Princess. The Count d'Artois, brother of Louis XVIII., who had returned to Paris with the title and authority of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, signed with the Allies a Convention, April 23rd,² with the view of affording France the benefits of peace before a regular treaty could be prepared. The Allies agreed to evacuate the French territory, according to the ancient limits of it on January 1st, 1792. Thus vanished with the stroke of a pen the fruits of twenty years of bloodshed and conquest! France also surrendered by this treaty about fifty fortresses which she continued to occupy in Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, etc.

Restoration
of Louis
XVIII.

Louis XVIII., who had resided several years at Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, entered Paris May 3rd.³ In this ceremony the chief object of attraction was the Duchess of Angoulême, daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, who sat in the same carriage with her uncle. Louis XVIII. had published the day before at St. Ouen a declaration announcing his resolution to adopt a liberal constitution, though he rejected one proposed by the Senate, April 6th. The principal features of the new constitution were to be: a representative government, divided into two chambers; taxation by consent of the deputies; public and individual liberty; freedom of the press and of worship; inviolability of property; sales of national property not to be questioned; responsible ministers; irremovable judges; guarantee of the public debt; maintenance of the Legion of Honour; admissibility of every Frenchman to all employments; no individual to be molested regarding his opinions and his votes. This proclamation is said to have been exacted from Louis by the Emperor of Russia. Louis wished to reseat himself unpledged and as an

¹ Michelet, *Jusqu'à Waterloo*, p. 425 sqq.

² Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 439.

³ On the Restoration see Vaulabelle, *Hist. des deux Restaurations*; Lamartine, *Hist. de la Restauration*; and Houssaye, 1814 et 1815.

absolute Sovereign on the throne of his ancestors, as if all that had happened since 1789 had been a mere dream ; but Alexander, who is said to have corrected the proclamation with his own hand, threatened that Louis should not be admitted into his capital till he had signed it. Talleyrand, who was chiefly instrumental in bridging over the chasm between the abdication of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons, and who with the versatility which characterized him became again Minister for Foreign Affairs under the new Government, is said purposely to have delayed the conclusion of a treaty of peace till the project of the new constitution should have been arranged. Fearing that Louis, after the departure of the Emperor Alexander, might be inclined to neglect his engagements, a commission for drawing up a constitution was appointed May 18th, and on the 30th of the same month was signed the PEACE OF PARIS. A separate treaty was concluded with each of the four Allied Powers, but all of the same tenour, except an additional article reserved by each Power.¹ The Allies must be allowed to have displayed in this treaty great forbearance and moderation, when it is considered what terrible losses and humiliations Napoleon had inflicted on three of their number. France was not only suffered to retain the limits of 1792, but some additions were even made to them by annexing certain districts of the Ardennes, the Moselle, the Lower Rhine, the Ain, as well as part of Savoy, and by confirming her possession of Avignon, the Venaissin and other places, comprising in the whole 150 square miles, with a population of near half a million souls. Holland was to be placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, and to receive an accession of territory. The States of Germany were to be independent, and united by a confederation ; the revival of the German Empire being thus tacitly negatived. The independence of Switzerland was recognized. Italy, except the portion to be restored to Austria, was to be composed of Sovereign States. Great Britain was to possess Malta and its dependencies ; while, on the other hand, she engaged to restore to France all the colonies possessed by that country on the 1st of January, 1792, except Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France ; also that part of St. Domingo which had originally belonged to Spain, and which was now to be re-

The first
Treaty of
Paris, 1814.

¹ Martens, *N. Rec.* t. ii. p. 1.

stored to that country. Sweden also was to cede back Guadalupe to France, and Portugal, French Guiana. The 32nd Article of the treaty provided for the assembly of a General Congress at Vienna within two months, to regulate the arrangements which were to complete the present treaty.

Subsidiary
Treaties.

The Peace of Paris was followed by some subsidiary treaties. Ferdinand VII. acceded to the peace July 20th. By a Convention of June 3rd, between Austria and Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph restored to Austria Tyrol with the Vorarlberg, the Principality of Salzburg, the district of the Inn and the Hausrück. During the visit of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia to London in June, it was agreed that the Article of the Peace of Paris, stipulating the aggrandizement of Holland, should be carried out by the annexation of Belgium to that country, an arrangement which was accepted by the Sovereign of the Netherlands, July 21st, 1814.¹ Great Britain, by a treaty concluded at London, August 13th, 1814,² restored to that Sovereign all the colonies of which Holland had been in possession on January 1st, 1803, except the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. Part of these were intended to compensate Sweden for relinquishing Guadalupe; but the Swedish Government preferring a payment in money, Great Britain purchased their claims for a million sterling. Great Britain also paid to the Sovereign of the Netherlands, in consideration of his colonies, a further sum of two millions sterling to be employed in restoring the Belgian fortresses. These had been dismantled by the Emperor Joseph II., and the country consequently left without defence.

Italian
affairs.

It remains to mention the affairs of Italy. Napoleon, on the news of Murat's defection, had directed Eugène Beauharnais to evacuate that country; an order with which the Viceroy neglected to comply, partly because he could not obtain honourable terms for the different garrisons, partly because he hoped that the Lombards would elect him for their King. On February 8th he delivered battle to Bellegarde at Valleggio, on the Mincio, which, though he gained the advantage, led to no results. Murat soon discovered how vain were his hopes of obtaining Italy as the reward of his defection. The Emperor Francis postponed the ratification of the treaty; Lord Bentinck received no power to conclude. General

¹ Martens, *N. Rec.* t. ii. p. 38.

² *Ibid.* p. 57.

Nugent, who, with an Austrian corps, had been placed under Murat's command, took possession of Modena, not in the name of the King of Naples, but of the House of Este. Murat received, indeed, the ratified treaty from Vienna, March 8th, but considerably altered to his disadvantage, the only addition to his dominions being a small portion of the States of the Church; while Lord Bentinck, after the landing of a body of Anglo-Sicilian troops at Leghorn, openly gave out that they were designed to support the rights of the Bourbons to Naples. But as the Emperor of Russia seemed disposed to offer Murat his alliance, it was agreed that Lord Bentinck should evacuate Tuscany and march upon Genoa. With the aid of an English fleet, under Admiral Pellew, that city was reduced to capitulate, April 18th, and two days after the French garrison marched out with its arms and baggage, and took the road to Savona. On the 26th Lord Bentinck, without the sanction of his Government, published a proclamation re-establishing the Genoese Constitution such as it existed in 1797, with such modifications as public opinion might require. Pope Pius VII., who had been disarmed by Napoleon, entered Rome in a sort of triumph, May 24th, and Murat found himself compelled to acquiesce in the restoration of the Papal authority in the Roman States. Soon afterwards he was obliged to relinquish Tuscany to Ferdinand III.

After the abdication of Napoleon, Eugène Beauharnais was also compelled to lay down his arms. On April 16th he signed an armistice with Bellegarde at Schiarino-Rizzino, near Mantua, and the French troops in Lombardy marched homewards. Eugène, supported by a majority of the Senate, still hoped to be elected King of Italy, and to persuade the allied Powers to recognize him in that capacity. But a strong Austrian party existed in Milan, which, taking advantage of the popular hatred of the French, excited an insurrection against the senators of Eugène's party, who were driven from the city, April 20th. By the Convention of Mantua, April 23rd,¹ Eugène agreed to evacuate all the fortresses of the Kingdom of Italy. General Bellegarde entered Milan April 28th, occupied the other Lombard cities, and proclaimed, May 23rd, that he took possession of the Kingdom of Italy in the name of his Sovereign Francis. Eugène now betook

Convention
of Mantua.

¹ Koch et Schöll, t. x. p. 478.

himself to his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria. The fate of Piedmont was determined at the same time. A proclamation of Prince Schwarzenberg, dated at Paris, April 25th, announced to the Piedmontese that Austrian troops would take possession of the country in the name of the King of Sardinia; and on the 27th the plenipotentiaries of Prince Camille Borghese, governor-general of the departments beyond the Alps, signed at Turin a Convention¹ for an armistice, and for the evacuation of those departments by the French troops.

Louis
XVIII.
grants a
Charter.

After a quarter of a century disturbed by revolution and war, France and Europe seemed to be returning to peace and order. On June 8th, 1814, Louis XVIII. gave a Charter to the French nation. The Charter was signed by Louis as given "in the 19th year of his reign," thus ignoring the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire. Its main features were that the Legislature should consist of a Chamber of Peers and a Chamber of Deputies; the peers to be nominated by the crown, the deputies to be chosen by the people. The qualifications for a deputy were, to have completed forty years of age, and to pay annually 1,000 francs in direct taxes. The qualifications for an elector were to have completed thirty years of age, and to contribute annually to the direct taxation 300 francs. The King only was to have the right of proposing laws. The Chambers, however, were entitled to suggest them; but if such suggestions were disregarded, they could not be renewed during the same session. All forms of Christian worship were to be tolerated, but Roman Catholicism remained the religion of the State.

The Con-
gress of
Vienna,
1814-15.

In order to settle the general affairs of Europe, it had been determined to assemble a Congress at Vienna, which was formally opened November 1st. Nothing, not even the Crusades, had ever displayed the unity of Europe in so forcible a light as this Congress. The Peace of Westphalia offers the nearest parallel, but one far inferior in the number and greatness of the Powers concerned, the importance of the interests at stake, and the extent of the settlement effected. Of the great Powers, some were represented by their Sovereigns in person, others by their most eminent statesmen, while no Christian State of any importance was without its representative. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, the Kings of

¹ Martens, *N. Rec.* t. i. p. 716.

Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Württemberg, the Elector of Hesse, the Grand Duke of Baden, the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Brunswick, Coburg, and many other German Princes, were personally present. The other European States were represented by their Ambassadors and Ministers, among whom we may mention Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, for England; Prince Talleyrand and the Duke of Dalberg, for France; Don Labrador, for Spain; Count Palmella and Don Lobode Silveyra, for Portugal; Cardinal Gonsalvi, for the Pope.¹

The wars of Napoleon had disturbed the whole European system, and the problem before the Congress was to rearrange its scattered members. It is needless to say that in an Assembly composed of representatives of those nations which had suffered from Napoleon's aggressions, but little regard was had to the claims of nationalities, ancient rights, historical traditions, moral fitness, or conformity of religion. Thus, for instance, the Republics of Venice and Genoa, without any alleged delinquencies, were abolished, and handed over to foreign and hostile masters; Venice to Austria, Genoa to Sardinia, in spite of the traditional hatred between the Ligurians and the Piedmontese, and the deprecations of the Genoese. In like manner, Catholic Belgium was annexed to Calvinistic Holland, the Catholic Electorates of the Rhine to Reformed Prussia, and Catholic Poland to Greek Russia. Such arrangements were necessarily sources of weakness, discontent, and sedition, and, where possible, of revolution.

Austria, which had previously held only the isolated Milanese, now seized all Lombardy and the Venetian territories, except the Ionian Isles, which were erected into a Republic under the protection of Great Britain. Thus Austria secured several entrances into Italy, and by occupying Ferrara and Comacchio, got a footing south of the Po. But she was preparing future troubles for herself, by extending her dominion

Distribu-
tion of
territory.

¹ The principal works on this subject are, Klüber, *Acten des Wiener Congresses*, 7 vols. 8vo.; and by the same, in French, *Congrès de Vienne, Recueil de Pièces officielles*, etc., being an extract of the principal pieces of the former work. An analysis of them is given in Koch et Schöll, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xi. Also, Bucholz, *Gesch. der Europäischen Staaten seit dem Frieden von Wien*, B. v.; Flassan, *Hist. du Congrès de Vienne*; De Pradt, *Du Congrès de Vienne*; Pertz, *Das Leben Steins*; Cantù, *Storia di cento anni*, t. ii. p. 245 sqq. Austria bore the expense of the Congress. The Imperial table is said to have cost 300,000 francs a day.

over an unsympathetic people, which, under French rule, had imbibed ideas repugnant to her system. She extended her influence in Central Italy through members of the reigning family. Tuscany and Modena were assigned to collateral branches of the House of Austria, the first to the Archduke Ferdinand, the second to the Archduke François d'Este, also a Prince of the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine. Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were given to Napoleon's consort, Maria Louisa, who retained the title of "Empress." Lucca, erected into a duchy, was assigned to the ex-Queen of Etruria. With regard to the rest of Italy, the Pope recovered all his possessions except Benevento, Ponte Corvo, and the Venaissin. But he refused to sign the Treaty of Vienna, on account of the Austrian garrisons in Ferrara and Comacchio. The King of Sardinia, Victor Emanuel, retained Piedmont and Savoy, with the addition of Genoa, the English Government having ignored Lord Bentinck's proclamation. Joachim Murat, agreeably to treaties, was left for the present in possession of Naples, though somewhat curtailed. Germany, which from its geographical position and the genius of its people, must ever form one of the most important elements in the European system, became completely changed from its condition in the former century. The Holy Roman Empire had vanished, and with it the Golden Bull, the Electoral Capitulations, and the Electors themselves; though the Sovereign of Hesse retained that empty title. There was no longer a common tribunal, and the constitution of the Diet was entirely altered. The re-establishment of the German Empire was discussed. Several of the German princes and cities were for its revival; but the scheme was not approved by the Allies, nor by the Emperor of Austria. A Federative Constitution was established for Germany, with a Diet to be held at Frankfurt, of which the Austrian Emperor was to be President. The greater and smaller German States, to the number of thirty-eight, including the four still remaining free towns of Frankfurt, Bremen, Lübeck and Hamburg, and the Kings of Denmark and the Netherlands, the former by virtue of his Duchy of Holstein, the latter for Luxembourg, were to be members of the Confederation. This new Constitution had all the defects of the Empire without the prestige of its traditions, and especially it had the same want of centralization.

Re-settle-
ment of
Germany.

The Kingdom of Westphalia had fallen of itself, and the former Sovereigns who claimed its various parts had recovered their possessions. At this Congress the King of England assumed the title of "King," instead of "Elector" of Hanover. Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Saxe-Weimar, as well as Luxembourg annexed to the Netherlands, were made Grand Duchies. With the view of coercing France on the north, Belgium and the Dutch provinces were erected into the Kingdom of the Netherlands, in favour of the Prince of Orange with the title of William I.; though warning voices already proclaimed the danger of uniting countries so different in language, customs, and religion. Bavaria received for her restorations to Austria her former Palatine possessions, with Würzburg, Aschaffenburg, and what is called Rhenish Bavaria. The restoration of the Prussian Kingdom occasioned long and violent debates, principally from the circumstance of the erection of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Emperor of Russia's promise to restore the Kingdom of Poland in favour of the Grand Duke Constantine, his brother. The Duchy of Warsaw, about half as big again as Ireland, and containing nearly five million inhabitants, was for Russia one of the greatest acquisitions from the war. Russia thus thrust herself into the middle of Europe. Prussia demanded, in compensation, the whole of Saxony, and was supported by Russia; while she was opposed by Austria, France, and England. A new European war seemed on the point of breaking out, which was averted by concessions on both sides. The Emperor Alexander abandoned his project of a Polish kingdom, gave the Duchy of Posen to Prussia, and to Austria the salt works of Wieliczka and the Part of Galicia which she had lost in the last war. The city of Cracow, with a territory of $19\frac{1}{2}$ square geographical miles, was recognized as an independent republic. Besides the Duchy of Posen, Prussia was further compensated with about a third part of Saxony and the Rhenish provinces. These provinces, as well as the Austrian possessions in Alta Italia, served further to coerce France. These acquisitions made Prussia twice as great as she was under Frederick II., and rendered her, together with Protestantism, predominant in Germany. Austria and Bavaria were now the only Catholic states; for though the reigning house of Saxony was Catholic, its subjects were Protestant. Yet on the whole, the German Catholics were somewhat superior in numbers.

The question of Poland and Saxony.

England, which wanted no Continental aggrandizement, was chiefly the gainer by the possession of posts which assured her maritime ascendancy, as Malta, Heligoland, and the Cape. Sweden obtained Norway, and by way of compensation, Denmark received Swedish Pomerania, which she ceded to Prussia in exchange for Lauenburg. Switzerland was declared neutral. With Spain, which had regained its king, and Portugal, nothing was done. The same was the case with Turkey, not being a Christian Power, and having done, or suffered, nothing in the war. On the whole, Russia was the greatest gainer by this new adjustment of European boundaries; as, besides the Duchy of Warsaw, she obtained Finland in the north, and Bessarabia and part of Moldavia in the south. At the same time, by a treaty with Persia, she had gained several eastern provinces; and thus she now became one of the most formidable Powers in Europe.

Napoleon
lands in
France.

While the Congress was thus restoring Europe to order, an event occurred which threatened to upset all their labours and to replunge the Continent into confusion. Napoleon, escaping from Elba with 900 of his veterans, landed near Cannes, March 1st, 1815. The news of this event fell like a thunderbolt among the statesmen assembled at Vienna. It had the effect of silencing all minor disputes and uniting the four Powers against the common enemy. On March 13th they published a declaration of outlawry against him; and soon after they renewed the alliance of Chaumont, by a fresh treaty, signed at Vienna March 25th.¹ By Article 8 Louis XVIII. was to be invited to accede to it. But as before the ratification of it, April 25th, Napoleon seemed to have firmly resealed himself upon the throne, the British Government handed in a declaration purporting that Article 8 was not to be taken as obliging the King of England to prosecute the war for the sake of imposing any particular government upon France; and the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian ministers acceded to this declaration.² Great Britain concluded an additional Convention, April 30th,³ agreeing to furnish a subsidy of five millions, to be equally divided between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Most of the European States successively acceded to the alliance. The amount of the contingents

¹ Martens, *N. Rec. t. ii. p. 110 sqq.*

² *Ibid.* p. 117.

³ *Ibid.* p. 121 sqq.

which they engaged to provide considerably exceeded a million men.

Meanwhile, as Napoleon marched towards Paris he was everywhere joined by the soldiery. At Lyons, where he arrived March 12th, he published several decrees, by one of which he proclaimed a general amnesty, excepting however thirteen persons. Among these were Talleyrand, Marmont, the Duke d'Alberg, and Bourrienne, his former secretary. By another decree he promised to convoke a *Champ de Mai*, or assembly of the people, to settle the constitution on the most liberal basis; and to inspire the French with the belief that his restoration was concerted with Austria, it was added that the Empress and her son were to return to Paris, to be crowned in the presence of this Assembly. Marshal Ney, who less than a year before had been one of the first to welcome Louis XVIII. at Compiègne on his return to France, volunteered his services to march against and capture Napoleon; but a few words from his old commander turned his heart, and he joined at Auxerre Napoleon's standards. This act of Ney's caused the royalists to abandon all reliance on the army, Napoleon reached Paris in twenty forced marches, without shedding a drop of blood. The battalions despatched against him served only to augment his escort. Louis XVIII. found himself compelled to fly from Paris, March 20th. He had declared in the Chamber his fidelity to the Charter, and the ministry had made magnificent promises; but it was now too late. On the evening of the same day Napoleon entered Paris, and was again installed at the Tuileries amid the exulting congratulations of his former followers and admirers. By the bulk of the citizens, however, he was not so well received. They feared his warlike projects, though he abounded in promises, and declared that he had renounced all thoughts of extending his empire. But he re-established all the theatrical magnificence of his Court. Louis proceeded to Lille and afterwards to Ghent, where he remained during the whole of what is called the HUNDRED DAYS, the term of Napoleon's second empire. The Duke of Bourbon failed in an attempt to excite an insurrection in La Vendée. He even fell into the power of the ex-Emperor, who had murdered his son; but Napoleon recoiled from a second political crime of that description, and gave orders that the Duke should be furnished with a passport for England. The Duchess of Angoulême, relying on

He enters
Paris.

the loyalty displayed by the city of Bordeaux, in the previous year, also made a spirited attempt to maintain the Bourbon cause in the south of France; but the population of Bordeaux declined to second her on this occasion, and the Princess also found herself compelled to seek a refuge in England.

Napoleon's
ministers.

Napoleon, though his enterprise had been crowned with such sudden and complete success, found himself in a situation of no ordinary difficulty. The treasury was empty, the army weak and disorganized, the patriot party, if by such a term we may designate the opponents of the Bourbons, mistrustful and exacting. Napoleon named as his ministers, Cambacérès for the department of Justice, Carnot for the Interior, Fouché for the Police, Coulaingcourt (Duke of Vicenza) for Foreign Affairs. Fouché had announced to the Bourbons his intended defection, but said that it was only with a view to ruin Napoleon. On April 22nd Napoleon promulgated what he called "an additional Act" to the constitutions of the Empire. It was a good deal modelled on the Charter of Louis XVIII., but far outstripped it in the liberality of its concessions.

The *Champ
de Mai*.

It was, however, on the fortune of war that his hold of power must depend. If he could maintain himself against the attacks of the Allies, there was little danger of his being hurled from the throne by his French subjects. The *Champ de Mai*, held June 1st, was celebrated with enthusiasm, and served to rally the people in Napoleon's cause. His disposable army at this time numbered 200,000 men, besides the troops in garrison and a reserve of 150,000 recruits. In accordance with his usual tactics he resolved to take the offensive and to strike a blow before the Allies should be fully prepared. Hostilities had been already resumed in Italy. No sooner did Murat hear of the enthusiasm with which Napoleon had been received in France than he entered the Papal States with two armies, and marched to encounter the Austrians in Northern Italy. He still harboured the dream of being King of all Italy, and called upon the Italians to drive out the foreigners and found a united kingdom. He occupied Tuscany, Bologna, and Modena, and arrived upon the banks of the Po without having experienced any serious resistance. But on May 3rd he was attacked by the Austrians, under Bianchi, at Tolentino, and after a combat of two days was completely defeated. The Austrians now pressed on to Naples.

Failure of
Murat in
Italy.

Before Murat could arrive there his wife had concluded a Convention with Commodore Campbell, the commander of the English fleet, by which the safety of Naples was secured, but on condition of the surrender of all the Neapolitan ships of war. By the Convention of Casa Lanzi between the Austrian Generals and the English Minister on one part, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Neapolitan army on the other, May 20th, the Kingdom of Naples, with all its ports, fortresses, and arsenals, was to be delivered up to the Allies, in order to be restored to King Ferdinand IV.; agreeably to a treaty between that Sovereign and the Emperor of Austria, concluded at Vienna, April 29th.¹ Murat fled to the Isle of Ischia and subsequently to France; but Napoleon forbade him to appear at Paris. His wife obtained permission to reside in the Austrian dominions. Ferdinand IV., after ten years' residence in Sicily, returned to Naples, June 17th.

According to the plan of campaign agreed upon by the Allies,² the English and Prussians were to enter France from the Netherlands, whilst the Austrians were to invade it from the Rhine. The English and Prussian armies, under Wellington and Blücher, comprising 220,000 men, already stood upon the Belgian frontiers; and Napoleon determined to attack them before the Austrians could come up. All the troops he could spare for that purpose were 130,000 men, while to oppose the Austrians he could despatch only 30,000 men. Napoleon left Paris for Belgium, June 12th. At this time the Russian army, which equalled in number those of Wellington and Blücher, was only about eight days' march from the scene of action. Wellington's army, composed of English, Hanoverians, Brunswickers and Netherlands, extended from the sea to the Dyle. Blücher's army, divided into four corps of from 25,000 to 30,000 men, stretched along the Meuse, from the Dyle to the frontiers of Luxembourg. Napoleon resorted to his old strategy of attacking one army after the other, and endeavouring to separate Wellington and Blücher. On June 15th the French crossed the Sambre, defeated Ziethen, took Charleroi, and compelled the advanced

Arrange-
ments of
the Allies.

¹ Koch et Schöll, t. xi. p. 201 sqq.

² For this campaign, see C. de W. (Weiss, Baron Müffling), *Hist. de la Campagne, etc. en 1815*; Buchholz, *Gesch. der eur. Staaten*, B. vi.; Plötho, *Krieg der verbundeten Europa gegen Frankreich im Jahr 1815*.

Battles of
Quatre
Bras and
Ligny.

Battle of
Waterloo.

guard of the Prussians to retire to Ligny and St. Amand. Blücher now ordered his second corps to advance to Sombreuf, five or six miles north of Fleurus; while Wellington, on hearing what had occurred, ordered his troops to advance on the following morning (16th) to Nivelles and Quatre Bras. He had arranged to send 20,000 men to the aid of Blücher, but being himself attacked by Marshal Ney at QUATRE BRAS, he was unable to perform this promise, though he succeeded in repulsing Ney and in maintaining his position. In this action the Duke of Brunswick was slain. Blücher, attacked by Napoleon in person with superior forces at LIGNY, was defeated with great loss, and compelled to retreat to Wavre, in order to put himself in communication with his fourth corps under Bülow, which had not come up on the 16th. Wellington, hearing of this retrograde movement on the morning of the 17th, also retired through Gemappes to WATERLOO, in order to maintain his communication with the Prussians. Napoleon despatched Grouchy with between 30,000 and 40,000 men to attack the Prussians at Wavre, with orders, after defeating them, to turn against Wellington's army. Napoleon himself attacked Wellington on the 18th. The British army was posted on the heights of Mont St. Jean, with the strong positions in front of Hougomont and La Haye Sainte. The French, after a desperate struggle, succeeded in carrying the latter position; and also in making a lodgment in Hougomont, after that post had been two or three times lost and won. But an attack executed by the guard and the *élite* of the French army on the British lines towards the close of the day was repulsed, and the French thrown into utter confusion. Grouche, engaging at Wavre, a Prussian corps, which he mistook for their whole army, was too long detained to make his appearance on the 18th. But Bülow's Prussian corps came up towards the close of the day, and beginning to operate on the right flank of the French, completed their defeat. Blücher appeared soon after with the main body of the Prussians, and he and Wellington, meeting at La Belle Alliance, which had been the centre of the French position, saluted each other as victors.

Retreat of
the French.

The retreat of the French soon became a perfect rout. They are said to have lost 60,000 men during the three days' struggle in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Their pursuit

was abandoned to the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh. Napoleon, relinquishing to Soult the command of the defeated army, hastened back to Paris, where he arrived June 21st. On the 22nd of June he gave in his abdication, but at the same time proclaimed his son Emperor of the French, with the title of Napoleon II. His abdication was received, the reservation in favour of his son ignored, and a Provisional Executive Commission was appointed by the Chamber. Fouché (Duke of Otranto) was elected president of the Commission. While still at the head of the Provisional Government, Fouché, who had been one of the judges of Louis XVI., became the minister of police of his successor. Talleyrand introduced him to the King at St. Denis. Napoleon lingered in Paris till June 29th in the hope of some favourable occurrence, when, as the Allies were within sight of the capital, he took his departure for Malmaison. The Provisional Commission despatched Sebastiani, Laforêt, Lafayette, Pontecoulant, Benjamin Constant, and d'Argenson to the Allied Sovereigns at Heidelberg, to treat on the basis of the national independence and the inviolability of the French soil; but the Sovereigns replied, that no negotiations could be entered into till Bonaparte should be replaced in the custody of the Allies, and thus disabled from again disturbing the repose of Europe. Wellington and Blücher also refused an armistice proposed by Davoust.

Napoleon's
second
abdication.

The remains of the routed army, as well as Grouchy's corps, had found their way to Paris; and at the beginning of July, 90,000 troops of the line and 12,000 federals, the whole under the command of Davoust, were preparing to defend the capital. But their resistance against the overwhelming masses of the Allies would have been unavailing, and, to save Paris from the horrors of a siege, Davoust signed, with Wellington and Blücher, a military convention, or capitulation, at St. Cloud, July 3rd; by which the French army was to evacuate Paris within three days, and to retire beyond the Loire. On the 6th the Allies entered the capital. The Prussians displayed great animosity against the French. The English commander had much difficulty in restraining Blücher from blowing up the bridge at Jena, a monument of Prussian disgrace. Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris, July 8th, and thus put an end to the interregnum of the Hundred Days. Napoleon, after staying some time in the Isle of Aix,

Louis
XVIII. re-
enters
Paris.

with the design of taking a passage to America, but dreading the risks of the voyage, and preferring to throw himself on the generosity of the English to running the risk of being captured by them, delivered himself up, on the 15th of July, to Captain Maitland, commander of the "Bellerophon," an English ship of the line which happened to be stationed off Rochefort. Captain Maitland gave him no promises, except to convey him in safety to England. Napoleon had, on the previous day, written a letter to the Prince Regent, invoking the hospitality of the British nation, and comparing himself to Themistocles when he sought an asylum from Admetus. The fallen Emperor was conveyed to Plymouth, but was not allowed to land. On the 7th of August he was transferred to the "Northumberland," the flagship of Admiral Sir G. Cockburn, to be conveyed, agreeably to the decision of the Allies, to the Island of St. Helena. In that remote spot, where not even hope could solace him with the prospect of a change of fortune, he lingered out the remainder of his extraordinary and checkered career, till disease terminated his life, May 5th, 1821.

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in 1812

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